730

284

State Museum Library
7030
Lucknow

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
प्रो० बी० एन० पुरी
संग्रह
लखनऊ

NDIAN CULTURE

(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

Edited by
DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR,
M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.
BENI MADHAB BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.
BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

प्रो० बी० एन० पुरी
संग्रह

VOLUME III

(JULY, 1936—APRIL, 1937)

INDIAN
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते
CALCUTTA.

State Museum Library
Lucknow

Published by
SATIS CHANDRA SEAL, M.A., B.L.,
HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH
INSTITUTE, 170, MANICKTOLLA STREET, CALCUTTA.

INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. III JULY, 1936—APRIL, 1937 Nos. 1-4

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Page

OFESSOR POUSSIN ON ŚAKAYAVANAM.
By Dr. Sten Konow, Ph.D. 1

INTERNITZ AND RAYCHAUDHURI ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE RGVEDA-SAṀHITĀ.
By Mr. Kshetraśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya, M.A. 9

EBIRTH AND OMNISCIENCE IN PĀLI BUDDHISM.
By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. 19

G-VEDIC ORTHOEPY.
By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 35

ME RECENT VIEWS ON THE GUPTA ERA.
By Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, M.A. 47

E ROYAL CROWNS OF INDIAN KINGS.
By Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. 63

ARTH AND HOME.
By Mr. Girija Prasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. 71

ISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM (II).
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 89

HE CONCEPT OF AJÑĀNA IN VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY.
By Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. 99

CAREER OF YUSUF 'ĀDIL SHĀH OF BIJĀPUR.
By Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A. 109

HREE LIṄGARĀJA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.
By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., and Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh 121

ŚVAGHOSA THE POET.
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 127

ŚVAGHOSA THE PHILOSOPHER.
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 133

A NEW BRANCH OF KNOWLEDGE IN INDIA.
By Dr. C. L. Fábri, Ph.D., D.Litt. 137

Page

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK.
By MR. ISHWAR SAHAI, M.A. 147

THE VAIDYAKA LITERATURE OF BENGAL IN THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.
By MR. NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A. 153

ALPINES IN EASTERN INDIA.
By RAI BAHADUR K. L. BARUA, B.L. 161

THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUŠTRA.
By DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH.D. 173

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM.
By DR. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LITT. 251

THE LOST ĀRYĀ OF THE SĀṂKHYA-KĀRIKĀ.
By REV. M. LEDRUS, S.J. 281

RĀJPUTS.
By PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU 289

THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF PUNNĀṬA.
By DR. B. A. SALETORE, M.A., PH.D., D.PHIL. 303

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK.
By MR. ISHWAR SAHAI, M.A. 319

BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJRAT (1526–37).
By DR. S. K. BANERJI, M.A., L.T., PH.D. 329

DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM (III).
By DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D. 343

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE SKANDHA-DOCTRINE.
By MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A., D.LITT. 405

SULTAN BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJRAT AND THE PRINCELY REFUGEES FROM THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1534).
By DR. S. K. BANERJI, M.A., L.T., PH.D. 413

VARUṆA AND OURANOS.
By DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT., LL.D., F.B.A., BAR.-AT-LAW 421

HEARTH AND HOME—II.
By MR. GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.SC., B.L. 431

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK.
By MR. ISHWAR SAHAI, M.A. 455

THE KĀKATĪYA RUDRADĒVA.
By MR. NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A. 465

THE BṚHANNĀRADĪYA AND THE NĀRADĪYA PURĀṆA.
By DR. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M.A., PH.D. 477

THE REACH IN THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA OF ATAKKĀVACARA, THE IDEA OF NOT-WITHIN-THE-REALM-OF-LOGICAL-THOUGHT.
By DR. GEORGE GRIMM, PH.D. 489

Page

PRAMĀṆA AND ITS SCHEME IN MĀDHVA'S EPISTEMOLOGY.
By MR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A. 497

NOTES ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA.
By DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. 511

THE VEDIC DOCTRINE OF SILENCE.
By DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.SC. 559

ASCETICISM IN PRE-BUDDHIST DAYS.
By MR. RATILAL N. MEHTA, M.A. 571

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS.
By MR. ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A. 585

DOMESTIC RITES AND RITUALS.
By MR. GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.SC., B.L. 605

ASSES, HORSES AND GANDHARVAS.
By DR. JEAN PRZYLUSKI, PH.D. 613

TRACES OF UGRIAN OCCUPATION OF INDIA.
By DR. B. BONNERJEA, D.LITT., F.R.A.I. 621

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM.
By DR. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LITT. 633

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE KHANDHA-DOCTRINE (concluded).
By MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A., D.LITT. 653

A SUMERO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT MOHENJO-DARO.
By DR. C. L. FÁBRI, PH.D., D.LITT. 663

USE AND ABUSE OF ALAṀKĀRA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.
By DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D. 675

MOHENJO DARO—THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND.
By REV. H. HERAS, S.J. 707

THE AŚVINS AND THE GREAT GODDESS.
By DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT., LL.D., F.B.A., BAR.-AT-LAW 721

A FRESH HOARD OF SO-CALLED PURI KUSHAN COINS.
By MR. SUSHIL K. BOSE, M.A. 727

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES.
By DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D. 731

MISCELLANEA

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀRĀJA BHĪMAVARMAN. THE YEAR 130.
By MR. AMALANANDA GHOSH, M.A. 177

SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM.
By MR. SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A. 183

ON THE AFFINITY BETWEEN ONE MOHENJO-DARO AND ONE KISH TERRACOTTA FIGURINE.
By MR. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A. 186

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Page

CONQUEST OF DAKṢIṆA RĀḌHA BY VIJAYASENA.
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH 187

BHELA-SAṀHITĀ.
By DR. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LITT. 190

THE ŚAIVĀMṚTAṀ OF SŌḌHADĒVA.
By MR. N. N. DAS GUPTA, M.A. 194

A KṚṢṆA PANEL AT PAHARPUR.
By MR. SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI, M.A. 195

DISPOSAL OF GIRLS IN YĀSKA'S TIME.
By MRS. VANAMALA BHAWALKAR 198

THE PREDECESSORS OF TĪRTHAṀKARA MAHĀVĪRA.
By MR. K. P. JAIN 202

PALÆOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE MAURYAN BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀSTHĀN.
By MR. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A. 206

FAMILY LIFE IN PRE-BUDDHIST DAYS.
By MR. RATILAL MEHTA, M.A. 209

A NOTE ON THE EXORCISM OF DISEASE-SPIRITS IN NORTH BIHAR.
By MR. S. C. MITRA, M.A., B.L. 215

NOTES ON THE CULTS OF KAMĀLO BĪBĪ AND ĀMĀSAN BĪBĪ IN SOUTH BIHAR.
By MR. S. C. MITRA, M.A., B.L. 217

A NOTE ON THE EARLY HOME OF THE GUHILOTS.
By MR. GOLAP CHANDRA RAICHAUDHURI, M.A. 219

ĪŚĀ-UPANIṢAD (II–14).
By DR. E. G. CARPANI, PH.D. 222

OUR PRESENT BHAVIṢYA PURĀṆA.
By MR. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M.A. 223

MAHĒNDRAGIRI, RULER OF PIṢṬAPURA.
By MR. V. S. RAMACHANDRAMURTY, B.A. 230

STŪPĪ.
By MR. K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A. 353

AN ADYĀR MANUSCRIPT OF JANĀRDANA'S COMMENTARY ON THE *RAGHUVAṀŚA* INTERMINGLED WITH MEANINGS OF THE TEXT WORDS IN THE OLD GUJARĀTI LANGUAGE.
By MR. P. K. GODE, M.A.. 359

DHARMA-SAMUCCAYA.
By DR. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LITT. 366

ABHAYĀKARA-GUPTA.
By MR. N. N. DAS GUPTA, M.A. 369

A FEW PROBABLE IDENTIFICATIONS FROM MAÑJUŚRĪ-MŪLAKALPA.
By MR. PRAMODE LAL PAUL, M.A. 373

SEWAI JAYSINGH OF AMBER ? A.D. 1699–1743.
By MR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A. 376

Page

THE MANDASORE INSCRIPTION OF THE SILK-WEAVERS' GUILD.
By Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A. 379

THE STONE OF PERENG, 785 SAKA.
By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar 382

THE DAMILAS.
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 386

A NOTE ON THE WORD 'AYAKA KHAMBHAS'.
By Mr. Vaddadi Apparao 389

'BUDDHA AND NOT BUDDHISTS.'
By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A., D.Litt. 515

VERSIONS OF THE KAULĀVALĪ.
By Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. 518

DEVADĀSĪS IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN INDIA.
By Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh 520

JAINISM IN BENGAL.
By Mr. Pramode Lal Paul, M.A. 524

LAKṢANA IN THE ABHINAVA-BHĀRATĪ.
By Dr. Prakas Chandra Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D. 530

DATE OF VAṄGASENA, THE AUTHOR OF THE CIKITSĀSĀRA-SAṀGRAHA—BEFORE A.D. 1200.
By Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A... 535

NASAQ AS A SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN THE MUGHAL TIMES.
By Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A. 543

A NOTE ON THE CHĀNDOGYA-UPANIṢAD (VIII. 13. 1).
By Dr. E. G. Carpani, Ph.D. 545

AŚVAMEDHA BY A MUGHAL SATRAP.
By Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh 547

A NOTE ON THE LINEAGE OF PUSHYAMITRA.
By Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. 739

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRÆVALEBIT.
By Mr. G. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A... 741

IS THE DHAMMA 'ATAKKĀVACARA' NOT WITHIN THE REALM OF LOGICAL THOUGHT?
By Bhikkhu Nārada 742

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND PEṬAKOPADESA.
By Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D. 743

JANAMEJAYA AND JANAKA.
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. 747

BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE PĀRIJĀTA AND BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE RASAMAÑJARĪ.
By Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A. 751

THE LAKṢANA, ABHINAVA AND KUNTAKA.
By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. 756

A NOTE ON THE AŚVAMEDHA.
By Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, M.A. 759

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Page

ANATTĀ=NĀMA-RŪPA.
By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. 760

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II DATED GUPTA SAṀVAT 257 or 254?
By Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjea, B.Sc. 761

A NEW TYPE OF YAUDHEYA COIN.
By Miss Bhramar Ghosh, M.A. 762

AŚVAMEDHA AND RĀJASŪYA.
By Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh. 763

REVIEWS

LAW, B. C. ŚRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE.
By Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, C.I.E., Ph.D. 233

DĒVUḌU, N. S. KARNĀṬAKA SAMSKṚTI.
By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil. 234

GANGULY, D. C. HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY.
By Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. 235

UPADHYE, A. N. (CRITICALLY EDITED BY). PRAVACANASĀRA (PAVAYAṆASĀRA).
By Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. 239

SARUP, L. THE NIRUKTA.
By Mr. Vanamali Vedantatirtha, M.A. 239

CHARPENTIER, JARL. THE INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONINS OF TYANA.
By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 241

SHARMA, V. V. (EDITED BY). VĀJASANEYI PRĀTIŚĀKHYA OF KĀTYĀYANA.
By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 242

DR. S. KRISNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME.
By Mr. N. N. Das Gupta, M.A. 242

BEDI, F. M., AND BEDI, B. P. L. (EDITED BY). INDIA ANALYSED.
By Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. 243

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.
By Mr. N. N. Das Gupta, M.A. 245

MODY, R. R. INDIAN ASTROLOGY.
By Mr. P. C. Ray 245

STCHOUPAK, N. UTTARARĀMACARITA (TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY).
By Dr. B. K. Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 246

COOMARASWAMY, A. K. THE ṚGVEDA AS LAND-NÁMA-BÓK.
By Dr. B. K. Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 246

COOMARASWAMY, A. K. THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATURE IN ART.
By Mr. Golapchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A. 391

Page

RAMAN, B. V. A MANUAL OF HINDU ASTROLOGY.
By Mr. P. C. Ray, M.A., B.L. 391

BANERJI, R. D. PREHISTORIC ANCIENT AND HINDU INDIA.
By Mr. N. N. Das Gupta, M.A. 392

A TRIENNIAL CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS.
By Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. 393

GHOSH, B. K. COLLECTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF LOST BRĀHMAṆAS.
By Dr. A. Brriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Bar.-at-Law 394

JOSHI, S. B. KARNĀṬAKA VĪRA KSATIRYARU.
By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil. 396

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT—ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1109 M.E.
By Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. 396

GHOSH, B. K. LES FORMATIONS NOMINALES ET VERBALES EN P DU SANSKRIT.
By Dr. A. B. Keith, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Bar.-at-Law 397

SOMASUNDARAM, J. M. THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE.
By Mr. Charu Ch. Das Gupta, M.A. 549

WALTHER WÜST-VERGLEICHENDES UND ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DES ALTINDOARISCHEN (ALTINDISCHEN).
By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Litt. 550

POUCHA, P. VEDISCHE VOLKSETYMOLOGIE UND DAS NIRUKTA.
By Mr. Rulia Ram Kashyapa, M.Sc. 765

MOOKERJI, R. K. HINDU CIVILIZATION.
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. 766

SUKTHANKAR, V. S. THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (CRITICALLY EDITED BY).
By Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Bar.-at-Law 766

WADDELL, L. A. THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET OR LAMAISM.
By Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. 771

HORNER, I. B. THE EARLY BUDDHIST THEORY OF MAN PERFECTED.
By Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. 772

DUBASH, P. N. P. HINDU ART IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING.
By Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. 772

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS .. 247, 401, 555, 775

OBITUARY NOTICES

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 250

M. WINTERNITZ.
By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 778

LIST OF PLATES

Page
Inscription of the Gaṅga King Narasiṃha I .. .. *Facing* 122
Inscription of the 4th regnal year of Vīravara-Keśarī .. .. ,, 124
Inscription of Gaṅga King Narasiṃha II .. .. .. ,, 126
Kosam Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman .. .. ,, 177
Image bearing the Kosam inscription .. .. .. ,, 177
A Kṛṣṇa panel at Paharpur .. .. ,, 195
Ekādaśi Perumtṛkkoilappan .. .. ,, 356
A minor Shrine in the Ekādaśi Perumtṛkkoilappan .. .. ,, 356
The Trichur Temple .. .. ,, 357
Mohenjo-daro Vessel with Sumerian Inscription .. .. ,, 674
Reversed Sumerian Inscription slightly enlarged .. .. ,, 674

INDEX 779

PROFESSOR POUSSIN ON ŚAKAYAVANAM

By STEN KONOW

In a short note, above II, p. 584, Professor de La Vallée Poussin has commented on Professor Bhandarkar's discussion, above I, pp. 275ff., of the dvandva *Śakayavanam*, and especially on my remarks on the same, above II, pp. 189ff. Against my suggestion that the compound bears reference to Śakas and Yavanas in Bactria he objects that Greek princes were ruling in India in the first part of the second century B.C. and that the Śakas could hardly have been looked upon as *Śūdras niravasitas* if they were only known by name, and he adds: 'The right conclusion (I venture to say) is the gloss of Patañjali which is a strong argument against the generally admitted date of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. See L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas, pp. 199–202'.

I readily admit that I ought to have taken due notice of Professor Poussin's excellent book in my paper, the more so because it contains a clear and good résumé of the discussion about Patañjali's date. My only excuse is that I was alone concerned with Professor Bhandarkar's argument, and that I was not, and am not, prepared to accept Professor Poussin's solution of the problem. After his new note, however, it becomes incumbent on me to state my reasons for disagreeing, and I may perhaps hope that Professor Bhandarkar, who is much better qualified for the task than I, will do the same.

The usual dating of Patañjali about the middle of the second century B.C. is, as is well known, based on his remarks on two of Pāṇini's rules about the use of tenses.

In dealing with the various forms used to denote past time (*bhūte*) Pāṇini III, ii, 111 prescribes the imperfect (*laṅ*) for a past which does not belong to the present day (*anadyatane*, i.e. according to the first vārttika and Patañjali's rendering of the same, when there is no (question of the) current day, *avidyamānādyatane*). Then comes the second vārttika *parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye* 'and (the imperfect is used) about what is out of sight, universally known, within the range of him who uses it (i.e. might have been witnessed by him)'. As examples of this use of the imperfect are given the sentences *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*, *aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām*, 'the Yavana has besieged Sāketa, Madhyamikā'.

From this passage the conclusion has been drawn that a Greek chief, be it Menander or Demetrius, laid siege to Sāketa and

Madhyamikā during Patañjali's lifetime, and some years ago I maintained [1] that this happened when he was writing the commentary on the third book of Pāṇini. Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda [2] has challenged the latter statement, because the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā is referred to in a rule treating 'of *bhūta*, "past", *anadyatana* (=*avidyamānādyatana*) "not in progress on the present day", i.e. completed in the past. So the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā could not have been contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice, but must have taken place before.' I cannot admit the justice of this objection, which I had myself considered when I wrote my paper. We must remember the whole context. In III, ii, 110 *luṅ* (aorist) is taught as the proper tense about past time in general (*bhūtakālasāmānyam*). Then comes the restriction *anadyatane laṅ*, followed by one vārttika *parokṣe ca*, etc. It seems to me that the *ca* shows that here the restriction *anadyatana* is no more valid. That follows, so far as I can see, from Patañjali's ensuing remark. He tells us that *parokṣe* has been added, because the aorist (*luṅ*) must be used if the speaker has actually seen what he speaks about. Thus he must say *udagād ādityaḥ* 'the sun has risen', where there is clearly no reference to *anadyatana*, but exactly to the current day.

The other indication which has been utilized for settling the question about Patañjali's date is found in his commentary on Pāṇini, III, ii, 123, *vartamāne laṭ*, 'the present (is used) about what is going on'. The first vārttika adds that it should be stated that the present is used when what has been begun has not ceased (*pravṛttasyāvirāme*), because we say *ihādhīmahe* 'we are studying here', *iha vasāmaḥ* 'we are living here', *iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ* 'here we are sacrificing for Puṣyamitra'.

The inference has been drawn that a sacrifice for Puṣyamitra was in progress when Patañjali wrote this part of his commentary. Some scholars have even maintained that Patañjali was one of the officiating priests, because he uses the first person. I do not, however think, that the latter inference is necessary; cf. the first example *ihādhīmahe*.

As will be seen from Professor Poussin's book, most scholars are of opinion that here we actually have chronological indications, but nobody would assert that such can be proved to be the case. Everybody will admit that it is possible that Professor Poussin is right when he follows the late M. Barth in stating that Patañjali's examples might be current school examples, taken over from his predecessors, and the same is of course the case with the dvandva

---

[1] Acta Orientalia, I, p. 31.

[2] Indian Historical Quarterly, V, p. 325.

Śakayavanam. But this sceptical view is hardly strengthened by Professor Poussin's remark that the very word *yavana* is used in an example of the present in the late Laghukaumudī. It would seem to have been more to the point if he had mentioned the fact that a comparatively early grammarian like Candra did not retain Patañjali's examples *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām,* but replaced them by *ajayad Jarto Hūṇān* (Candravṛtti, I, ii, 81) 'the Jarta defeated the Hūṇas'. Is it not likely that this was done just because Patañjali's sentences were felt to contain some chronological indication?

Nor can I follow Professor Poussin when he, like Mr. Probhatchandra Chakravarti,[1] finds a reference to Puṣyamitra in the quotation *mahīpālavacaḥ śrutvā jughuṣuḥ puṣyamāṇavāḥ* in the Bhāṣya on Pāṇini, VII, ii, 23. Professor Poussin translates: 'having heard the king's word the men of Puṣya raised a cry', and he adds: 'Does not this demi-stanza place Patañjali after Puṣyamitra? It seems to be taken from a poem on Puṣyamitra's revolt and the murder of the last Maurya.'

I do not think it possible to translate *puṣyamāṇavāḥ* in this way. The Bhāṣya on Pāṇini, IV, i, 161, which teaches the formation of *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya*, contains the following kārikā: *apatye kutsite mūḍhe manor autsargikaḥ smṛtaḥ* । *nakārasya ca mūrdhanyas tena sidhyati māṇavaḥ* ||, 'the suffix of the general rule (sc. *aṇ*) has been prescribed after *manu* in the meanings "descendant", "blamable", "foolish", and the cerebral replaces the *na*, thus the form *māṇava* comes out'. It is here of no interest to discuss the remarks of later commentators about the cerebralization or non-cerebralization of the *n*. What is of importance is that *māṇava, māṇavaka* always means 'descendant', 'boy' in the Mahābhāṣya. Pāṇini I, ii, 63 states that the dual, and not the plural, is used when the nakṣatra names *tiṣya* and *punarvasū* are put together in a dvandva. Patañjali raises the question why the word *nakṣatra* is used in the rule, and the answer is that the plural must be used in a dvandva comprising young Tiṣya and the two young Punarvasus (*tiṣyaś ca māṇavakaḥ punarvasū ca māṇavakau*). Now since *puṣya* is synonymous with *tiṣya*, it seems probable that *puṣyamāṇavāḥ* means 'the Puṣya boys', and has nothing whatever to do with Puṣyamitra.

On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that Patañjali never mentions any Indian ruler who is later than Puṣyamitra, but more than once *Candragupta* and *Puṣyamitra, Candraguptasabhā* and *Puṣyamitrasabhā.* And that he was not too far remote in time from the Maurya's has, in my opinion rightly, been inferred from his reference to the greed of the Mauryas, which led them to deal in images (V, iii, 99).

---

[1] Above II, p. 754.

In all such cases it is of course possible to maintain that Patañjali simply copied his predecessors. But in order to make this probable, it would be necessary to point to such features which would make it impossible to assume a high date. And, so far as I can see, that has not been done.

No inference can of course be drawn from the few Prakrit words, such as *āṇapayati*, *vaṭṭati*, *vaḍḍhati*, and still less from the Iranian *śavati*, which has been taken over from Yāṣka. It is, however, worth while bearing in mind that we nowhere find any trace of late phonetical features. The form *Madhurā* which is used in the Bhāṣya on VIII, ii, 84 instead of the more common *Mathurā*, is also known from the Kharavela inscription, and it is evidently old.

Much has been written about Patañjali's knowledge of Indian literature, but it has not been possible to arrive at certain results. The enumeration Vol. I, p. 9: *catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyā bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasravartmā sāmaveda ekaviṃśatidhā bāhvṛcyaṃ navadhātharvaṇo vedo vākovākyam itihāsaḥ purāṇaṃ vaidyakam* is certainly not meant to be exhaustive, for we hear, e.g. about a *Vārarucaṃ kāvyam* and about *Jālūkāḥ ślokāḥ*, and the stanza Vol. III, p. 58 = Manu, II, 120. On the other hand, the fragments found in Chinese Turkestan show how incomplete our knowledge of the oldest Indian literature is.

It is possible that a thorough examination of such philosophical termini as are used by Patañjali might lead to some definite result. In one instance we can see that he knew a formulation which agrees with old Buddhist and Jaina texts. In VI, i, 135–157 Pāṇini deals with the addition of *s* (*suṭ*) before *k* in a series of words, thus in *maskara* and *maskarin* when meaning *veṇu* and *parivrājaka*, respectively. Patañjali asks why *maskarin* is mentioned separately. It can be explained as derived from *maskara* by adding the suffix *ini*. The answer is that it is not formed in this way, but from *mā* and *kṛ*, because the *maskarin* says *mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyasī* 'do not perform acts, quietism is your way to bliss'. Here it is evident that Patañjali bases his explanation on a current formulation of the tenets of the maskarins. And it is remarkable how closely it agrees with what old Buddhist and Jaina sources tell us. Hoernle[1] has given an excellent account of the teaching of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta and shown that it is described in very similar terms by the Jainas, Uvāsagadasāo, pp. 97 and 115, and by the Buddhists, Dīgha Nikāya, I, 53, Saṃyutta Nikāya, III, 210, as denying the value of exertion, activity and vigour. The shortest and most concise formula is found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, 268 : *Makkhali bhikkhave moghapuriso evaṃvādī evaṃdiṭṭhi n'atthi kammaṃ n'atthi kiriyaṃ n'atthi viriyaṃ* 'Makkhali, ye monks, the foolish person, is speaking thus, is having such view : there is no act, there is no deed, there is no vigour'. Patañjali's formulation comes to the same thing, but is given as an injunction. His remark is of interest for our understanding of the designations *Makkhali* and *Maṅkhaliputta*, which can hardly from the beginning have meant 'son of Maṅkhali', but rather 'the maskarin scion'. And it is of interest in the present connexion, because it refers us to a formula which is evidently old.

---

[1] Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix, and Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, s.v. *ājīvika*.

I hope that the whole question about Patañjali's relations to Indian philosophy will some day be taken up for discussion by scholars thoroughly at home in the various schools. But I think that it must be dealt with in a different way from what has usually been the case. The question is not only, and perhaps not even principally, in how far Patañjali was acquainted with the various philosophical systems. What we should like to know is whether it is probable that philosophy, and especially Nyāya, is indebted to grammar and to Patañjali. It seems to me that such indebtedness there is, and that it is rather great, and I believe that an unbiassed examination of the whole matter may lead to important chronological results.

Professor Poussin has no doubt come to the result that such features are not of sufficient importance in the face of the difficulty presented by the mention of the Śakas and Yavanas in the compound *Śakayavanam*.

The Yavanas were, of course, known to the Indians at an early date. Pāṇini mentions them, and Kātyāyana also knew about the Greek script.[1] Just in the days of Puṣyamitra their number must have increased in India as a consequence of the pressure exercised on their Bactrian dominion by the Śakas and other 'Scythian' tribes. According to Manu, X, 44 they were looked upon as degraded Kṣatriyas who had become Śūdras, while Patañjali speaks of them simply as Śūdras. From this fact and from the mention of the Śakas also as Śūdras who were originally Kṣatriyas in Manu's stanza, it would be possible to draw the inference that Manu's statement belongs to a later date than Patañjali. But, at all events, the mention of the Yavanas by Patañjali does not present any difficulty.

---

[1] I agree with those scholars who hold that we have no right to infer that such was also the case with Pāṇini. The rule IV, i, 49 belongs to the adhikāra *striyām*, IV, i, 3, and most of the nouns formed with the suffix *ānuk* denote female beings. Only four of them, viz. *himānī*, *araṇyānī*, *yavānī* and *yavanānī* have, according to Kātyāyana, a different meaning, 'snowdrift', 'big wood', 'some inferior kind of grain' and 'Greek script', respectively. In the case of *araṇyānī* we know that it can also mean 'forest fairy', which fact seems to have escaped the notice of Kātyāyana, who, it should be remembered, did not belong to the same part of India as Pāṇini. The case may have been similar with regard to the remaining three words, *himānī* can very well have been the deified snowdrift, the 'snow fairy', *yavānī* the 'barley fairy', and *yavanānī* 'the Greek lady'.

According to Professor Poussin, the Śakas could not, in 170 or in 150 before one era, have won such an importance that their name could be mentioned in the dvandva *Śakayavanam*, which, besides, shows that they must, in the estimation of the Brāhmaṇas, have been intimately associated with the Yavanas, a state of things which could hardly be conceivable if they were only known by name. And therefore the whole Patañjali chronology falls to pieces.

But why should they be known by name only, even if they were settled not only outside of Āryāvarta, as definitely stated by Patañjali, but outside of India? Individual Śakas are likely to have come to India before the Śaka invasion which brought them to Mathurā in Āryāvarta in the first century B.C., from which time they must have been known even as Kṣatriyas. From the fact that Patañjali speaks of both Śakas and Yavanas as Śūdras and not as degraded Kṣatriyas some people might even be inclined to draw the inference that at his time even the Yavanas had not established themselves as Kṣatriyas in India. The association of Śakas and Yavanas, on the other hand, was hardly one of friendship and intimacy. It might even be asked whether Patañjali's reference to Śakas and Yavanas was not, to a certain extent, influenced by Pāṇini's preceding sūtra *yeṣāṃ ca virodhaḥ śāśvatikaḥ*. That Patañjali did not think that that rule was only valid in the case of animals may be inferred from the fact that he, Vol. I, p. 476, gives *śramaṇabrāhmaṇam* as an example. It might be maintained that Śakas and Yavanas actually had a *śāśvatika virodha*. The Śakas were largely instrumental in making an end to the Greek dominion in Bactria as in India, and I see no difficulty in the assumption that tales about their antagonism with the Yavanas were told in India before they were themselves subjected by other tribes in Bactria.

We are sometimes too apt to look on ancient India as isolated from the outer world, chiefly because the affairs of foreign countries do not seem to have much interested the spiritual leaders of Indian society. In the old literature preserved to us we do not hear anything about the Persian empire or the Achæmenides, who held sway in part of India, though Indian troops were included in the army of Xerxes. Alexander's name would have been unknown in India, if we were allowed to draw any inference from the silence about him in ancient sources. And it is only a chance rule of Pāṇini which shows that the name of the Yavanas was known in his days. But all this does not allow the inference that happenings in foreign countries escaped the notice of educated Indians. Indian colonists and traders had, at an early date, found their way to distant places, even to such where they most necessarily have come into contact with Śakas, and foreign trade has certainly played an important part in the economic life of India from the most ancient times, even before the Aryans came into the country, and with such trade information must necessarily follow. As soon as we get more secular sources of information, as in the inscriptions of Aśoka, we find that there were relations with other countries.

If we return to the possibility of tales about the struggle between Śakas and Yavanas in Bactria finding their way to India at an early date, we cannot entirely overlook the fact that Indian Aryans were not only found in Āryāvarta and in India proper. Their territory extended, as it does at the present day, at least up towards the Hindukush, and the trade routes which we know existed at a later date between the country of the Śakas and Kashmir were scarcely of late origin. News travel quickly, even over thinly populated out-of-the-way countries. I cannot find that Professor Poussin has, in any way, succeeded in disproving the conclusions drawn by Professor Bhandarkar and myself. He may have more cogent reasons for his opinion than what he has mentioned, and I am entirely open to conviction. So far as I can see, however, the 'inextricable difficulties' he speaks of are non-existent.

WINTERNITZ AND RAYCHAUDHURI ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE *ṚGVEDA-SAṀHITĀ*[1]

By KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

वेदा निःश्वसितं यस्य सर्वज्ञानमयश्च यः ।
तं नत्वा परमं देवं वादमेकं प्रवर्तये ॥
ऋग्वेदसंहिता श्रौती स्मृतिर्बौधायनादिकी ।
अन्तरमेतयोर्मध्ये कालिकं विद्यते महत् ॥
इति वैन्तर्निसं पद्यं असाधुं चौधुरी जगौ ।
प्रागीयस्तत्त्ववेत्ताऽत्र प्रयागस्थस्य मे मतम् ॥

The date of the Vedas has been for a long time a vexed problem. Several attempts have been made at different times to determine it on objective grounds but they have convinced only the writers themselves. The result is great uncertainty or uncritical acquiescence in this view or that. It is, therefore, necessary that we should from time to time critically examine the views propounded by scholars about the date of the Vedas.

Professor M. Winternitz of Prague delivered in the University of Calcutta in August, 1923, his first Readership Lecture on 'The Age of the Veda', which was published in *C.R.*, November, 1923, and was reprinted in 1925, along with the other lectures delivered by him, under the title *Some Problems of Indian Literature.*

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri published in *C.R.*, October, 1924, pp. 67–77, a criticism of Prof. Winternitz's views. Winternitz did not reply to Raychaudhuri's criticism when revising the English translation of his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur Bd.* I (Calcutta,

---

[1] Abbreviations used in the paper :—

Rv.S.—*Ṛgveda Saṁhitā.*
A.B.—*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
Ś.B.—*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
V.I.—*Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith.
Some Problems—*Some Problems of Indian Literature* by Winternitz.
Sarasvatī—'*On the identification of the Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī and some connected problems*', by the writer (Journal of the Department of Letters, Cal. Univer., Vol. XV).
C.R.—*Calcutta Review.*
J.R.A.S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

1927) and I do not know if he has replied anywhere else. The questions raised by Raychaudhuri are very important and they deserve proper examination. I propose to confine myself here to only the geographical aspect of the problems raised by him.[1]

Winternitz has shown that Max Müller's dates for the different classes of Vedic Literature, which are only minimum dates, but are wrongly taken by other scholars as exact dates, are purely arbitrary.[2]

In view of the vastness of the Vedic literature and the great development in thought and form that it shows, he finds it impossible to take that literature as ranging between only six centuries (1200 B.C. to 600 B.C.). He thinks that Aryan penetration into Hindustan and then into South India must have been a very slow process. We know that Aryan culture had penetrated into South India already in the third century B.C. and important Vedic schools like those of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba had been established there. The beginnings of Vedic literature and civilization have therefore to be placed long anterior to this time.[3] He says in this connexion: '*And yet during the whole time from the first beginnings to the last off-shoots of Vedic literature the Indo-Aryan people have only conquered the comparatively small area from the Indus to the Ganges.* If it took such a long time for Aryan civilization to spread only from the extreme North-West to the Eastern Ganges District, how many centuries must have been required not only for Vedic literature but at the same time also for Brahmanical culture, theology and even priestly supremacy to pervade the whole of Central and Southern India!'[4]

Raychaudhuri seriously doubts the correctness of the sentence italicized. He says:—

(1) The *Brāhmaṇas* show the expansion of the Aryans into Central India and the Deccan, e.g.—

(*a*) A.B. knows of *Vidarbha* (VIII, 34) and 'several kingdoms of *dakshiṇā diś*' (VIII, 14).[5]

---

[1] I cannot examine here Dr. Raychaudhuri's historical arguments for determining the date of the Vedas. I may only say this that he has placed too much reliance on the *vaṁśa* lists in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*, which are both confused and contradictory. His further assumption that two successive teachers named in a *vaṁśa* list are removed from each other by one generation is wholly unjustifiable. We have here only *vidyā-sampradāya* and not succession lists of Pontiffs; in one generation a certain *vidyā* can pass through many mouths. Consequently positing of an interval of 30 years or any other fixed interval between these successive teachers is absolutely unwarranted.

[2] *Some Problems*, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[5] I have supplied references where they are wanting in Raychaudhuri's paper and corrected them where they are wrong.

(*b*) Ś.B. refers to the *Niṣadha* country (II, 3. 2. 1, 2) and to *Vidarbha* (XIV, 5. 5. 22 and 7. 3. 28=*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* in the Kāṇva recension II, 6. 3 and IV, 6. 3).

(2) Even Ṛv.S., admittedly the earliest Vedic text, also shows traces of knowledge of Eastern and Central India :—

(*a*) It refers to the *Sarayū* (IV, 30. 18, etc.).
(*b*) As it contains the compositions of Gotama Rāhūgaṇa (I, 74–93), the leader of the Āryan colonization of Videha, and names Namī Sāpya, the king of Videha (VI, 20. 6 ; X, 48. 9) it cannot be removed from the time of the eastward expansion of the Āryans.
(*c*) It directly names *Kīkaṭa*, i.e. Magadha (III, 53. 14).
(*d*) The *Cedi* country is also referred to (VIII, 5. 37–39).

'It is thus clear', says he, 'that not only the Ganges valley, but a considerable portion of Central India and the Deccan was Āryanized long before " the last off-shoots of Vedic literature " '.[1]

The italicized sentence of Winternitz, criticized by Raychaudhuri, is not very happily worded, for it seems to suggest that even the latest Vedic texts show the Āryans confined to the Punjab and western U.P., but the next sentence shows that he wants to include the whole of U.P. and Behar.[2] But Raychaudhuri's contention that they include Central India and Deccan as well requires examination. The Vidarbha country, as such, is not referred to in the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* : we have a Bhīma Vaidarbha named in the former text and a Vidarbhin Kauṇḍinya in the latter. It will, of course, be natural to take *Vaidarbha* and *Vidarbhin* as formed from the place-(*cum*-tribe-) name *Vidarbha*. But what is there to show that *Vidarbha* as a place name meant in that age our modern Berar ? These *janapada-vācaka* terms originally meant certain tribes and were used by extension for places where they were settled at that time. Hence the use of the plural number for such names. When a tribe shifted from one locality to another, the name (meaning both the tribe and the locality) was also shifted.[3] It is thus that we have so many transferences of geographical names in India and outside. We have, therefore, to determine the exact significance of these geographical terms occurring in the Vedas independently of their Purāṇic connotation. If we were to be guided by the Purāṇas and the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (!) in these matters,[1] the whole Vedic literature would have to be explained in their light and all the characteristic Vedic myths and legends would then put on a different appearance altogether. This would be an absolutely unhistorical method which no historian should ask us to follow. The Vedic texts themselves and not the Purāṇas should be chiefly used for interpreting the Vedas. It is thus that we know that the Gomatī mentioned in Ṛv.S., X, 75. 6, is the Gomal in Afghanistan and not the Gomti in U.P. Failure to recognize this simple point has led to many mistakes in the interpretation of Vedic history and geography. We should not, therefore, assume that Vidarbha and Cedi in the Vedas meant Berar and Bundelkhand respectively. Unfortunately, there is nothing in these texts to show where the Vidarbha people and the Cedis were dwelling in the times of A.B., Ś.B. and Ṛv.S. VIII, 5.[2]

---

[1] *C.R.*, Oct., 1924, p. 68.

[2] For he speaks there of the 'Eastern Ganges District'. In his *History of Indian Literature* (Vol. I, p. 303) his wording is 'from the Indus as far as the Ganges, the actual Hindustan'.

[3] See the writer's Hindi paper; 'Vaidik Bhūgol', in the *Bhūgol*, IX, p. 51 and also his *Sarasvatī*, pp. 5-6 and 43–48.

I fear that the alleged reference to the Niṣadha country in Ś.B., II, 3. 2. 1, 2, cannot be accepted. First of all, Naḍa Naiṣidha (and not Naiṣadha)[3] is mentioned there. The name *Naiṣidha* is formed from *Niṣidha* and not *Niṣadha*. It may be contended that *Niṣidha* is only the earlier form for the later name *Niṣidha*, which is by no means impossible. But we are as much ignorant about the location of the Niṣadha country in that age as of Vidarbha and Cedi. And can we be sure that Naḍa Naiṣidha was a king as is assumed in *V.I.*[4] from which we might gather that he was the king of the Naiṣidha=Niṣadha country? The text of Ś.B. does not seem to bear this out. It runs as follows :—

एता ह वै देवता योऽग्नि। तस्मिन् वसन्तीन्द्रो यमो राजा नडो नैषिधो-ऽनश्नन्त्सांगमनोऽसम्याꣳसवः ॥ १ ॥ तद्दाऽएष एवेन्द्रः। यदाहवनीयोऽथैष एव गार्हपत्यो यमो राजाथैष एव नडो नैषिधो यदन्वाहार्यपचनस्तद्यदेतमहरहर्दक्षिणत आहरन्ति तस्मादाऽहरहर्हवैँ नडो नैषिधो यमꣳ राजानं दक्षिणत उपनयतीति ॥ २ ॥

---

[1] As Raychaudhuri wants us to in connexion with the identification of *kīkaṭa*.

[2] I say this in spite of *V.I.*, I, p. 263, under Cedi.

[3] Eggeling in SBE., XII, p. 338, suggests and the *Vedic Index*, I, p. 433, asserts that Naiṣidha is wrongly printed for Naiṣadha. This is to be rejected. *Naiṣidha* is the actual reading of the MSS. of Ś.B. followed not only by Weber but also by Satyavrata Sāmaśramin in his Calcutta edition and corroborated by Sāyaṇa's commentary.

[4] Following Weber (*Indische Studien*, I, 225–7), who has accepted Sāyaṇa's identification of Naḍa Naiṣidha with the famous Nala, King of Niṣadha of *Mahābhārata* fame.

'These are indeed gods, who dwell in (the house of) the Yajamāna, viz. Indra, King Yama, Naḍa Naiṣidha, Anaśnant Sāṅgamana and Asant Pāṁsava. Now, the Āhavanīya fire is Indra, the Gārhapatya fire is King Yama and the Dakṣiṇa fire is Naḍa Naiṣidha—that every day they carry fire to the south for him (i.e. for Dakṣiṇāgni = Naḍa Naiṣidha),[1] it is for this that people say "Every day Naḍa Naiṣidha leads King Yama to the South".'

Here Naḍa Naiṣidha is most expressly called a god like Indra and Yama. The meaning of the last sentence, referring to his leading Yama to the south every day, is not clear.[2] In any case, his actual mention as a god and his identification with the Southern Fire relegate him to the domain of mythology. Consequently we learn nothing about the whereabouts of the Naiṣidha tribe. It is possible to equate Naḍa Naiṣidha with Nala Naiṣadha, but that would make Nala mythological in origin (= The Reed Fire, famous in myths of the origin of fire ?) and not Naḍa of human birth. H. Jacobi has shown a similar mythological origin for the famous Rāma story. The romantic story of Urvaśī and Purūravas is in origin also a nature myth. Even if Naḍa Naiṣidha is taken as an old hero, already raised to the status of a god in Ś.B., we learn nothing about the location of his Niṣidhas. If they were a 'southern' people, even that would not carry us far, for 'south' is a relative term, and we must know 'south of what place ?'.

Ṛv.S. shows the Aryans still confined to the west of the Ganges. The Sarayū is certainly mentioned there. But there is nothing to show that it is the famous river in Oudh. The Sarayū is referred to in Ṛv.S., IV, 30. 18; V, 53. 9 and X, 64. 9. In V, 53. 9, it is named along with Rasā, Kubhā, Krumu and Sindhu, all western rivers. It is, therefore, very likely, that Sarayū too is a western river, identical with the old Iranian Haröyu (= modern Harīrūd).[3] This is confirmed by the fact that in the whole Ṛv.S. the Ganges is named only once,[4] viz. in the late *nadīstuti* of the *Tenth Maṇḍala* (X, 75. 7). It is highly improbable, therefore, that the Sarayū of Oudh should have been known to the poets of Ṛv.S. Raychaudhuri's statement that 'In the time of the Rig Veda Aryan settlements had spread as far as . . . . . the Sarayu the association of which with the Arya Citraratha (Rig Veda, IV, 30. 18; Rāmāyaṇa, II, 32. 17) suggests that the river which flows past Ayodhyā is meant'[1] cannot be accepted, because the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not prove any such thing. Ṛv.S. IV, 30. 18 mentions that Indra killed the two Āryas Arṇa and Citraratha on the banks of the Sarayū. What has that Citraratha to do with the Citraratha mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 32. 17? The thirty-second canto of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* describes Rāma's gifts to Brahmins and his friends when he was about to leave Ayodhyā for the forest. Citraratha who was Rāma's charioteer and old companion (सचिवः[2] सुचिरोषितः) was one of these recipients. He can never be identified with Citraratha of Ṛv.S., IV, 30. 18. It is true that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also this Citraratha is called *ārya* (II, 32. 17). But *ārya* here means 'noble', 'respected'. The charioteer was always a very trusted and honoured officer of the princes in ancient India. Rāma calls the charioteer Sumantra *prabhu* ('master') in *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 46. 25. We cannot, therefore, identify this 'noble' Citraratha with the Citraratha killed by Indra. That the two Citrarathas are both called *ārya* proves nothing. The word means 'noble' in the *Rāmāyaṇa* but not so in the *Ṛk-saṁhitā* passage. There the sense seems to be that of 'man', as in Ṛv.S. I, 59. 2; I, 117. 2 and other passages. Citraratha is an *ấrya*, i.e. 'human', antagonist of Indra in IV. 30. 18, as contrasted with his *dāsá*, i.e. 'demon',[3] enemies, Śuṣṇa, kaulitara, Śambara and Varcin, named in verses 13–15. The evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, therefore, does not place the Ārya Citraratha on the Sarayū of Ṛv.S., IV, 30. 18, in Oudh.

---

[1] Fire burns continuously in the Gārhapatya pit and it is carried from there to the Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇa pits at the time of the daily oblations in those fires. The Dakṣiṇa fire is in the southern direction.

[2] Winternitz takes it to mean that he undertook 'warlike expeditions towards the south' (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 383). But this is on the assumption that Naḍa Naiṣidha was a human hero.

[3] *Sarasvatī*, p. 48, n. 3, and *Vaidik Bhūgol*, p. 47. Similarly Gomatī referred to in VIII, 24. 30 and X, 75. 6 is the Gomal (*vide Sarasvatī*, pp. 43–5 and *Vaidik Bhūgol*, pp. 45-6).

[4] It is by no means certain that उ॒रुः क॒क्षो॒ न गा॒ङ्ग्यः of VI, 45. 31, refers to the river Gaṅgā. See *Vaidik Bhūgol*, p. 45.

I have already said that 'south' is a relative term. Consequently the 'southern kingdoms' mentioned in A.B., VIII, 14, should not be assumed to be kingdoms in the Deccan. We are fortunate to find in this case an indication in the text as to where those southern kingdoms are to be placed. A.B., VIII, 12–14, describes the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka. Section 14 contains that well-known passage in which the gods are described as consecrating Indra in different directions, from which different kinds of overlordship accrued to him. In connexion with the southern direction it says :—

---

[1] *C.R.*, Oct., 1924, p. 74.

[2] 'Minister' is not the only sense of *saciva* in Sanskrit.

[3] I have shown in a paper, 'Dāsa and Dasyu in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*', communicated to the XVII International Congress of Orientalists, held at Rome in September, 1935, that *dāsá* and *dásyu* meant in the Ṛv.S. 'demon' and not 'non-Aryan' as is commonly assumed.

अथैनं दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रुद्रा देवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चन्नेतेन च तृचेनैतेन च यजुषैताभिश्च व्याहृतिभिर्भौज्याय तस्मादेतस्यां दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ये के च सत्वतां राजानो भौज्यायैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते भोजेत्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षत एतामेव देवानां विहितिमनु ।

'Then the Rudra gods consecrated him in the southern direction with six days with the Pañcaviṁśa *stoma*,[1] with this group of three *ṛcas*, with this *Yajus*, with these *Vyāhṛtis*, for *bhoja*-ship. Therefore in the southern direction whatever kings of the Satvants are consecrated, people call them 'Bhoja' after this ordainment of the gods.'

After a few sentences we are told that 'in the fixed, central direction' (ध्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि) the Sādhya and Āptya gods consecrated him for *rājya*, after which in that direction, among the Kuru-Pañcālas and the Vaśa-Uśīnaras, the consecrated kings are called *Rājan*. Consequently the central country is where the Kuru-Pañchālas and the Vaśa-Uśīnaras dwelt. Besides this specification there are several other indications to show that A.B. is a product of the Kurukṣetra country. 'In the southern direction' must therefore mean to the south of the lands of the Kuru-Pañchālas and the Vaśa-Uśīnaras, where lived, as we have just seen, the Satvants, i.e. the Yādavas. Consequently the land meant is obviously the Mathurā region and adjoining districts.[2] From there to the Deccan is a far cry.[3] We have also no justification for taking the Āndhras mentioned in A.B., VII, 18, as inhabitants of the Deccan. All that the text warrants is the fact that they were frontier people (उपान्त्याः) with reference to the Aryan settlement.[4]

Kīkaṭa of Ṛv.S., III, 53. 14, can never mean Magadha as has been almost universally assumed.[5] It is true that the *Śrīmad*-

---

[1] See Keith, *Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, p. 330 n.

[2] See location of the Satvants in the map in *V.I.*,, Vol. I.

[3] A.B., VIII, 15, however, knows the earth extending to the sea. We do not know if this is the eastern sea or the western one. The seventh and eighth *pañcikās* of the A.B. are very late additions, later than the *Śāṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*. Ṛv.S. also shows some knowledge of the sea (see *V.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 431–3).

[4] Similarly we should not suppose that the historical Āndhra-Śātavāhanas originated in the Telugu country merely because the Telugu country is *now* known as Āndhra, though the historical indications are quite different. The further assumption that the Śātavāhanas were Dravidians in race because the natives of modern Āndhra speak Dravidian is also as unhistorical. The name *Āndhra* may be connected with *Andhaka*, borne by an Aryan Yādava tribe.

[5] See *Vaidik Bhūgol*, p. 52, *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, pp. 896-7.

Bhāgavata (I, 3. 24)[1] and other mediæval texts know *Kīkaṭa* as a synonym for *Magadha*. But that does not warrant us to assume that they were synonyms in the time of Ṛv.S., III, 53. A close study of that hymn shows that it refers to Sudās's crossing of the Beas and the Sutlej and his subsequent adventures under the guidance of his priest Viśvāmitra as in III, 33.[2] Ṛv.S., III, 33. 11, 12, say that the Bharatas who were about to cross the rivers wanted to acquire the cattle on the other side and III, 53. 14, obviously refers to the same thing.[3] We find the Tṛtsu-Bharatas earlier in Central Punjab. Consequently they crossed the Beas and the Sutlej from the north-west. Viśvāmitra requests Indra in III, 53. 14, to give over to his people the cattle of King Pramaganda of the Naicāśākha city or territory in the country of Kīkaṭa, because the people there did not worship Indra with the milk of those cows. The context forces on us the conclusion that Kīkaṭa is the country to the immediate south of the Sutlej, i.e. the land that was later known as Kurukṣetra. That the people there did not perform the Vedic sacrifice shows that they were non-Aryans unaffected by Vedic civilization. Yāska is therefore quite right when he says: कीकटो नाम देशोऽनार्यनिवासः, 'Kīkaṭa is the country where non-Aryans dwell', *Nirukta* VI, 32. Jarl Charpentier has offered a very interesting explanation of *Naicāśākha*, viz. 'a place where the banyan tree (lit. "with branches hanging downwards"—Yāska नीचाशाखः=नीचैः-शाखः) was worshipped.'[4] We need not accept the whole of his explanation, for the simpler sense of 'abounding in banyan trees' would easily come out of the etymology. It is interesting to note that A.B., VII, 30, actually makes Kurukṣetra the home of the banyan tree: न्युब्जा इति ह्याप्येनान् एतर्ह्याचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधानां तेभ्यो ह्यान्येऽधिजाताः 'they (the banyan trees) are called now *nyubja* (i.e. "bent" = *naicāśākha*) in Kurukṣetra; these (i.e. the banyans of Kurukṣetra) are the first born of all banyans, others are born from them'. It appears from this passage that the Aryans met with the banyan tree in Kurukṣetra first. Hence *Naicāśākha* would be a very appropriate name for Kurukṣetra. Consequently it is this Kurukṣetra which should be taken as the non-Aryan Kīkaṭa country of Ṛv.S., III, 53. 14. We are now informed that remains of a pre-historic civilization as at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, etc. have been found in this region also.[1] We may hope that excavation in this area will reveal vestige of the impact of the Aryans and the pre-Aryans. As the frontier of the expanding Aryans advanced, 'the land of the non-Aryans' receded, till it reached Magadha, which was for long a non-Aryan's land.[2] Hence the later use of the term Kīkaṭa for Magadha. The Ṛgvedic Kīkaṭa is only Kurukṣetra.

---

[1] ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्ते संमोहाय सुरद्विषाम्। बुद्धो नाम्ना जिनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति॥—कीकटेषु मगधविषयेषु Vijayadhvaja's com., कीकटेषु मध्ये गया प्रदेशे Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin.

[2] See *Sarasvatī*, p. 61, *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, p. 896.

[3] See *Sarasvatī*, pp. 51-2, 61-2. Ṛv.S., III, 33. 1, names Vipāś before Śutudrī because Vipāś was encountered first when moving to the south-east from Central Punjab.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, pp. 335–345. See also my note in *ibid.*, pp. 894–7.

Raychaudhuri's contention that Gotama Rāhūgaṇa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* fame, the leader of the eastern colonization, is known to Ṛv.S. also, does not deserve acceptance. The *Anukramaṇī* of Ṛv.S. ascribes hymns 74–93 of the First Maṇḍala to Gautama Rāhūgaṇa but there is nothing in those hymns to show that their authors had anything to do with Gautama Rāhūgaṇa, priest of Videgha Māthava, of Ś.B. The plural रहूगणाः (i.e. Rāhugaṇas) in I, 78. 5, by the side of गोतमेभिः or गोतमाः or गोतमासः ('by Gotamas' 'Gotamas') in I, 77. 5, 78. 1, 88. 4 and 92. 7, shows that Rāhūgaṇa is as much of a family epithet as Gotama. We cannot, therefore, take Gotama Rāhūgaṇa as the name of a single individual. That the Gotama Rāhūgaṇa of Ś.B. is not among the authors of Ṛv.S., I, 74–93, is proved by the fact that of the three verses Gotama Rāhūgaṇa recites in Ś.B. not a single one comes from the Gotama Rāhūgaṇa collection of Ṛv.S.[3] As regards Namī Sāpya, who is mentioned in Ṛv.S., I, 53. 7, VI, 20. 6 and X. 48. 9, as a friend of Indra who killed the demon Namuci (prolonged drought ?) on his account, he may be a king of the Videhas as the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (XXV, 10. 17) makes him out to be. But how can we conclude from this that he lived in North Behar ? We should note that Māthava is called a Videgha (=Videha) in Ś.B. even when he was living on the banks of the Sarasvatī (I, 4. 3. 10 and 14) and had not left for the east following the track of Agni

---

[1] At Kotla Nihang in Dt. Amballa, 30 to 40 miles to the north-west of the present Kurukṣetra. See *India in* 1929-30, p. 354, and also the forthcoming *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for* 1929-30.

[2] Cf. the Smṛti injunction against journey to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha : अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गेषु सौराष्ट्रमगधेषु च। तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनः संस्कारमर्हति॥ Johan van Manen finds the ultimate source of such injunctions in *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* I, 1. 2. 13–15 (*Advance Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, April–May, 1935, pp. 25-6).

[3] वीतिहोत्रं त्वा कवे etc. comes from Ṛv.S., V, 26. 3 ; उदग्ने शुचयस्तव etc. from VIII, 44. 17 ; and तं त्वा घृतस्नवीमहे etc. from V, 26. 2.

Vaiśvānara and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa. That is exactly because Videha is a tribal epithet. Namī Sāpya, king of the Videhas (वैदेहो राजा), also is placed by the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* on the banks of the Sarasvatī, where he performs a Sārasvata *satra* that takes him immediately to heaven. We learn from this text that in the course of the *satra* Namī Sāpya marched from *Vinaśana* (the place where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands) up the stream to Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa, which is forty days' ride, and there took his final bath and that his sacrificial cattle pastured to the north, on the banks of the lake *Sthulārma*. Consequently the old habitat of the Videha tribe must have been in the vicinity of the Sarasvatī basin, i.e. in or near the Kurukṣetra country.

Consequently Raychaudhuri is wrong in claiming that Ṛv.S. contains traces of the diffusion of the Aryans up to Behar and Central India or that the *Brāhmaṇa* texts show their penetration into Southern India. His mistake is due to his following the unhistorical method of Pargiter which seeks to interpret the *Vedas* in the light of the *Purāṇas* which are in age and spirit very far removed from the *Vedas*.

Therefore the thesis of Winternitz, that the Vedic texts show that the Aryans took a very long time in penetrating into the whole of Hindustan and extending further south, remains unaffected. He has, however, joined in one mistake which is unfortunately very common, that the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* is in its entirety earlier than the rest of the Vedic literature.[1] A close study of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* shows that though much or most of it is earlier than the other Vedic texts, there is still a good deal in it that belongs to their times and there are even some portions that belong to the age of the very latest works comprised in the Vedic literature.[2] There must, therefore, be compositions in Ṛv.S. which are contemporaneous with or later than the expansion of the Aryans into Behar or into Central or Southern India, but, as chance would have it, no certain geographical references indicating this have been preserved in the extant text of Ṛv.S. The greater portion of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, however, remains sharply distinguished from the other Vedic texts and must be considered on grounds of language, thought and sundry other matters as earlier than those works.

---

[1] *Some Problems*, pp. 9, 19. In my earlier writings I too assumed the correctness of this view. I have, however, corrected myself in a paper entitled '*The place of the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā in the chronology of Vedic literature*', read before the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, held at Mysore in December, 1935.

[2] E.g. the *Āprī*, *Pra-üga*, *Aśvamedha* and other ritualistic hymns and hymns like X, 190, which are very late.

REBIRTH AND OMNISCIENCE IN PĀLI BUDDHISM[1]

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

S., II, 92: *Gambhīro câyam ānanda paṭiccasamuppāda gambhīrâvabhāsa ca.*

Heracleitus, XLI: *Nadīṁ samānān punar nâvapattuṁ sahasîtarāivôdakāni nirantaraṁ saṁsravante.*

The following remarks are with reference: (1) to Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Kindred Sayings*, II, n.d. (1923 ?), Editorial Notes, p. xi, and (2) her 'Rebirth in the Pali Scriptures' published in the *Calcutta Review*, September, 1930. By way of parenthesis, let me say that I have nearly completed a much longer study of the doctrine of *Death, Resurrection, and Reincarnation* as taught in the Ṛg Veda, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Bhagavad Gītā, and in Pāli Buddhism: and do not find either that the doctrine 'developes' as we pass from the beginning to the end of this series, or, what is more important, that any doctrine of the return of the individual to that same world from which he departed at death is anywhere officially taught. Proofs of these statements require more detailed analysis than can be presented here. In the meantime there is offered a brief criticism of some of Mrs. Rhys Davids' interpretations of the Buddhist doctrine presented in the Pāli texts.

Mrs. Rhys Davids is always much concerned to show: (1) that personality persists from incarnation to incarnation, and (2) to demonstrate the rationalistic aspects of the Buddhist teaching. In the first connection she says (KS., 11, xi) 'In spite of the simply expressed admission that beings (*sattā*) did "run on, fare on" [*sattānaṁ . . . sandhāvataṁ saṁsaratam*, S., II, 178] the *Milinda* [Mil., 72] came to say "Is there any being (*koci satto*) who goes on from this body to another body [*imamhā kāyā aññaṁ kāyaṁ sankamati*] ? No indeed, sire"'.[2] This argument is fallacious for two reasons : (1) *sankamati* used with the indirect object *kāyam* as above, or implied as in Mil., 71 *na ca sankamati paṭisandahati ca* (' There is no passing on, sc. to another body, but only an analogous-kindling ') undoubtedly means to ' go on to ', but *sandhāvati, saṁsarati,* used quite intransitively should not mean, at any rate need not mean, ' run on, fare on ', but rather ' run together, fare together ', i.e. ' be assembled ', and that this is the sense is rendered almost certain by the fact that *satto* is treated by S. as a composite,[1] and must therefore come under the invariable rule that ' all component things are perishable ' (D., II, 159), and (2) Mil., 72 does not stand alone, but is supported by Mil., 28, ' Just as when we say " chariot " this is valid merely in the sense that there is a relationship of parts, just so it is that when the aggregates are established (*khandesu santesu*) we speak conventionally (*sammuti*=secundum rationem dicendi) of an " essence " ' (*satto,* Mrs. Rhys Davids' ' being ') ; and this is precisely a verbatim quotation from S., I, 135 ! [2] There is thus no foundation whatever for the statement, ' the *Milinda* came to say . . . ', the truth is that ' the *Milinda* repeats . . . '.

---

[1] Abbreviations: RV., *Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā*; TS., *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; PB., *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*; JUB., *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; SB., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; BU., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; CU., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; MU., *Maitri Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; TU., *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*; IU., *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad*; A., *Aṅguttara Nikāya*; D., *Dīgha Nikāya*; M., *Majjhima Nikāya*; Dhs., *Dhamma Sangaṇi*; Mil., *Milindapañha*; Vis., *Visuddhi Magga*; BG., *Bhagavad Gītā*; KS., *Kindred Sayings*; SBE., *Sacred Books of the East.*

[2] References within square brackets are added by the present writer.

In the second connection, with reference to the passage (S., II, 178) *anamataggāyam,* etc., ' Incalculable is the beginning . . . The earliest point is not revealed ',[3] etc., Mrs. Rhys Davids (KS., xi) calls this ' forcible warning . . . viz. that when we began to be is past man's finding out ' an ' emphatic rejection of quasi-omniscience ', and quotes derisively a Yoga-bhāṣya text to the effect that in the wise there is ' some understanding of the prior and final limit of Saṁsāra ' ; and continues ' Yet he, *who made no exception of himself*

---

[1] S., I, 135 cited above ; and S., II, 255 (VIII, 1, 10), *evarūpo pi nāma satto bhavissati, evarūpo pi nāma attabhāvapaṭilābho bhavissati,* ' an essence becomes with such a body and soul, assuming an analogous-conditioning-of-Spirit it becomes with just such a body and soul '—in other words, *satta* is a *bhava,* not a simple substance but a composite.

Plato's remark (*Republic*) that ' That can hardly be eternal which is compounded of many things ' may be noted in this connection.

[2] And as Sister Adamant retorts to Māra, ' *Satta* ! why all this pother about *satta* ? '

[3] In S., II, 178, ' The earliest point is not revealed ', *na paññāyati* corresponds to D., III, 4 where a disciple complains that the Buddha ' does not reveal to me the beginning ' (*na . . . agaññan paññapeti*). This is the solution of the problem of the ' closed fist ' ; the Buddha does not indeed keep anything back, but on the other hand he does not pretend to tell what cannot be told, but only points out the Way that leads to the knowledge of the inexpressible, which Way must be trodden by every man for himself (D., III, 4). It is not *as a man,* not *qua* ' the ascetic Gotama, now waking, now sleeping ' (M., I, 482) that the Buddha is omniscient (*sabaññū*), not *qua* ' ascetic or Brahman ' that anyone can possess an absolute knowledge or insight (M., II, 127-128), but only superhumanly that one can attain to That by which when it is known, all things are known.

in that repudiation, came to be called *sabb'aññu,* all knowing![1] And the ultimate beginning, *which he did not reject,* came to be considered as never having been!' As a matter of fact, not only are the Buddha's superhuman nature and superhuman understanding matters of constant reference in the *Suttas,* but S., II, 212 in fact plainly asserts that the Buddha, by virtue of expertize in the four *jhānas,* and furthermore possessed of super-knowledge (*abhiñña*) can call to mind his own 'former abodes' (*pubbe nivāsan*) without suggestion of limit.[2] In any case, D., III, 28 (XXIV, 2, 14) 'The ultimate beginning of things I know, and more than that' (*agaññañ . . . . pajānāmi . . . tato ca uttaritaraṁ pajānāmi*) disposes of the whole matter, plainly affirming the Buddha's real omniscience. If it was also stated that a beginning had 'never been' (I do not know the text), no contradiction is involved; for 'beginning' has more than one meaning. A thing can be said to 'begin' either in time, or with respect to its principle, and that which begins in the latter sense need not begin in time. This will apply above all to time itself, which cannot have had a beginning in time, for that would involve the antinomy of a 'time before time'. The logical distinction is not one of time from a time before time, but of time from eternity—of an endless series of heres and nows from the Here and Now 'where every where and every when is focussed', of which an empirical knowledge is evidently impossible, although from what is literally another 'point' of view it can be known.[3]

---

[1] In M., I, 482 the Buddha apparently repudiates *sabaññа.* But M., II, 126-127 makes it quite clear that this repudiation was made in a particular connection and not absolutely. It would, further, be hard to distinguish *sabañña* from the *abhiñña,* 'super-knowledge' (surpassing even that of the four *arūpa-jhānas*), by which super-knowledge the Buddha 'remembers former abodes' in S., II, 213, see KS., II, 143 note.

[2] If the same powers are allowed for Kassapa, it is because he attained to an identical qualification (*arahatta*), like the Buddha he is *cetovimutti, pañña-vimutti,* or as Hindus would express it is a *jīvan-mukta.* The element of rationality is represented, not by the thought that the Buddha is not omniscient, but by the thought that omniscience is attainable by any one able and willing to practise the prerequisite contemplations. A perfectly intelligible method for recalling series of past births is for example offered (Vis., ch. XIII), and it would be less than scientific to reject the possibilities put forward without first employing the recommended means of realizing them. A priori disbelief in such a case is no more scientific than an a priori belief.

[3] In what sense the Buddha as 'Eye' (*cakkhu, cakkhuṁ loke,* passim), as the Supernal Sun who 'surveys the whole' (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe,* RV. passim), necessarily perceives both the beginning and the end of an endless series can only be adequately explained by the use of visual symbols. Like Agni's, the Vedic Comprehensor of Births, the Buddha's Awakening takes place at the 'navel of the earth', that is, at the centre of the whole universe, thought of as a wheel or circle (*cakra, maṇḍala*).

All of Mrs. Rhys Davids' question-raisings in the present connection are bound up on the one hand with her acceptance of what are taken to be occult and psychic implications in the Buddhist texts, and on the other with her rejection of their metaphysical symbolism; the former are 'consoling', the latter may be considered to be 'devastating'. We hold that, just as in the case of RV., so in that of the Buddhist texts, at least in the case of any one text such as D. or S., it is far safer to distrust our own powers of understanding than to pick and choose what seems to us plausible or implausible in its context. We have no right to denature our sources. In the Pāli canon, the metaphysical and 'rationalistic' elements are so inextricably interwoven as to forbid any such arbitrary procedure as to attempt to extract from them, by omitting the 'miracles', a residue of supposedly 'original' doctrine.

The doctrines about the Buddha's nativity in D. for example can no more be rejected than can the doctrines about *jhāna*; we have to understand both in relation to one another, not to accept the one and reject the other according to our taste. If the events of the Nativity are *dhammatā* in D., they are no less so in RV. when related of Indrâgnī, nor, it may be added, any less 'in order' when related of any other Messiah. A full discussion of *Who was the Buddha* must be undertaken elsewhere [1]; but in the present connection we may point out that precisely the characteristically 'Buddhist' doctrines of omniscience about births and the origin of evil, are enunciated in RV. in connection with Varuṇa and Indrâgnī.

Varuṇa, for example, 'knows all things speculatively' (*viśvaṁ sa vedo varuṇo yathā dhiyā*, X, 11. 1) [2]; Agni's most characteristic designation, Jātavedas, 'Knower of Births', is his because he is 'omniscient of all generations' (*viśvā veda janimā*, VI, 15. 13, etc.),

---

He is himself the Point about which the whole circle turns; it is precisely from this 'point' that the whole circumference of the circle is simultaneously visible (whereas from the point of view of any point on the circumference the knowledge of any other point can only be attained by a step by step procedure). The central point is the true beginning and end of the circumference, being its principle; every point on the circumference is at once a beginning and an end in time, at the same time that the circumference itself is endless.

[1] The problem is partly dealt with in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*.

[2] Vedic *dhī*, *dhyāna*,=Pāli *jhāna*. The far-reaching significance attached to Vedic *dhī*, 'contemplation', 'speculation', equally as means of knowledge and as means of operation, may be indicated by the fact that the most honoured of all mantras, III, 62. 10, apart from the laudatory expressions, consists of nothing but the prayer 'May He (Savitṛ, the Supernal Sun) impel our speculation' (*dhiyo yo naḥ pra codayāt*), cf. I, 61. 16 *dhiyaṁ dhāḥ*, I, 89. 5 *dhiyaṁjinvam . . . hūmahe*, II, 40. 6 *dhiyaṁ puṣā jinvatu*, VI, 47. 10 *codaya dhiyam ayaso na dhāram* ('impel our contemplation as it were an iron shaft'), etc.

and this knowledge is his in his identity with Varuṇa at birth (V. 3. 1), so that we find it stated that he is thus provident 'even when in embryo' (*garbhe nu san*, IV, 27. 1). This indeed reminds us of the expression *yoniso manasikāra*,[1] already a cliché in Pāli Buddhism, where it is used with *paññāya* in connection with insight into the conditions of birth, e.g., S., II, 10 and passim, Mil., I, 32 explaining *manasikāra* by *ūhana* (Skr. *avahana*, 'threshing', 'winnowing', 'dispelling') and *paññāya* by *chedana* ('cutting off'). The equivalencies of the antenatal precocities of Agni and the Buddha scarcely need to be insisted upon; the notion of 'thought' as a weapon or tool is also typically Vedic. RV. moreover is already quite familiar with a doctrine (*śruti*, *deṣtra*) of the 'cause (*nidānam*) of the triple Destruction' (X, 114. 2), corresponding to the Buddhist 'three causeṣ of actions' (*tīn . . . nidānāni kammāṇam*, A.,1, 263, etc.), the 'cause of Ill' (*dukkhassa nidānam*, Dhs., 1059); again, 'Thou, Indra, surely knowest the means of averting these dissolutions, yea, every day thou comest clean of the snares' (RV., VIII, 24. 24), cf. AV., XVI, 5 'We know the birth-place (*janitram*) of torpor, the child of Destruction, the Ender art thou, Death (*mṛtyu* =Pāli *māra*) art thou'.

Mrs. Rhys Davids seems to rest her argument on the anthropocentric proposition that the Buddha could not have been omniscient of an all that has neither beginning nor end. As to this, the *Visuddhimagga* (Ch. XIII) explains in some detail the difference in kind between the Buddha's manner of knowing, and that of other beings whose powers are graded upward to those of the Bodhisattva; which latter, great as they are, still differ in kind from those of a Buddha. The procedure is in any case speculative.[2] In the case of the inferior intelligences, there is a step-by-step regressus in memory either by way of the 'analogous-succession of aggregates'

---

[1] *Yoniso manasikāra* becoming 'spontaneous intellection', 'intuition', 'native (*sahaja*) understanding', etc. as distinguished from what can be learnt.

[2] Needless to say, it is *dhammatā* in all traditions that the divine manner of knowing and operation is speculative; cf. for example St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 14, a. 16 and q. 15, a. 1, 'God has of himself speculative knowledge only . . . In the speculative knowledge of himself, he possesses both speculative and practical knowledge of all other things . . . God does not understand things according to an idea existing outside himself . . . an idea in God is identical with his essence'. (Essence here must not be confused in kind with essences in the plural, as Being with beings; the divine Essence or Being is perfectly simple and without composi- tion, all other essences are composite, as affirmed above in the text quoted from S., II, 255.) The Being (*sat*) that is in all beings (*bhūta*) is everywhere one and the same, but other than their several being (*sattva*), or becoming (*bhava*); there is no substantial identity of Being with being, thus defined; Being is one only with Itself.

(*khanda-paṭipāṭi*) or by that of 'downfalls and analogous-compositions' (*cuti-paṭisandhi*), i.e. deaths and consequent births [1]; such a 'recollection of former abodes' may be extended far back into past æons; the 'moment' (*ṭhānam*) [2] of passage from one conception to the previous death is hard to follow, dark and difficult precisely because the antecedent 'soul and body (*nāmarūpam*) has been destroyed without residue (*asesaṁ niruddham*) and another has stepped forth' (*aññam uppannam*). But a Buddha has no occasion to resort to such a step-by-step procedure, he need not learn but only look; for the Buddhas, 'whatever moment (*ṭhānam*) they wish becomes immediately apparent, whether it be above or below, through countless myriads of æons.[3] Skipping many myriads of æons as one might abbreviate a text, bounding like a lion, they come down where they will' (Vis., 411).

If now there is nothing that passes over from one body to another when the latter is reconstituted by the pattern of a former *kamma*, to form in its turn one more link in the endless chain of mediate causes, what is this nothing, and how is this something that is not any thing referred to, if at all? Such an inversion of the statement that 'Nothing passes over' may seem at first sight to beg the question; but we must remember that in metaphysics and theology, 'nothing', that which is 'no thing', is by no means necessarily synonymous with 'logical non-entity', but may designate a principle, which is no thing in the sense that it is not a thing amongst other things, nor like them qualified or composite. In this *via remotionis*, God is often in Christian literature referred to as 'no thing': the Upaniṣads in the same way declare that He, the Spirit, Ātman, 'IS NOT, IS NOT' (*nêti, nêti*, BU., IV, 4, 22), a proposition that is not contradictory of, but must be understood as complementary to that of the *via affirmativa*, 'HE IS' (*asti*, KU., VI, 13).

---

[1] The earlier uses of the expressions *khandha* and *cuti* can be studied to advantage. *Skandha* occurs in connection with divine procession not so much in the sense of aggregate as in that of 'stem' (trunk or branch of a tree, but not entirely without a genealogical implication); e.g. as 'stem' of the Tree of Life (AV., X, 7, 38 *vṛksasya skandhaḥ*) or Rubus Igneus (MU., VII, 11, 'In Agni that wakes up, *udbudhyati*, perpetually, proliferating, stem after stem', *utkramya skandhātskandham*). *Cuti* corresponds to Cyavāna, passim; *cyavante* in RV., X, 124. 4; and *cyavanti* in BG., IX, 24-25, in connection with the inveteration and resurrection of fallen principles.

[2] *Ṭhānam* corresponds to *utthānam* in PB., XXV, 10 and TS., VII, 2. 1 (death at the full term of life is one *utthānam*, in two senses, both as stopping place and as starting place).

Cf. JUB., III, 11, where to be conceived is called a man's 'first death' 'He dies then first when the emitted seed becomes a being' (*sambhūtam bhavati*).

[3] St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 14, a. 9 c, 'The present glance of God extends over all time and to all things which are present in any time, as to objects present to Him'. The whole problem of the 'knowledge' of the infinite is admirably discussed by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 86, a. 2 c and I. q. 14, a. 12, 1 'Our intellect cannot understand the infinite . . . the infinite could not be known actually, unless all its parts were counted' (i.e. the step by step procedure of the Pāli texts, to which however there is no end, because the end is immeasurable distant); and on the other hand, 'God does not know the infinite, or infinite things, as if He enumerated part after part; since he knows all things simultaneously, and not successively. Hence there is nothing to prevent Him from knowing infinite things.'

As a matter of fact we find the Pāli texts (A., S., Vis., etc.) again and again substituting for the expressions *nāmarūpa, bhava, jāti, satta* denoting a 'born being', or *ceta, mana, viññāna* denoting the conscious and knowing subject, a symbol of a quite different order, viz. *atta-bhāva* (=*ātmabhāva*),[1] 'Conditioning of Spirit' or 'Naturing of Essence', for example in S., V, 442, *sukhumattā . . . attabhāvassa*, rendered by Woodward 'minuteness of their bodies', and Vis., 412, *ekassa attabhāvassa cutiṁ disvā paṭisandhim passanti*, 'having seen the downfall of one of the Spirit's conditionings, they see its analogous-reconstitution'. An alternative expression of like significance is *attato*=*ātmatas*, that which is 'from the Spirit', met with in S., II, 94-95 and II, 252 discussed below.

In *attabhāva*, '*bhāva*' must not by any means be confused with '*bhava*'; on the contrary the whole expression *attabhāva* corresponds to the single word *bhava*. *Attabhāva* is not a 'becoming of *atta*' involving change, but a 'naturing of *atta*,' that is, the subjection of Essence or Spirit to the accidents of becoming, by which subjection it is to all appearances (*rūpam*) changed and diversified, although in reality it remains unaffected because of its perfect simplicity and sameness.[2] *Attabhāva* as 'body', etc., is thus the individual likeness (*nāmarūpam*) according to which the *atta*, *ātman*, is apparently determined—multiply (*bahudhā*), viz. as *pratyagātman*, *adhyātman*. It is thus that 'Subdividing His Essence, or Spirit (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya*) He fills these worlds . . . He, the indwelling Essence or Spirit in all beings (*sarvabhūtântarātman*) maketh His single form to be manifold (*ekaṁ rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti*), and those contemplatives who see Him thus as Spirit-hypostasised (*ātmastham*) enjoy a perpetual beatitude, none others' (MU., VI, 26 and KU., V, 12); corresponding exactly to 'I being one become many (*eko pi bahudhā homi*), and being many become one' (*bahudhā pi hutvā eko homi*), spoken by the Buddha in S., II, 212, in perfect agreement with RV., VIII, 58. 2 'Being One, He becomes all this' (*ekaṁ vā idaṁ vi babhūva sarvam*) and BU., I, 4, 7 'There in the Spirit all these functionings which are nothing but the names of His acts are unified (*ete sarvā ekam bhavanti*), which same That, viz. the Spirit (*ātman*), is in all this the trace to be pursued (*padanīyam asya sarvasya*), and is That by which one knows this All, even as one might find (a lost beast) by following up its track' (*padenânuvindet*).[1]

---

[1] Cf. BG., II, 16:

nâsato vidyate bhāvo, nâbhāvo vidyate sataḥ
ubhayor api dṛṣṭo'ntas tv anayos tattvadarśibhiḥ

'There is neither naturing of non-being, nor of being aught but naturing: the limit of both is seen by those who see the Principle, or Suchness'.

Sat and *asat* correspond to *atta* and *anatta*. The BG. text may be regarded as an expansion of RV., X, 72, 2 *asataḥ sad ajâyata* 'Being was begotten of non-being'. (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 45. 1 c 'Creation . . . is from the not-being, which is nothing'.)

[2] When as above we speak of 'nature' (*bhāva*) and of (actual) 'form' (*rūpam*) it is a technicality: 'Nature is the thing that essence can receive . . . Form is a revelation of essence . . . Forms are many, the essence is only one . . . Intellect's object and sustenance is essence, not accident' (Eckhart). God is an integral omnipresence (*viśvam ekam*, RV., III, 54. 8, etc.), one and many, near and far (ŚB., X, 5. 2, 16-17), the Spirit is omnimodal (*sarva-maya*, BU., IV, 4, 5), lending itself to all modalities, 'Even as one regards Him, so is He named' (RV., V, 44. 6). But that 'nature' can thus be 'added' to essence by no means implies an increase, much rather an apparent diminution, for thus the essence is 'contracted and

The use of the equivalent *attato* in two passages of S. is also very significant. In S., II, 94-95 the many layfolk are contrasted with the indoctrinated disciples. The knowing and conscious subject (*citta, mana, viññāṇa*) 'every night and every day steps forth as one thing and recedes as another' (*ānad eva uppajjati aññaṁ nirujjhati*, i.e. is continually originating as one thing and disintegrating as another)[2]; and because these expressions, 'heart, mind, conscious-

---

identified into variety'. We have dealt elsewhere with the fallacy involved in Mrs. Rhys Davids' expression 'more being' ('more', by addition of 'body'!), see *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Note 111, and also my 'Study of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad (IV, 1)' in IHQ., XI, 1935, p. 582.

[1] The well-known doctrine of the *vestigium pedi*.

[2] Cf. Plato, *Symposium*: 'Generation always leaves behind a new existence in the place of the old. Nay even in the life of the same individual there is succession and not absolute unity: a man is called the same, and yet in the short interval which elapses between youth and age, and in which every animal is said to have life and identity, he is undergoing a perpetual process of loss and reparation . . . Which is true not only of the body, but also of the soul, whose habits, etc. are always coming and going'. There is also a remarkable discussion of transmigration in the tenth book of the *Republic*, where the manner in which the patterns of old lives are chosen by new souls at the beginning of a new æon is described at length; the patterns themselves being soulless, it is clear that here also no *thing* is thought of as passing over from one body to another.

The case of Christian teaching is of interest because there actually survives in it just as much of the traditional doctrine of causal becoming as can be reconciled with a cosmology that envisages no longer a succession of æons, but one beginning and one end of time. Thus 'Those things that are not (yet) in themselves, ness', lend themselves so readily to the thought 'This is mine, this am I, this is *my* Spirit' (*etam mama eso ham asmi eso me attā*)[1] it 'is well for the many layfolk to experience the body (*kāyam*) as "*from* the Spirit" (*attato*), not indeed as "heart", etc.', where *kāyam attato* is tantamount to the more technical *attabhāva* employed elsewhere. The indoctrinated disciples who 'naturally form a right idea of the analogous-procedure-implied-in-birth' (*paṭicca-samuppādaṁ yeva sādhukaṁ yoniso manasi karoti*) will not refer to the body, but only reflect 'This being, that comes to be; from the arising of this, that comes to be. This not being, that does not come to be; from the cessation of this, that ceases'. We are thus given two ways, one more easy, and one more difficult, of saying the same thing. In S., II, 252 (XVIII, 21) the question, how to avoid the notion of an 'I' and 'mine' is again attacked, this time in a dialogue between the indoctrinated disciple Rāhula and his father the Buddha. The latter answers: 'Whatever an appearance (*rūpam*) be, whether past, future, or present, your's or another's, concrete or subtile, mean or noble, far or near, if you regard it with true insight and as it has become (*yathābhūtam*), you will consider: "It is not mine, I am not it, this is not my Spirit" (*netam mama, neso ham asmi, na me so attā*, cf. S., II, 17, and *Mahāvagga* I, 4 where the permanence and reality of *attā* are similarly taken for granted, cf. SBE., XIII, p. 100, Note 1)[2]. And in the same way as regards heart, mind, or con-

---

(pre-)exist with God inasmuch as they are foreknown', i.e. as 'eternal reasons' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I-II, 91, 1 a ad 1). St. Thomas also agrees with St. Augustine that 'the human body pre-existed in the previous works in their causal virtues', in so far as this is a matter of 'passive potentiality' (*ib.* I, 91, 2 ad 4). Still more striking is Eckhart's 'Aught is suspended from the divine essence; its progression is matter, wherein the soul puts on new forms and puts off her old ones. The change from one into the other is her death: the one she doffs she dies to, and the one she dons she lives in'.

[1] Conversely expressed in S., II, 17, where the man who does not take his stand upon either of the extremes, but thinks '*This* is not my Spirit (*attā na me ti*), whatever is born is simply "Ill"', is not perplexed. It is to be remarked that in S., II, 94, Mrs. Rhys Davids renders *attā* by 'spirit' and in S., II, 17 by 'soul'—terms of very different meaning in Christian theology! Can one wonder, to use the word of the latter text, that she *is* perplexed (*vicikicchati*)? It is not *atta*, but *citta*, *mana*, *viññāṇa*, that can be rendered by 'soul'.

[2] The text is often referred to as the *Anattalakkhana Sutta*, rendered by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg 'The Sutta of the not having the signs of self'. We are however inclined to suggest, at least in such a context as this, that *anatta* does not mean "the absence of Spirit" but rather corresponds to the expression in the text, *na me so attā*, '*This* (body with its consciousness) is not my Spirit': in which case the title of the Sutta becomes 'Sutta of the proofs that This (body, etc.) is not the Spirit'.

Another notable text in which *attā* is evidently 'Spirit' can be cited in S., I, 75 (=*Udāna*, 47, and very closely modelled on BU., II, 4, and IV, 5). Here the sciousness, you will consider: "It is not mine", etc., and so to you thus knowing, thus seeing both as regards the body and its consciousness, and as regards external objects, there will be no conceit of "I" or "Mine".'

Thus the canonical Pāli texts by no means deny the *ātman*. On the contrary, what they are concerned about is to avoid the possibility of confusing the 'body and its consciousness' with *ātman*, in other words *attabhāva* with *atta* itself. One is only liable to fall into such an error because of the conceit of 'I' and 'Mine'. The Asuras in CU., VIII, 8 are represented as making just this mistake, but in S., II, 94 it is taken for granted that even the 'many layfolk' have too much intelligence to permit of any such error.[1] The

---

man 'who can find in all the world naught dearer than the Spirit' (*na . . . piyataram attanā kvaci*) is referred to with approval as a 'lover of the Spirit' (*attakāmo*, cf. BU. IV. 3. 21 *āptakāmam ātmakāmam akāmam*). In all these cases it is essential to be familiar with the Brahmanical sources, for how else can we know what must have been evoked in the minds of the audience by the use of such already familiar expressions as *attakāma*, *arhana nidāna*, etc. etc.? In the present case, Woodward's rendering of *attakāmo* by 'self-lover' is altogether unsuitable, because the content of the English phrase 'self-love' by no means provides a basis for the love of others, but rather the contrary; whereas one 'to whom all things are dear only because of the Spirit' that is in all the same, and who understands that '*this* (body with its consciousness) is not my Spirit' can have no motif for a preferential self-consideration. In all plain English 'self-love' means 'selfishness', and that can hardly be made a motif altruism. The text is not simply a commandment to 'Do as you would be done by', but points out that for the man in whom the sense of 'I' and 'mine' is dead, there remains no ground for self-preference; so that *attakāmo*, if to be rendered by an ethical term, is far more 'self-forgetfulness' than 'self-love'.

[1] Cf. RV., X, 168. 4 'Spirit of the Angels (*ātmā devānām*), whose sound is heard, but hath no likeness (*rūpam*), call we on Him, the Gale'. It seems to have been reserved for western scholars, following in the footsteps of the Asuras, to render *ātman* by 'body' in some contexts. This is literally the 'sin against the Holy Ghost' (*ātmahana*, as in IU., IV, 3).

Almost equally preposterous is the common rendering of *atta* and *ātman* by 'soul'. The authors of this solecism seem to forget (1) that the whole man is a tripartite being—*Tria sunt quibus homo constat: spiritus, anima, et corpus* (St. Augustine, *De Fide et Symbolo*, X, 23), and (2) the soul, amongst other characteristics, is not its own being, does not receive its being from God except in combination with a body, was not in being before the body, is threefold (vegetative, sensitive, intellectual), and is the form of the body (as *nāma* of *rūpa*), see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologia, Indices et Lexicon*, Turin, 1932, s.v. *anima*; in none of which respects (although in some others) can the soul be assimilated to *ātman* as defined in Indian scripture. Furthermore, the rendering of *ātman* by 'soul' lends itself to pantheistic interpretations quite alien to Indian metaphysics, where (as also in the ultimate reaches of Christian mysticism) union and identity with God are accomplished only when all that is personal (*nāmarūpa*, soul and body) have been completely naughted; as to which JUB., III, 14 is most explicit,—the question is put to the aspirant at the Gate, 'Who art thou', and if he answers 'So and so' reality of the *ātman* being thus established from Buddhist sources, let us consider the Buddha himself. Mil., 71–73, a *locus classicus* for the absence of any essence (*satta*) in component things, asserts that 'In the last analysis there is no Comprehensor who can be laid hold of' (*paramatthena . . . vedagū na upalabbhati*), but at the same time that 'The Buddha is' (*buddho atthi ? āma*). It is true that one cannot point Him out, saying 'He is here, or there'; He is extinguished, like a flame that has gone out, He is not discernable; nevertheless, 'He can be pointed out in the Body of the Norm (*dhammakāyena*),[1] for indeed He uttered the Norm' (*dhamma hi . . . desito*). Or as that would be expressed in western terms, 'He is revealed in His Spoken Word'.

It is thus apparent that the Buddha, Who as we saw above, 'being one, becomes manifold', is Himself the *atta* in every *attabhāva*: not the 'soul' but the Spiritus, the Ghost, in every one of these transient habitations (*nivāsa*) that are composites of soul-and-body (*nāmarūpa*). He is not only the Way, but also the Life. Considered in this light, how greatly the Buddha's famous exhortation gains in significance, 'Be ye such as have the Spirit for their lamp, the Spirit as their refuge (*attadīpa . . . attasaraṇā*), be the Norm your lamp, the Norm your refuge (*dhammadīpa dhammasaraṇā*), there is no other refuge' (D., II, 100), which were nearly His last words and are identical in significance with those of Jesus 'He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth; Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you' (John, XIV, 16-17). Is it not precisely because they 'knew Him' thus, knew 'the unborn Body-dweller[2] that is not slain when the body is slain, but discarding outworn bodies moves on to others that are new', because they knew the 'unmanifested, indivisible, immutable Body-dweller, for Whom, thus knowing, it is not meet to grieve' (BG., II, 17–28) that the adept disciples, remembering that 'the decay of all com-

---

he is repulsed, or conversely if he answers 'Who "I" am, that Light art Thou' he is welcomed with the words 'Who "thou" art, that am I, and Who "I" am, that art thou, proceed'; for then only can it be said, as in BU., IV, 3, 21, that there remains no longer any distinction of 'a within or a without'—'One with one uniting, void shines into void, equally spirated, despirated, there is the Supreme Being' (Eckhart).

[1] Cf. D., III, 84 'The Tathāgata may be spoken of as *dhammakāya* or *brahmakāya*', and S., III, 120 'He who sees the Norm sees Me, and he who sees Me sees the Norm'. The Buddha's 'Three Bodies' correspond to his 'Three Fields' (Vis., II, 414). The third 'body', like the third 'throne', and Vedic 'third wheel', is of course *arūpa*, unmanifested and unmanifestable.

[2] The Spirit, bodiless in bodies' (*aśarīraṁ śarīreṣu . . . ātmānam*, KU., II, 22).

posite things is inevitable ' did not in fact unduly grieve when ' the Eye-in-the-World had gone out ' (D., II, 177) ?

Does it follow because we agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids in her view that the Buddha really accepted and taught an *ātman* doctrine such as existed already in Vedic and Aupaniṣada teaching, that we must also agree with her that the supposedly more characteristically Buddhist doctrine of *anatta*, the doctrine of an ultimately despirated nature of all things, represents only a monastic subversion of what the Buddha really taught ? Emphatically, no. In the first place, let us observe that *anatta* is anything but an exclusively Buddhist term. In BU., I, 2. 1–7, for example, Death, Privation, the Godhead or Deity *ab intra*, to be united with Whom is to have escaped for ever from contingent death, is spoken of as wishing,[1] in the beginning, ' Let Me be spirated ' (*ātmanvī syām*) ; and this is the same as to say that Death, the Godhead *in* and *per se*, *ante principium*, is *anātmya*, *anatta*, despirated. Just the same is more explicitly expressed in TU., II, 7, ' Truly, when one finds a fearless support in that which is invisible (*adṛśya*), despirated (*anātmya*), untold (*anirukta*), and placeless (*anilayana*), then has he attained to fearlessness '. Thus also the Upaniṣads, notoriously depositary of the *ātman* doctrine, at the same time expound an ultimate *anātmya* ; in other words, and as we have already seen, employ both methods of approach, the *via affirmativa* and the *via remotionis*, corresponding to the *ab extra* and *ab intra* aspects of their single Principle. In this respect the Upaniṣads and Buddhism are alike, or differ only in emphasis.

For the familiar Buddhist *anatta* there is no need to cite texts. All that need be said is that we are not really faced with the dilemma : Was the being of the Spirit, *atta*, *ātman*, affirmed or denied by the Buddha himself ? There remains a further possibility, a veritable *via media*, according to which the being of the Spirit can have been at the same time affirmed and denied, not without contrast indeed, but certainly without contradiction. Nothing is more characteristic of the Buddha's *logoi* than the constant rejection of extremes and praise of a ' middle way '.[2] By ' middle way ' He does not mean a compromise, nor intend an evasion of the issue, but refers to a solution in which the two extremes, neither of which is false in relation to the other though each may be false if considered absolutely, are combined in a higher synthesis.[1] This is the traditional doctrine of the Veda, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads, and everywhere recognizable also in Buddhist teaching, despite the latter's vaunted heterodoxy. It is stated with magistral brevity, perfectly and fully stated, in RV., X, 129, 2 'That One suspires despirited' (*tad ekam ānīt*[2] *avatam*). 'That One is equally spirated, despirated': in that It *ānīt*, being *ātman*, in that It is *avātam*, *i.e.*= *nirvātam*, being *anātmya*. All that follows is merely an expansion, not a 'development', of this audition (*śruti*). In JUB., III, 33, for example, he who worships the fourfold aspect of Deity, considering the Persons only as they are in themselves (*adhidaivata*) has little chance of reaching them, and on the other hand, he who worships them only as the Life that operates within himself (*adhyātman*) will lose them when he dies. But 'He who knows them bothwise as becoming One, he knows the Spirit, he knows the Brahman . . . by him the whole is gotten, the whole is won'. More nearly verbally in accordance with the Buddhist manner of formulation is the Iśāvāsya Upaniṣad, 'The Secret of the Garment of the Lord'. *Vāsya* here, as that which 'is to be worn', or alternatively 'to be occupied' is either 'garment', or 'abode', and in the latter sense equivalent to the Buddhist *nivāsa*; in any case, the world is regarded

---

[1] ' Wishing ' is expressed in *syām*. It is as in RV., VII, 101. 3, ' Now is He sterile, now becometh progenitive, he shapes a body as He will ' (*yathā vaśam*), and X, 168. 4 ' The Spirit moveth as It will ' (*carati yathā vaśam*) ; as also in Genesis, the Spirit of God moved on the face of the Waters, i.e. reduced potentiality to act. *Yathā vaśam* is moreover not merely ' as He wills ' but also, *vaśa* being a designation of the Supernal Sun (RV., X, 171. 4), ' according to the Sun ' ; just as in Christianity the Son is called the Father's ' art ', in and whereby all things are brought forth.

[2] E.g. S., II, 17, where existence and non-existence (*atthitañ ceva natthitañ ca*) are called extremes (*antā*), neither of which is independently true ; ' the Tathâgata

---

teaches you the Norm by a mean' (*majjhena*). In the same way (*ib.* 20) it cannot be admitted that pain either is, or is not, absolutely; in one sense there is pain, in another sense, there is no pain. Just as in Christian doctrine, the Deity as Son being passible, as Father impassible; as God existent, as Godhead non-existent (cf. Eckhart, 'free as the Godhead in its non-existence'), while it cannot be said of the Deity as such either that He suffers or that He does not suffer, or that He is or is not, absolutely, in whom all contradictions are resolved. In the Supreme Identity, there is the Unity of being and non-being, *sadasat* as in RV., X, 5, 7, and thus it is that in a realm beyond antitheses, the lion and the lamb 'lie down together'.

[1] Here again it will be helpful to make use of a visual symbol. Suppose an equilateral or isosceles triangle, and that the termini of the base represent any two extremes, such as the propositions *atta*, *anatta*; then the middle way is represented only analogically by a point midway between the two extremities on the same level of reference, but really by the apex of the triangle on a higher level of reference; and as may be added, if we abstract the spatial factor, which has no place in Gnosis, then the two extremes and mean will coincide in a single point. This point is the same as that at the centre of our circle proposed above, the base of the triangle being an arc of the circle, and the sides of the triangle two radii connecting the termini of the arc with the centre of the circle (the base will seem to be a straight line, if the radii are long enough, say a million light-years, and yet is really curved).

[2] *Ānīt*, from *an*, to breathe, as also in *ātman*; the past tense denoting the eternal present, as commonly in RV. (and in Genesis).

as an indwelt theophany. The second half of verse 1 continues, 'Dispossest thereof, enjoy it (*tena tyakttena bhuñjīthā*), grasp not, for "Whose is wealth"?', corresponding very closely to S., II, 194, describing the contented Brother, 'If he has no robe, let him not be concerned (*na paritassati*), but if he have one, he should enjoy it' (*paribhuñjati*). Then in verse 7 'When he perceives that all beings are but naturings of the Spirit (*ātmâivabhūt*, tantamount to Pāli *attabhāva*), then there is no delusion, neither any sorrow, he sees the Unity'. In verse 9–14 the extreme positions are discounted, he only obtaining 'Life' (*amṛtam*) who sees their Identity. These extremes are those of *vidyā* and *avidyā*; *sambhūti* and *asambhūti*; *sambhava* and *asambhava*: the devotee of any one of these extremes, considered apart from its correlative, is doomed to darkness, but he who follows both and knows their unity, by the one passes over Death and by the other attains to Life. This is then *the* Indian doctrine, common to the Vedas, Upaniṣads, and Buddhism.[1]

In the same way the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, I: for how can we distinguish the Buddha, the 'knower that cannot be seized' (*vedagū na upalabbhati*, Mil., I, 71), but Who 'Is' (*atthi*, *ib.* 73) from 'That, the omniscient Brahman, which cannot be seen nor seized' (*adreśyam agrāhyam*), but Whom the Contemplatives know to be 'the source of beings' (*bhūtayonim*)? The canonical Buddha, as He reveals himself on the one hand, and as He is in himself on the other, cannot be distinguished from the Brahman that is *apara* and *para*, mortal and immortal, and by the same token is the biunity of Mitrāvaruṇau, Who being mortal and immortal (RV. 1. 164. 38) see respectively and also conjointly both the finite and the infinite (RV., V, 62. 8)—Whose knowledge, in other words, is not merely of 'this all', but transcendent, like the Buddha's Who knows not merely the 'beginning' but also 'far more than that' (*tato ca uttaritaram*, D., III, 28), i.e. not only the possibilities of being (whether manifested or unmanifested), but also those of non-being.

---

[1] The repudiation of an exclusive devotion either to *avidyā* or to *vidyā* in IU. 9–11 is paralleled in *Udāna*, 71–72, where the 'brahma-life' (elsewhere consistently praised) and the life of pleasure are both condemned. The similar repudiation of an exclusive devotion to either *sambhūti* or *asambhūti* in IU. 12–14 is similarly paralleled in *Udāna*, 20, where the Comprehensor is praised as having 'gone beyond the two extremes of *bhavâbhava*'.

Plato similarly (in the *Republic*) speaks of a 'mean between being and non-being', and in the *Parmenides* concludes that all things both are and are not, appear to be and appear not to be. Faith is, as Boethius says, is a mean between contrary heresies. As for the application of these doctrines, all tradition is agreed that neither the active nor the contemplative life is complete in itself; these lives are to be combined and made one, in imitation of the coincidence of action and inaction in the First Principle.

We have not attempted to discuss the truth or credibility of the doctrines presented. On the other hand, we think it has been demonstrated beyond all question (1) that just as in orthodox scripture, so also in early Buddhism, no doctrine of reincarnation (re-embodiment of a given personality), but only a doctrine of transmigration, is taught, (2) that the propositions *atta* and *anatta* are simultaneously maintained, alike in orthodox formulations and in early Buddhism, and (3) that again as in the orthodox tradition, so in early Buddhism, an omniscience of the Buddha, the Great Person, is affirmed, primarily with respect to all becomings, but also with respect to ' far more than that '.

One last word on method: we have protested against the denaturing of texts by the rejection of their metaphysical parts, and maintain that nothing but a distortion of their meaning can result from such a procedure. Further, we maintain that it is as absurd to approach the study of the Upaniṣads and Buddhism without a previous knowledge of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas as it would be to discuss the New Testament as though the Old had never existed. And finally, that exegesis is a science and/or art having *certae viae operandi*, and that it is as hopeless to approach the Sanskrit or Pāli scriptures fortified only by a knowledge of the languages themselves and without any previous knowledge of theology and metaphysics, as it would be to approach the Sanskrit mathematical or medical literature without a knowledge of mathematics or anatomy.

ṚG-VEDIC ORTHOEPY[1]

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

The earliest monument of the Sanskrit language is the Ṛg-Veda, the date of which however cannot be fixed with certainty. Yet the language of the Ṛg-Veda is so much akin to the language of the Gāθās of Avesta that they may be safely considered to belong to approximately the same age, and as the language of the Gāθās is by no means very far removed from that of the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achæmenian monarchs of the sixth century B.C., the Ṛg-Veda may be roughly dated about 1000 B.C.

This date of the Ṛg-Veda is also corroborated by the evidence of history and archæology. As the great historian Eduard Meyer pointed out long ago, the brachycephalic Indo-Europeans appear in history for the first time in the Egyptian sculptures of the latter half of the second millennium B.C. The Achæans, the Greeks of the Homeric age, who conquered the Pelasgians in the mainland in Greece and were themselves subjugated by the later Doric invaders, are mentioned (*achaiwuši*) in the list of prisoners of Ramases III (1200 B.C.). About the same time or a little earlier, the names of gods of the Vedic pantheon Indra (*in-da-ra*), Varuṇa (*u-ru-va-na*), etc. are mentioned in the Mitanni records in distant Cappadocia. All these multifarious evidences seem to suggest that sometime during the latter half of the second millennium B.C. the various tribes of the Indo-European barbarians ousted from their unknown original home traversed the wide plains of Eurasia in all directions, and a particular branch of them pushed on to India after spending some time in Iran together with the forefathers of the Iranians. They were the forefathers of the Vedic Indians.

The Ṛg-Vedic Indians seem to have completely forgotten their pre-Indian associations, although they were still predominantly nomadic in their habits of life. The *grāma* continued to signify till a comparatively late period not a settled village but a roving clan of wandering shepherds as is clearly proved by the legend of Śaryāta Mānava recorded in various Brāhmaṇas. Geographically they were still confined to the land of the five rivers. The earliest days of the Vedic Indians had been anything but happy. From the arid regions of Iran and Central Asia they stumbled across the frontier barriers only to be appalled by the fury of a sub-tropical clime, and they had to make their way into the plains of India only in the face of fierce opposition from the aboriginal inhabitants, whom they never ceased to curse and condemn in their hymns.

---

[1] Being a chapter of author's forthcoming “Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit’.

In spite of such an eventful career the Vedic Indians failed to develop a poetry of high order like the Homeric Greeks, for already from the plains of Iran they had brought with them the cult of sacrifices which continued to dominate the intellectual life of the Indians till almost the present day. Originally the sacrifices were meant to placate the gods and to persuade them to confer favours, but soon the sacrifices assumed a mystic importance and the gods themselves sank to the status of mere pretexts for them. Thus they gradually lost all their personal characteristics, and the same endless cycle of phrases, epithets and adjectives came to be applied to almost every one of them irrespective of their original functions and attributes. Ṛg-Vedic poetry therefore lacks the colour and flavour of the Homeric epics.

All the parts of the Ṛg-Veda are not equally old. The so-called family maṇḍalas (II–VII) represent the oldest part of the Ṛg-Veda whereas the tenth maṇḍala is decidedly the latest. The ninth maṇḍala is linguistically quite heterogeneous, for the hymns addressed to Soma have been collected in it from every part of the Ṛg-Veda. The remaining first and the eighth maṇḍalas are really old, but the hymns of various groups of priests have been collected in them.

For the history of the languages of the Indo-European world the Ṛg-Veda is undoubtedly the most important work, for excepting the Hittite inscriptions it is the oldest known linguistic monument of the Indo-European peoples. But before dealing with the language of the Ṛg-Veda, it is necessary to try to reconstruct its text as accurately as possible. For although the Indians through all the ages have paid the closest attention to the Ṛg-Veda it is quite certain that its text had been originally much different from what it is to-day. But it is possible to restore the original text, at least to some extent, by a careful study of the Ṛg-Vedic metres, and, what is more, the restored text reveals many important linguistic characteristics which it would not have been otherwise possible to discover.

The word *pāvaká* may be taken up as a convenient example of how the original text of the Ṛg-Veda has been later tampered with. Later Indian grammarians were at a loss to know why the feminine of *pāvaká* is *pāvakā́* and not *pāvikā́* as Pāṇini would have it. According to Pāṇini a word ending in *-aka*, the element *-ka* of which is suffixal, would assume the aspect *-ikā* when the feminine suffix

-ā is attached to it. For all that we know of Sanskrit grammar the element *-ka* of *pāvaká* is actually suffixal and the vowel that precedes it is also a short *ă* as Pāṇini requires, and yet this short *ă* is not changed into *i*. It is because appearances are altogether deceptive here. In the present text of the Ṛg-Veda this word is in fact always *written* as *pāvaká*, but the metre shows that it has always to be *read* as *pavāká*. As the vowel preceding the suffix *-ka* is in this case long *ā* and not short *ă* (as the *written* form implies), Pāṇini's above-mentioned rule finds no scope here. This is the obvious explanation of the apparently irregular feminine form *pāvakā* in Sanskrit, and it clearly shows that for an adequate comprehension of the Vedic language, it is always necessary to know how it was actually read, and for this purpose we have to depend mostly on the metre. In the case of *pāvaká* the evidence of metre always points to the reading *pavāká* : cf. RV. III, 17. 1 *śocíṣkeśo ghṛtánirṇik pāvakáḥ*, VI, 1, 8 *prétīṣaṇim iṣáyantam pāvakám* etc.

Pāvaká is one of the few words which have been systematically misrepresented in the present text of the Ṛg-Veda. Much more important however is the case of certain phonemes of very frequent occurrence which have been similarly misrepresented in it. *Ya* and *va* for instance have very frequently to be read as *iya* and *uva* in the older parts of the Ṛg-Veda. Besides the evidence of the metre the Vedic literature is full of notices which leave no doubt on this score.

The TS. VI, 1, 2, 6 quotes RV. V, 50, 1 in the slightly altered form : *víśve devásya netúr márto vṛṇīta sakhyám, víśve rāyá iṣudhyasi dyumnáṃ vṛṇīta puṣyáse*, and comments thereon : *saptā́kṣaram prathamám padám, aṣṭā́kṣarāṇi trī́ṇi*. The second pāda thus consists of eight syllables according to the author of the TS. although according to the written text it has no more than seven. It is to be concluded therefore that the word *sakhyám* was actually read as *sakhiám*. The word *svàr* is written as monosyllabic by the Vājasaneyins, but in the Taittirīya texts it is invariably written as *suvár* (dissyllabic). But even the Vājasaneyi texts, when they speak about the number of syllables in *svár*, invariably give it as two. Cf. ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 14 ; 11, 1, 6, 5 ; 14, 8, 6, 4. This is all the more remarkable, for here we have before us prose texts which could not be influenced by considerations of metre. In the same way the word *rājanyà* is said to consist of four syllables and *dyaús* of two respectively in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (5, 1, 5, 14 ; 14, 8, 15, 1), and when the same Brāhmaṇa (14, 8, 15, 3) further states that the words *prā́ṇo'pānó vyānáḥ* (in a prose passage) make up altogether eight syllables, we have only to infer from it that the word written as *vyānáḥ* was read as *viyānáḥ*.

But it is not always safe to accept the opinion of the authors of later Brāhmaṇas in this respect, for not infrequently they have overdone their part and dissolved the semi-vowels into their component parts even where such a procedure is neither warranted by the Ṛg-vedic metre, nor is supported by the evidence of other Indo-European languages. Thus, excepting once, the word *satyá* is always dissyllabic in the RV., and this is perfectly as it should be, for its Gothic counterpart *sunja* (< **sundi̯a*) clearly shows that the semi-vowel *y* is here of Indo-European antiquity. Yet the ŚB. 14, 8, 6, 2 declares it to be trisyllabic: *tád etát tryákṣaram satyám íti*. Similarly the word *áśva* which occurs very frequently in the RV. is almost always dissyllabic, for here too the semi-vowel *v* is of Indo-European origin, cf. Lat. *equus* (< * *equ̯os*) and in the word *tvác* too the metre leaves the semi-vowel undissolved, for on the evidence of Gr. *sákos* (< * *tu̯akos*) it is as old as that in *áśva*.

The dissolution of semi-vowels into their original component parts has however to be carried on not only in the stem-forms as shown above, but sometimes also in the endings. It was suggested in the first chapter that the consonantal endings beginning with *bh-* are probably nothing but *-bhi* (> Gr. *-phi*) extended by different elements in different cases. This theory finds welcome support in the fact that the semi-vowel *y* has actually to be dissolved into *iy metri causa* in these endings, in which case the first element always turns out to be *-bhi*. Thus the mantra *uktham vācīndrāya devebhyaḥ* is said to consist of eleven syllables in AB. 3, 12, which shows that not only the words *vāci indrāya* have to be read with hiatus, but also that the form *devebhyaḥ* accounts for four syllables, which has hence to be read as *devebhiaḥ*. We shall find in a later chapter that the distinction between strong and weak declensions of *i-* and *u-*stems can be comprehended only when the semi-vowels are dissolved into their component parts, and the very existence of the very frequent secondary suffix *-iya* can be discovered almost solely on the basis of readings restored by dissolving the semi-vowel *y*.

Reduplication of a final nasal after a short vowel when a vowel follows (Pāṇini 8. 3, 32) is a peculiar law of euphonic combination in Sanskrit, and except in a very few sporadic cases in some early Greek inscriptions nothing of the kind can be pointed out in the other Indo-European language. It is futile to try to explain away this phenomenon as due to the effect of stress accent, for it is quite certain that in the age of the Ṛg-Veda the accent was still predominantly musical. A close scrutiny of the cases of this reduplication in the present text of the Ṛg-Veda clearly shows us however how it came about and moreover it will help us to improve the text in many places as it lies before us to-day.

It is again with the help of the metre that it is possible to determine where the reduplication of the final nasal is necessary and permissible and where it is due merely to analogy. In fact the metre shows that the reduplication is necessary where after the nasal a final consonant has been dropped,[1] but where no such final consonant has been dropped the reduplication is not usually permissible, although in the vulgate text of the RV. it is regularly reduplicated also in these cases. Thus the final *n* in participial forms such as *śóśucann, āpánn, pratháyann, āpṛṇánn* has to be reduplicated on the evidence of the metre, but in the case of endingless locatives such as *mūrdhán, ékasmin,* and vocatives such as *puruhanman, vajrin* the reduplicated nasal actually disturbs the metre, for in the case of the participles the final nasal was followed by a *t,* whereas in the locative and vocative forms the nasal itself was final. Cf. e.g.

RV. 6, 66, 2 : *yé agnáyo ná śóśucann idhānā́ḥ*
RV. 6, 1, 4 : *śravasyávaḥ śráva āpann ámṛktam*
RV. 4, 53, 2 : *vicakṣaṇáḥ pratháyann āpṛṇann urú.*

In all these cases of participle present the reduplication of the final *n* is necessary on metrical grounds, and it is certainly no mere accident that the reduplicated nasal here represents an original *nt.* But in the case of vocatives such as *puruhanman, vajrin,* e.g.

RV. 8, 70, 2 : *índram tám śumbha puruhanmann*
ávase yásya dvitā́ vidhartári,
RV. 1, 80, 11 : *yád indra vajrinn ójasā,*

and locatives such as *mūrdhán, ékasmin,* e.g.

RV. 6, 45, 31 : *várṣiṣṭhe mūrdhánn asthāt,*
RV. 8, 45, 34 : *mā́ na ékasminn ā́gasi,*

the reduplicated nasal as given in the traditional text of the RV. actually disturbs the metre, for unlike the participles dealt with above, here the nasal had been always final. It is to be concluded therefore that the final redactors of the RV. started reduplicating the final nasal of the participles in reminiscence of the actual pronunciation of the original authors of the hymns,[2] but were soon led astray by mere appearances and began to reduplicate the final nasal also in locatives and vocatives where it had never been followed by another consonant. This confusion had taken place already in the Ṛg-Vedic period, for sometimes in the text of the RV. even the reduplicated nasal of an endingless locative seems to be metrically justified.

---

[1] Of a group of consonants at the end of a word only the first remains and the rest are dropped in Sanskrit.

[2] It is not improbable that the Ṛṣis still pronounced the participles as *śóśucant, āpánt, pratháyant,* etc.

After these cases of nasal reduplication in which traces of the elided final *t* are still clearly found it will be proper to consider another series of cases, for the correct estimation of which however the metre will be of no avail. According to Pāṇini VIII, 3, 30, a *t* can be optionally inserted between a final *n* and an initial *s* (e.g. *san saḥ* > *sant saḥ*). Here too the *t* is not due merely to a phonetic phenomenon (as in cases like *vatsyāmi* < * *vas-syāmi* etc.), but had its origin in those forms in which a *t* had been actually dropped after the final *n*. Afterwards however the reduplication was analogically extended also to those cases where no consonant had been dropped after the *n*. Thus in RV. 10, 40, 12 *ā́ vām agant sumatír vājinīvasū* the euphonic *t* in *agant* is actually of historical origin, but when the same dental appears also after the vocative *rājan* (cf. RV., 1, 91, 4 *rā́jant soma práti havyā́ gṛbhāya*) it is clearly due to mere form-analogy with *agan* etc. We are now in a position also to explain the peculiar Sandhi of *n*+*ś* into *ñ*(*c*)*ch* (Pāṇ. VIII. 3, 31). Here too the process began from those cases where the final *n* was originally followed by a *t*, and this *t* combined with the following *ś* gave rise to (*c*)*ch* (as *tacchiva* < *tat*+*śiva*). Thus in RV. 1, 100, 7 *raṇayañ chū́rasātau* the sandhi of *n*+*ś* into ñ+*ch* is historical, for here the participle *raṇayan* stands for older **raṇayant*, and the apparent sandhi of *n*+*ś* is in fact that of *nt*+*ś*, which in ordinary course would give rise to *ñ*(*c*)*ch*. But cases of sandhi like *vajriñ chnathihi* (1, 63, 5) or *dásyūñ chímyūn* (1, 101, 18) are cases of pure form analogy, for here the final nasal in question had never been followed by a dental.

One of the most remarkable features of the text of the Ṛg-Veda is its vowels of dissyllabic value, the most frequent case being that of gen. plur. in *-ām*. Thus we find no less than five cases of this dissyllabic ending in four verses of one and the same hymn 8, 39:

2. *tanū́ṣu śáṃsam eṣām*
4. *ūrjā́hutir vásūnām*
5. *sá hótā śáśvatīnām*
6. *agnír jātā́ devā́nām agnír veda mártānām.*

On the evidence of the metre the ending *-ām* in each of the five forms *eṣām, vásūnām, śáśvatīnām, devā́nām* and *mártānām* has the prosodical value of two short syllables, so that they will have to be read as *eṣaam, vásūnaam, śáśvatīnaam, devā́naam* and *mártānaam* respectively. In fact in about one-third of its occurrences in the RV. the ending *-ām* in genitive plural has a dissyllabic value and it is curious to note that the same ending has the same dissyllabic value frequently also in the Avesta, and its remote echo can be heard in the corresponding ending also of other Indo-European languages : the circumflex accent of Greek *-õn* and Lithuanian *-ũ*, due to contraction of two different vowels, clearly shows that Sanskrit has here preserved essentially intact the Indo-European state of things. The ending *-ām* is in reality in all the cases cited above the result of combination of the final *a* of the stem with the ending *-ām*.

The dissyllabic value of the ending *-ām* had its origin doubtless in *a*-stems, where contraction of two vowels had actually taken place, and from these *a*-stems they were later easily transferred to other vowel and consonant stems. It may be objected that the dissyllabic value of the ending *-ām* cannot be due to the contraction of the stem vowel *-a* with the *ā-* of the ending, for in the case of *a*-stems the ending in question is *-nām* and not *-ām* from the earliest Sanskrit. But here too the confusion is due to deceptive appearance, for the ending *-ānām* as given in the vulgate text of the RV. has often to be read as *-ām*, which is doubtless the original form. Thus in the stereotyped phrase, *devā́nāṃ jánma*, the first word has sometimes to be read as *devā́ṃ jánma* on the evidence of metre e.g. VI. 51, 2! This is one of the extreme cases of tampering with the original text of the RV.

The circumflex accent of this ending in Greek and Lithuanian calls for a word of explanation. In a syllable with acute accent the pitch of voice attains the highest point about its middle,—during the first half the pitch being ascending, and in the second half descending. But it is characteristic of a syllable with circumflex accent, as may be still observed in Lithuanian, that two such peak-points are reached in course of one and the same syllable, which is, naturally, invariably long. In fact syllables with circumflex accent are as a rule the result of the amalgamation of two separate syllables with two separate peak-points. Now, Greek and Lithuanian have retained in their circumflex the original two separate peak-points although the original two separate syllables have in them been moulded into one. In Sanskrit however the development had been quite different ; although in later days the original circumflex came to be regarded as a simple long in it, in the age of the RV. it still retained its dissyllabic value as shown above, presumably with two separate peak-points.

Besides the genitive plural ending *-ām* various other forms of Ṛg-Vedic noun and verb inflexion contain vowels of dissyllabic value, and most of them can be fully explained historically. The ablative singular ending *-āt* of *a*-stem several times appears to be dissyllabic in value, e.g. *parākā́t* in 8. 5, 31 : *ā́ vahethe parākā́t pūrvīr aśnántāv aśvinā.* The corresponding ending *-õs* in Greek with its circumflex accent again shows that the dissyllabic value of the suffix in question goes back to the Indo-European epoch. In the same way the ending *-ās* in nominative plural has to be read as *-aas* in a few cases, e.g., 1, 105, 5 : *amī́ yé devā sthána triṣv ā́ rocané diváḥ* : here the metre clearly shows that *devā* has to be read as *devaa.* Similarly the word *sómāḥ* in 8. 2, 7 *tráya índrasya sómāḥ* has to be read as *sómaaḥ*, and in 8, 31, 13, *yáthā no mitró aryamā́ váruṇaḥ sánti gopā́ḥ sugā́ ṛtásya pánthāḥ* the forms *gópāḥ* and *pánthāḥ* have to be read as *gopaáḥ* and *pánthaaḥ* respectively.

In the field of verbal flexion too the restored dissyllabic reading of the long vowel throws welcome light on the history of Sanskrit. According to Paṇinean grammar contraction of the augment with the initial radical vowel is obligatory, but, again on the evidence of the metre, the state of things must have been quite different in the Ṛg-Vedic age. Thus in

10, 49, 3 : *ahám̩ kútsam āvam ābhír ūtíbhiḥ,*
10, 108, 5 : *imā́ gā́vaḥ sarame yā́ aícchaḥ*
and 7, 79, 4 : *ví dṛḷhásya dúro ádrer aurṇoḥ*

the respective augmented verb-forms have to be read as *aavam, aḯcchaḥ* and *aürṇoḥ* respectively, which shows that the contraction of the augment with the initial radical vowel had not yet been fully achieved in the age of the Ṛg-Veda. In fact the unanimous evidence of Greek and Skt. proves that the augment was by no means an integral part of the verb-form of tenses for which it was obligatory in later language. It is in origin a preverb which served to indicate that the action in question had taken place in the past. Wherever other concomitant circumstances sufficed to indicate that the action in question had taken place in the past the augment could be, and used to be, omitted. This is the regular usage in earliest Sanskrit and Homeric Greek.

The subjunctive mode, which has been almost completely eliminated from classical Sanskrit, plays an important part in the verbal flexion obtaining in the RV., and its special mode-stem is formed by adding to the tense-stem an *a* (cf. *as-á-t*). But as this *a* often combines with the thematic vowel (cf. ind. *tápati*, subj. *tápāti*) it is often very difficult to distinguish the subjunctive from the corresponding indicative form. Here again the metre comes to the rescue, which often discloses the fact that the contraction of the thematic vowel with the suffixal *a* of the subjunctive mode had perhaps not yet been fully achieved in the age of the Ṛg-Veda. Cf. e.g.

6, 67, 11 : *ánu yád gā́va sphurā́n ṛjipyám,*
10, 50, 5 : *áso nú kam ajáro várdhā́ś ca.*

The subjunctive forms *sphurā́n* and *várdhāḥ* here have to be read as *sphuraán* and *várdhaaḥ* respectively. Sometimes even indicative forms (of roots ending in -*ā*), which had never been extended by the modal suffix *a*, exhibit a long *ā* of dissyllabic value, but they are clearly due to form-analogy with subjunctive forms. Thus a form like *pānti* (from root *pā*-) may be both indicative (*pā*+*n̥ti*) and subjunctive (*pā*+*a*+*n̥ti*), and in this case the dissyllabic *ā* may be easily analogically transferred from subjunctive to indicative. But indicative forms like **pāanti* may also be simply due to form-analogy with *adánti*, etc. as Wackernagel has ingeniously suggested. Sometimes the long radical vowels of sigmatic aorist forms such as *akṣār* (9, 98, 2) are of dissyllabic value, but no historical explanation may be offered for them, and they must be regarded as cases of mechanical transfer from their original sources.

In the cases dealt with above the lengthening of vowels may be explained by grammatically analysing the forms concerned ; but this is not always the case. In a large number of cases in the RV. and sometimes even in the later Vedic literature, vowels which from their origin have been always short, are lengthened apparently only because the metre requires it. It is mostly in connection with these lengthened vowels that the author of the Padapāṭha of the Ṛg-Veda betrays his imperfect knowledge of the text he was dealing with.

As a rule, the lengthening is permitted only in the interior of a verse, and that before a single consonant. Exceptions to this rule are mostly apparent or due to analogy. Thus the final vowel in *ádha* has been lengthened in RV. 4, 10. 2 *ádhā hy àgne* apparently before the consonant group *hy*, but the *pāda* in question has to be actually read as *ádhā hí agne* (with hiatus). Again in RV. 1, 25. 9 *śrudhī* | *hávam* the short *i* of *śrudhi* has been lengthened actually at the end of a *pāda*, but this is clearly due to analogy with the frequent cases of *śrudhī hávam* at the beginning of a verse. Cases of lengthening like RV. 8, 17. 1 *píbā imám* and 8, 34. 11 *raṇayā ihá* are on the other hand ambiguous, for *píbā* and *raṇayā* here may also be regarded as subjunctive instead of indicative forms. These ungrammatical lengthenings are to be explained by the Indo-European rhythmic law which usually did not tolerate a succession of short vowels, as Wackernagel has amply demonstrated in his masterly monograph on the subject. Traces of similar rhythmic lengthening may be still clearly perceived in Greek, cf. *sophós* but *sophṓteros*, *hierós* but *hierōsúnē*, etc. The ungrammatical lengthening of the reduplication syllable of reduplicating aorists such as *ájījanat* (from *jan*-) and *acīkamata* (from *kam-*) is due to this old Indo-European rhythmic law.

It has been proved long ago that the well-known rhythmic law 'vocalis ante vocalem corripitur', which is an important factor in Greek and Latin prosody, is derived from the original Indo-European. Traces of the action of this law may be discovered also in Sanskrit, but mostly on the basis of readings restored with the help of the metre. Thus the trisyllabic *mā́peḥ* out of *mā́ āpéḥ* is actually to be read as *mắ āpéḥ*. This ancient rhythmic law may be perceived also in the cases of hiatus and contraction in the RV. Here hiatus takes place by preference before heavy syllables, and specially before initial vowels followed by a group of consonants. This peculiar tendency of the hiatus clearly shows that in these cases it is not due to the exigencies of metre. In fact, analogous conditions prevailing in Greek prove that here too Sanskrit essentially continues the ancient Indo-European tradition. In Greek too contraction takes place by preference before single consonants and the uncontracted form appears before consonant groups. Thus the word *neós* appears in compound in its uncontracted form before the consonant group *-tt-* in *neottós*, but it is contracted into *nou-* in *noumēnía* before a simple consonant.

Apart from these sporadical cases this rhythmic law is of supreme importance, both in case-suffixes and in primary or secondary derivative suffixes, for it largely determines where the semi-vowels *y* and *v* are to be dissolved into *iy* and *uv* respectively. It has been shown above that the case-ending *-bhyas* has often to be read as *-bhias* (dissyllabic) *metri causa*, but in 120 cases it has a monosyllabic value (*-bhyas*). Now it is significant to note that only in 2 out of these 120 cases the vowel preceding the suffix is short, in all others it is long. The very common suffix *-tya* behaves in exactly the same way: after a long vowel it has always to be read as *-tia* and after a short vowel it is regularly *-tya*. Further, due to this rhythmic law, in the inside of a verse, the pronoun *tya-* is monosyllabic after a light syllable no less than 107 times, and dissyllabic (*tiya-*) only 3 times, and after a heavy syllable it is 26 times dissyllabic and only 7 times monosyllabic. The ancient Indo-European rhythmic law which can be thus perceived in the RV. has left clear traces also in other Indo-European languages, for in Gothic nominal flexion too, similar phenomena may be observed: thus of Goth. *-ja*-stems, those with a heavy base undergo contraction, e.g. *haírdeis* from *haírdja-*; but such contraction is unknown where the base in question is a light one, cf. *harjis* from *harja-*.

In the whole range of Vedic nominal flexion the old forms have nowhere been so much tampered with as in the case of Gen. and Loc.

sg. of *i-*, *u-* and *ṛ*-stems. In classical Sanskrit the endings in question are *-yoḥ*, *-voḥ* and *-roḥ* respectively, but in the RV., on metrical considerations, in the overwhelming majority of cases, these endings have to be read as *-iyoḥ*, *-uvoḥ* and *-aroḥ* respectively,—even after a light syllable. In fact monosyllabic *-yoḥ* occurs in the RV. only in the form *yuvatyóḥ*, which is very probably due to analogy with corresponding case-forms of *ī*-stems of the devī-type (about which in Chapter V), and monosyllabic *-voḥ* does not occur at all in the RV. and appears for the first time in the AV. In the face of such unanimous internal evidence it may be safely concluded that in this respect too the RV. represents the older state of things, although sure traces of these restored endings cannot be found in any other Indo-European language.

In conclusion a few more peculiar features of the text of the RV. may be noted, which however do not reveal any pre-Indian affinities of Sanskrit. In the sound-group *-ṣṭr-* the *r* does not seem to have been pronounced at all, for in forms like *úṣṭrāṇām*, *rāṣṭrāṇā́m* the *n* is never cerebralized, although it is apparently preceded by *r*. The non-pronunciation of *r* in this sound-group may be inferred also from the fact that the feminine of *tváṣṭā* (stem *tváṣṭar-*) is *tváṣṭī* and not *tváṣṭrī*. Another peculiar feature of Ṛg-vedic orthography is that long *ṝ* is regularly represented in it by short *ṛ*, excepting in those cases where palpably similar forms with other long vowels were known; thus *mātṝ́ḥ*, *pitṝṇā́m* are actually written with long *ṝ*, because in analogous forms from *a- i- u*-stems the stem-vowel is actually lengthened. If such a form is written with a short *ṛ* it has yet to be read as long on prosodical grounds; thus *nṛṇā́m*, *tisṛṇā́m* have to be read as *nṝṇā́m*, *tisṝṇā́m*. But where no such palpably similar form with an analogous long vowel is present the long *ṝ* is written as short, e.g. *tṛḷhá* for *tṝḷhá*. Lastly the original text of the RV. has been often disfigured also by Prakritic influence. Thus the word *tredhā́* has to be always read as trisyllabic, which shows that its original form was *trayidhā́* or *trayadhā́*. It can be proved by means of evidence from the Brāhmaṇas that this Prākritic influence had made itself felt at a time when *y* and *v* were still pronounced as *iy* and *uv* respectively.

SOME RECENT VIEWS ON THE GUPTA ERA

By MISS KARUNA KANA GUPTA

Like other problems of Indian chronology, the epoch of the Gupta era had been a matter of much discussion in the early 'eighties. But with the publication of Fleet's theory, supported by the discovery of the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman, it had been generally agreed among scholars that Yr. I of Gupta Era=319-20 A.D. Recently, however, Fleet's theory has been challenged by several scholars. In MAR[1] 1923, Dr. Shamasastry wrote a long article against the date 319-20 A.D. and proposed in its place 200-201 A.D. as the epoch of the Gupta era. In the same article he referred to a paper read by Mr. Hiralal Amritalal Shah before the First Oriental Conference in Poona, on the same subject, in which he had presented 'quite different reasons', and arrived at about A.D. 200 for the initial date of the Gupta era.[2] In MAR 1927, the Bhaṭṭakapatra Grant of Dharasena II was edited, with a query on the correctness of A.D. 319-20 being the epoch of the Gupta era. Mr. Govinda Pai wrote an article in J.I.H., Vols. XI and XII (1932 and 1933), on the Gupta and Valabhi eras, pointing out several reasons, why the date of 319-20 A.D. should be rejected and 272-73 A.D. be accepted instead. Finally we find Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mukherjee writing in the Daulatpur College Magazine (Feb. 1934, and Feb. 1935) on the same subject, and proposing 57-58 B.C. as the initial date of the Gupta era.

At present therefore we have three new theories in the field about the epoch of the Gupta era, widely different from each other, and a number of objections against Fleet's old theory. It is time, therefore, to examine critically the arguments against the era of 319-20 A.D. and also to see whether any of the other theories suit the known conditions better than Fleet's date.

One common characteristic of all these writers seem to be the marked emphasis they lay on tradition. Dr. Shamasastry has admirably summarized this attitude in the introduction to his article. 'Dr. Fleet's theory about the age of the Imperial Guptas was', he writes, 'based on epigraphical and astronomical data alone, practically ignoring the traditional data bearing on the question . . . Had he however received the suggestion that with the selection of another epoch, all the three data, traditional, epigraphical, and astronomical, would not merely find a satisfactory explanation, but also throw a flood of light on what has hitherto been considered a dark period in the early history of India, he would hardly have omitted to notice it and revise and reshape his Gupta chronology'. His subsequent sections of the article show that he has amply made up for this omission on Dr. Fleet's part by approaching the epigraphical data from the standpoint of the traditional, and not in the reverse order, as ought to be the method of a true historian. In other words, he tries to explain epigraphical facts in accordance with theories deduced from old traditions. This remark is true of Mr. Mukherjee also, and of Mr. Pai to a certain extent.

---

[1] Mysore Archæological Reports.

[2] It seems that this paper has not been published as yet. See MAR 1923, p. 30.

The arguments advanced by these scholars against the epoch of 319-20 A.D. may conveniently be summarized under four heads :—

(*a*) Chinese tradition,
(*b*) Jaina and Buddhist tradition,
(*c*) Indian non-sectarian and Brāhmanical tradition,
and (*d*) certain epigraphical data.

The Chinese traditions going against Fleet's epoch are :—

(1) Hiuen Tsang's reference to Mihirakula and therefore Bālāditya and Yaśodharman as having flourished *several centuries* before his time, whereas according to Fleet's chronology, the interval between Hiuen Tsang and Mihirakula ought to be merely one hundred years.

(2) Statements of other Chinese authorities, who also appear to place Mihirakula at a date much before 515 A.D.—and of Rājataranginī, which makes only twelve reigns intervene between Kaṇiṣka and Mihirakula.

(3) Hiuen Tsang's statement that the monasteries of Nālandā were built soon after the Nirvāna of Buddha, by kings who appear to be identical with Kumāra Gupta I, Buddha Gupta, etc. of the Imperial Gupta line.

(4) Itsing's reference to Srī-Gupta as having flourished about 500 years before his time, i.e. in c. 150 A.D.

(5) A Chinese tradition that the Yuechi abolished their monarchy between 200–280 A.D. This proves that Samudra Gupta must have flourished before that date since he is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions as receiving tributes from the Daivaputra Sāhī Śāhānuśāhī or Kuṣāna kings.

(6) Fa-Hian's account shows in some cases conditions widely different from that of Chandra Gupta II's days as known from different

traditions. Śrāvastī and Śrī-Saila were flourishing centres in the days of the Gupta. But they were almost desolate when Fa-Hian visited India. Therefore Fa-Hian's date must have been much later than the Gupta period.

Among the Jaina and Buddhist traditions, the most important are the following :—

(7) A passage in the Jaina Harivaṃśa composed by Jinasenāchārya, referring to the successive rulers of Avantī, seems to state that 725 years had passed after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra when the Guptas became kings. This is an evidence of the Guptas having ruled much earlier than Fleet's date.

(8) According to Jaina tradition, Siddhasena and Pādalipta were contemporaries, and may be placed about the middle of the 1st c. A.D. Siddhasena is known to have converted Vikramāditya of Ujjainī and Pādalipta to have cured King Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra of a terrible headache. The Purāṇas attribute 200 years to 13 Muruṇḍas. From certain other Jaina passages, it is also known that Muruṇḍa and Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna were ruling at the same time. Allowing roughly 250 years to the Muruṇḍas therefore, the last king would fall about the end of the 3rd century A.D. As Samudra Gupta is known to have defeated the Muruṇḍas, the Guptas must be placed before the third century A.D.

(9) Vasubandhu, the disciple of Manoratha, has been connected by Paramārtha with Vikramāditya and his son Bālādityā, i.e. Pura Gupta and Narasiṃha Gupta. As Manoratha flourished before A.D. 150, the Gupta rule must have begun long before it.

(10) The synchronism of Meghavarṇa with Samudra Gupta was wrongly established by Sylvain Lévi. An examination of the Chinese statement and Mahāvaṃśa passages show that there were more than one Meghavarṇa in Ceylon, and as the Meghavarṇa of the 4th century A.D. was Meghavarṇa *Kittiśirī*, while the Chinese rendering is merely Chi-mi-kia-po-mo, evidently some earlier Meghavarṇa is meant, and not the later one. *Kitti* is an indispensable part of the name, the omission of which cannot be looked over.

(11) The third class of evidence mainly centres round the belief that Vikramāditya flourished about 57-58 B.C. and all early references to Vikramāditya are taken by Mr. D. Mukherjee to be proofs of the Guptas having ruled in the 1st century B.C.

(12) As regards the epigraphic evidence, the most formidable one is the fact that while Hiuen Tsang refers to *T'oulou-p'o-po-tou* or Dhruvabhaṭṭa as being the King of Valabhī during his days, the known date of Śilāditya VII, the only Valabhī king who has been mentioned as Dhruvabhaṭṭa in his inscription, is G.S. 447. Now

Hiuen Tsang's date is the middle of the 7th century A.D., but G.S. 447=767 A.D.

(13) A second and apparently important evidence is the Bhaṭṭakapatra Grant of Dharasena II mentioned above, dated in G.S. 257 which mentions a solar eclipse in that year. Astronomical calculations show however that there could not have been any solar eclipse between the years 573–593 A.D.

(14) A third objection, raised by Mr. Pai, concerns itself with the Khoh Plates of Saṃkshobha, G.S. 209, which, according to Fleet's date, would be 528-29 A.D. and mention the words *Gupta-nṛparājya-bhuktau*. This would be impossible, according to him, as the Guptas had been dispossessed of their territories by the Huṇas about 515 A.D.

(15) Similarly he objects to the Bhāvnagar Plates of Dhruvasena I, of G.S. 207 [1] being interpreted according to the era of 319-20 A.D. By doing that, the date would be equivalent to 526-27 A.D., a year in the reign of Yaśodharman. But as the reference to the Valabhī king as meditating on the feet of (tat-pādānudhyāto) the sovereign (Yaśodharman) indicates, the latter was dead by that time.

(16) Besides these, there are two other minor points, one dwelling on the similarity of Gupta and Kuṣāna coins, which seems to indicate that they were contemporaries, and the other on the reference

(17) to the Puṣyamitras in the Bhitari Pillar Inscriptions of Skanda Gupta, who being the descendants of Sunga Puṣyamitra, cannot be suddenly carried down to as late as the 5th century A.D.

At first sight, all this is rather a host of evidence, sternly bearing down upon Fleet's theory, formidable enough in their numerical strength to drive it out of field. But closer study will take the edge out of most of these and it will be seen that they can boast of little except their number. Even leaving aside the fact that most of them contradict each other, so that united, they lead us nowhere, we shall see that not one of them stands on a sound basis.

Firstly, it is a wrong historical method to rely too much upon the accounts of foreign travellers like Hiuen-Tsang and Itsing, and to accept their statements literally. They were foreigners and must have been obliged to rely wholly on current popular tradition, without being able to test them critically. And it must be admitted that the chronological sense of the average Indian has always been regrettably poor. He might quite easily have represented a hundred years as three or more centuries. The confused state of chronology in India during Hiuen Tsang's period is well attested to by the pilgrim's account of the various traditions about the dates of the Nirvāna then current in India. In his endeavour to reach the true date of the Nirvāna, he met with at least ten different dates and consequently was obliged to give up the task as impossible. Moreover, being foreigners, there was always the danger of the Chinese pilgrims misinterpreting the traditional data. Besides, the accounts of Hiuen Tsang as well as the other pilgrims show that they were not above the fault of being over-credulous. They were devoted Buddhists, and since the political history of India was not their first object, we cannot expect them to be critically sensitive in the matters of political facts and chronology. The reference to the building of Nālandā 'soon after' (Watters, ii, p. 164) or 'not long after' (Beal, ii, 168) the death of Buddha is by itself a sufficient proof of this. The traditional date of the Nirvāna, current in Ceylon, is 544 B.C., and the other traditional date now accepted by most scholars because it is supported by certain other data, 484 B.C. Now if the kings who built the Nālandā monasteries belonged really to the Gupta dynasty, as they seem to do, then even the date of 57-58 B.C. would be too late for the beginning of the Gupta period! And if we are to accept 700 years as having elapsed between the first foundation of Nālandā monasteries and the time of Hiuen Tsang, we shall have to believe that Buddha's Nirvāna took place several years before 60 B.C. Evidently therefore Hiuen Tsang's (or for that matter It-Sing's) statements cannot be accepted at their face value and are far from being considered a decisive evidence. All such traditions must be critically edited before they can serve as basic hypotheses in our search for sober history.

---

[1] I.A., Vol. V.

Nor is it possible for us to lay much importance on similar other Chinese authorities. Although their accounts contain some kernels of truth, they cannot be accepted always as historical facts. Indeed their statements are often only partially true or incomplete, if not fallacious. So we cannot accept Mihirakula's date to have been much before A.D. 515 on the evidence of such writings alone. Besides although according to the Rājataraṅginī only 12 reigns intervened between Kaniṣka and Mihirakula, it will not be safe to infer anything from this, firstly because we are not sure about Kaniṣka's period as yet, and secondly because the account of the Rājataraṅginī begins to be reliable only from the 8th-9th century A.D. Its earlier part, particularly the chronology, is not at all trustworthy.

Then again, there might be some truth in the Chinese statement about the abolition of monarchy by the Yue-Chi between 200–280 A.D. But as we learn that Sapor II was helped in his seige of

Amida in 360 A.D., by the king of the Kuṣānas,[1] Fleet's chronology is not much affected by the intermediate revolution.

As regards the discrepancy of Fa-Hian's description with the conditions of Chandra Gupta II's time, it will be seen that for the flourishing condition of Śrāvastī and Śrīśaila, Mr. Mukherjee can lead us back only to two very flimsy traditions. The first depends on the identification of one of the Gupta Vikramādityas with the Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī, who was according to tradition a contemporary of Manoratha, the preceptor of Vasubandhu. The other inference is drawn from a story contained in the Sthala-Māhātmya of Śriśaila, about the romance of Chandrāvatī, a daughter of the Gupta king Chandra Gupta, and the god on the Śrīśaila. This shows, according to Mr. Mukherjee, 'that during Chandra Gupta II's time, Śrī-Parvata was a very important place of pilgrimage.' Unfortunately neither the inference nor the credibility of the data is apparent to us. If we are to believe in all that the Sthala-Māhātmyas tell us, there will be no distinction left between legend and history.

As for the date of Manoratha and Vasubandhu, an examination of the known data about them will soon make it evident that we are far from being sure about their period, and consequently it is most unwise to make their date a basis for further deductions. Watters (i, pp. 211-12) shows that there were two Vasubandhus and two Manorathas and that Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Bālāditya, should not be confused with the 21st Patriarch of the same name. Now this is just what Mr. Mukherjee has done. Secondly, Manoratha and Vasubandhu's date is said to have been within 1,000 years of Buddha's Nirvāṇa.[2] This would mean roughly the latter part of the 6th century A.D., the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa being accepted as c. 484 B.C. Evidently more than one objection of these authors are based upon different dates of the Nirvāna. But when it is a question of at least ten different dates,[3] it is safest not to deduce anything from one of them—and particularly to challenge an old theory on its basis—unless that date is conclusively proved to be the most acceptable. So long as that is not done, we must say that Fleet's scheme has as good a claim as, if not better than other theories in the field.

Mr. Pai's objection to the synchronism between Meghavarṇa and Samudra Gupta, being based on a similar difference in the Nirvāna year is easily explained away. As for Dr. Shamasastry's objection, we find that the full name of the earlier Meghavarṇa with whom they would identify the king referred to by the Chinese author, is Meghavarṇābhya. If we hold *Kittiśiri* to be an indispensable part of the name, there is all the more reason for taking the syllable *ābhya* to be the same. Hence nothing can be deduced against Fleet's theory from this difference also.

---

[1] Cf. Smith E.H.I., p. 290, and n. 2.
[2] Watters, i, p. 357.
[3] See above.

The greatest strength of Dr. Shamasastry's arguments is derived from the Jaina Harivaṃśa passage. Now that passage gives the following list of Avanti rulers :—

(*a*)	Pālakka	ruled for	60	years.
	Nandas	,,	155	,,
	Muruṇḍas	,,	40	,,
	Puṣyamitra	,,	30	,,
	Vasumitra and Agnimitra	,,	60	,,
	Gardabha Kings	,,	100	,,
	Naravāhana	,,	40	,,
	Bhaṭṭubānas	,,	240	,,
	Guptas	,,	231	,,

Then Kalki ruled for 42 years.

Now if we accept this list as true, since Pālakka is said to have ascended the throne on the very night of Mahāvīra's Nirvāna, it will be seen that 725 years had elapsed after 527 B.C. when the Guptas ascended the throne. Accordingly the rise of the Guptas would be c. 198 A.D.

But if we compare with this the other passage cited by Dr. Shamasastry, we shall find that it gives to some extent almost the same list, with one or two important exceptions. The list of Merutunga and other Jaina commentators runs as follows :—

(*b*)	Pālakka	60	years
	Nandas	155	,,
	Mauryas	108	,,
	Puṣyamitra	30	,,
	Bālamitra and Bhānumitra	60	,,
	Nabhovāhana	40	,,
	Gardabhila	13	,,
	Śakas	4	,,

As for the differences between the two lists, we have—

(1) the omission of the Mauryas and Śakas from the Harivaṃśa passage ;

(2) slight differences in names, such as Naravāhana in (*a*) and Nabhovāhana in (*b*) ;

(3) the regnal period of the Gardabhila or Gardabha kings is different in the two passages : (*a*) gives us 100 years, and in (*b*) we have only 13.[1]

Evidently these two lists were compiled from the same ancient tradition, but that tradition has suffered some change under both hands. The nearest approach to the truth therefore would be derived by supplementing one list by the other. Now if we add to the Harivaṃśa list the 108 years of the Mauryas and the 4 of the Śakas, we get 725+112=837 years as measuring the distance between the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra and the rise of the Guptas, which may consequently be attributed to c. 310 A.D. Thus the Jaina passages cited by Dr. Shamasastry is an inconvenient weapon which can be utilized by both sides. It would be wiser to reject such traditions which are capable of different interpretations suiting all theories. He has attempted to override this difficulty by fixing the date of Kalki by a greatly intricate and perfectly unconvincing method, at c. 428–472 A.D. In a verse quoted in the introduction to Gomaṭhasāra of Nemichandra, Chāmuṇḍarāya, whose 'exact date is not known', but nevertheless 'is ascertained beyond doubt to be the close of the 10th century A.D. and the first half of the 11th', is said to have set up a statue in Kalki year 600. From a second colophon it is known that Chāmuṇḍarāya was living in Śaka Śam. 915=993 A.D. Then by various astronomical calculations he shows that this Kalki era must have started in A.D. 427. Therefore he argues, the Guptas must have flourished 231 years before 432 A.D., the date of Kalki's accession according to Nemichandra, i.e. in 200-201 A.D.

Unfortunately very little emphasis can be laid on astronomical calculations, inasmuch as it appears that they can now be made to suit any and every epoch. Mr. Pai and Dr. Shamasastry both claim that their theories are supported by astronomical calculations, while Fleet in his Introduction to C.I.I. III, had made a similar claim fifty years before. Secondly, the tradition of Kalki is so widely distributed all over India, and the belief in the re-incarnation of Kalki so deeply rooted, that we hear of more than one king or semi-mythical person of the same name. Dr. Shamasastry has himself referred to two such examples which are fantastic enough even for the most credulous. It is not possible therefore to believe in a historical person of the same name without more conclusive evidence, far from making new calculations on its basis.

---

[1] There is some difficulty in fixing the regnal period of the Gardabhilas. The Purāṇas give 72 years to 7 kings. At present the best we can do therefore is to accept approximately 100 years for them, following the Jaina Harivaṃśa tradition.

Next to the Harivaṃśa passage, Dr. Shamasastry lays his greatest emphasis on the period of the Muruṇḍas, as derived from Jaina tradition. But we are not at all definite about the total number of years covered by their reign. According to the Purāṇas, it was 200 years ; the Jaina Harivaṃśa attributes 40 years to them, and Dr. Shamasastry takes 250 years for 13 kings, while we might easily believe the regnal period to have been 260–300 years, with the natūral average of 20–25 years for each generation. Here again, there is no conclusive evidence on Dr. Shamasastry's part to prove his theory superior. Besides even after the downfall of the Maruṇḍas there might have been some scions of the family ruling over petty kingdoms and Samudra Gupta's victory over the Muruṇḍas might have referred to one of them. Sten Konow has shown in his Introduction to C.I.I., II, that Muruṇḍa was a Śaka word meaning simply 'over-lord'. It is possible therefore that more than one dynasty of the Śakas might have used that title.

Before concluding our examination of the objections deduced from traditions, it will be interesting to note a curious remark on the part of Dr. Shamasastry, revealing his attitude towards them. In p. 23, MAR 1923, he writes, 'when tampered with, or corrected, no tradition will retain its intrinsic value, and when any traditional statement is made use of in support of any other event, it should be taken as it was preserved'. There is a similar remark on the part of Mr. Pai (J.I.H., XI, p. 174) when he argues that we must accept 544 B.C. as the date of Buddha's Nirvāna, *whether it be the true date or not*, since it has been accepted so long in Ceylonese tradition ! He seems to forget that the intervals of certain events from the Nirvāna are more likely to be remembered than the date of the Nirvāna itself and dates are apt to get confused in the course of several centuries. Clearly such attitude means the negation of the true historical method, whose essence lies in a critical attitude and a capability of distinguishing between fiction and history. Dr. Shamasastry however has proved in the course of his article that this is *not* his true attitude in practice, since he himself has 'tampered' with tradition more than once, particularly while utilizing the Harivaṃśa passage.

Of the arguments based on epigraphy, only No. (12) of the above list requires our close consideration. The rest are due to a misunderstanding of the available data and can easily be proved false. It is generally known that the reading *Puṣyamitrān* in the Bhitari Pillar Inscriptions has never been accepted as final, the alternative reading *Yudhyamitrān* being equally plausible. Besides even if the first reading be accepted, there is no reason for believing them to be direct descendants of Puṣyamitra Sunga. Being mentioned as a tribe, they may rather be connected with the Padmamitras, Paṭumitras and Puṣpamitras of the Purāṇas.

Secondly, the similarity between the Gupta and Kuṣāna coins only shows that the Guptas inherited the Kuṣāna dominions and imitated their type. That the two empires could not have been contemporaneous is proved by the fact that the same tracts were ruled over by both these dynasties. Evidently therefore, there must have been *some* interval between them, though we cannot say definitely that this interval was very great.[1] But even in that case, considering other data, it would be wiser to bring the Kuṣānas down, rather than take the Guptas back to a much earlier period.

Thirdly, it is wrong to suppose, on the analogy of Gupta dynastic lists, that the qualifying words *tat-pādānudhyato* for a feudatory would mean that the king on whose feet the vassal is represented to be meditating, must have been dead. Sovereign kings, regarding none else as their superior, would naturally refer to themselves as meditating on the feet of their fathers from whom their authority was evidently derived. But common-sense bars the acceptance of a view which would have us believe that a feudatory would always refer to the former king, then dead, instead of his living and ruling master. Besides, there is nothing in the plates referred to by Mr. Pai which would make us believe that the sovereign king mentioned there was Yaśodharman ![2]

Mr. Pai's objection (No. 13)[3] to the Khoh Plates of Saṃkshobha being interpreted according to the era of 319-20 A.D. is based on a belief that in 505–515 A.D. the Guptas were dispossessed of all their dominions by the Huṇas. But examination of the known epigraphic data will show that there is no reason to accept this as true. Toramāna and Mihirakula might have wrested the Western dominions of the Guptas from them, but they might most certainly have been ruling over Baghelkhand as well as Bihar and Bengal. The Gupta rule certainly did not end with Narasiṃha Gupta, but was continued for at least three more reigns—of Kumāra Gupta II, Budha Gupta and Bhānu Gupta, even if Vainya Gupta be not accepted as belonging to the Imperial line. These tracts must have been under the uninterrupted possession of the Guptas up to their final decline. Consequently there is nothing against interpreting the plates of Saṃkshobha in the years of 319-20 era.

---

[1] A study of the Gupta coins shows that the Gupta imitations were of the *later* Kuṣāna issues—and of a superior workmanship—evidences of belonging to a later period. Cf. Allan—Intr. to Gupta coins, lxix.

[2] The exact words are simple (*a*) *Akhilamandalabhoga swāmīna parama swāmīna swayâmupaśthita rājyābhisheka*, and (*b*) paramabhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyāto, ...etc.

[3] See above.

So of the formidable list of arguments presented by the scholars mentioned above, only two now remain in the field. It will be seen that even of these two neither can hold ground. We must postpone our final judgment on the Bhaṭṭakapatra Grant for the time being, since there appears to be some confusion with regard to it. Referring to the different publications and notices of the Grant we find that it was first noticed by Mr. Diskalkar in An. Rep. Watson Mu. Rājkot 1925-26, pp. 13f. and 1926-27 pp. 13f. Then in MAR 1927, p. 27, it was summarily edited as referred to above. In this case as well as in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1324, we find the Samvat year given as G. 257, and a note attached that there was no solar eclipse between the years 574–591 A.D. Mr. Pai also has pointed out that there was no solar eclipse between the years 573–592 A.D. On the other hand, Mr. Diskalkar in E.I., XXI, p. 179 has recently edited the same plates, referring to them as hitherto unpublished. What is more curious, though the Samvat year given in the heading is G.S. 257, we find it changed into 254 in the course of the article! He also points out that 'according to Mr. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, pt. I pp. 220f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e. Vaiśākha, according to the Pūrnimānta calculation) on the 19th March 573 A.D.'

Now in the face of these conflicting statements, it is impossible to arrive at a conclusion unless the plates are re-edited carefully and the errors removed. This however will be very difficult as Mr. Diskalkar points out that the plates have been lost, 'the impressions were not properly taken'—and it is well-known how treacherous these impressions often are. Then again, I should like to point out that even if the date 257 is accepted and interpreted according to the era of 272-73 A.D. as suggested by Mr. Pai, it will be seen that the eclipse of 529-30 A.D. could *not* have been visible from Valabhī.[1] As the plates were issued from Valabhī, this is quite a strong argument against accepting Mr. Pai's theory on the basis of the Bhaṭṭakapatra Grant. Considering the three possibilities that (1) the date may have been wrongly read, (2) the plates might have been spurious, (3) and a solar eclipse might after all have taken place in 573 A.D., it is wiser at present to let alone the Grant, until these points are cleared up.

---

[1] Cf. MAR 1927, p. 276.

Similarly there is a suggestion of confusion and probable misconception in Hiuen-Tsang's statement about the contemporary king of Valabhī. The Chinese meaning of the name, as given by the pilgrim, suggests Dhruvapaṭu, rather than Dhruvabhaṭṭa. Silāditya VII is called Dhruvaṭa in his Inscriptions of 447 G.E. (No. 1375—Bhandarkar), and consequently he has been identified with *Tou-lou-p'o-po-tou*. But there must always remain some doubt against this identification, particularly so since Indians were rather free in their use of name-endings like Bhaṭṭa, Varman, Sena, etc. Thus the same king might be called Dhruvasena and Dhruvabhaṭṭa at different times.[1] Until further evidence is forthcoming it will not be wise to accept this identification as final, and to reject the era of 319-20 A.D. on its basis. T'ou-lou-p'o-po-ṭo of Hiuen Tsang might have been Dhruvasena III or the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruvarāja Indravarman for all we know.[2]

The above remarks will show clearly that the basis of the challenge hurled against Fleet's chronology rests on quicksand. As not one of the arguments advanced can stand the test of critical research, the old era may safely be allowed to remain. But since these discussions have been called up, it is perhaps better to submit the newly suggested theories to a further criticism and find out how far they tally with the actual facts of the Gupta period.

There are three known data that can help us positively in fixing the epoch of the Gupta era :—

(1) The Mandasor Inscriptions of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman dated Mālava era 493=436 A.D.[3]

(2) The defeat of the Western Satraps by the Guptas, and the final overthrowal of that dynasty.

(3) The Ganjam Plates of Śaśānka, dated G.S. 300=620 A.D.

Of these, the Mandasor Inscription is the most important positive evidence for the era of 319-20 A.D., and each of the three scholars mentioned above has tried to explain it away and to make it fit in with his particular theory. Mr. Pai and Dr. Shamasastry hold that the Kumāra Gupta mentioned here must be Kumāra Gupta II. In order to make this possible, Mr. Pai makes Kumāra Gupta II rule from G.S. 150–210, i.e. 423 A.D.—483 A.D. according to his calculations. Similarly, Dr. Shamasastry places him in 430–455 A.D., counting backward from Damodara Gupta whom he refers to c. 530–34 A.D. But this is impossible for numerous reasons :—

---

[1] We know that the same Rāṣṭrakūta king was known under the two different names Dantidūrga, and Dantīvarman.

[2] Fleet—Gupta Ins. Intr., p. 40.

[3] The inscription contains two dates. But for our present purpose, we are concerned only with the earlier one.

(*a*) Dāmodara Gupta cannot be referred to c. 530–34 A.D. as he had fought not with the Hūṇas, as Dr. Shamasastry holds, but with the Maukharis, who had done so.[1] His proper date ought to be c. 597 A.D. since Adityasena ruled in Harsha era 66.

(*b*) There is nothing to prove that the later Guptas of Magadha ruled in one line of unbroken succession with the Imperial Guptas. Neither is there any evidence of their having ruled immediately after the latter. Consequently, the period of Dāmodara Gupta cannot help us in fixing the date of Kumāra Gupta II.

(*c*) Thirdly, Kumāra Gupta II's known date is G.E. 154. According to Dr. Shamasastry's date this would mean that Kumāra Gupta II ruled in 354-55 A.D. It is therefore impossible for him to have ruled in 430–455 A.D. as well.

(*d*) Lastly, both Mr. Pai and Dr. Shamasastry have committed the fallacy of ignoring the full evidence of Buddha Gupta's inscriptions. According to Mr. Pai, Buddha Gupta was not a paramount sovereign at all, as in his inscriptions he is called merely a *bhupati* and not *mahārājādhirāja*. Evidently he has overlooked the testimony of Buddha Gupta's Dāmodarpur C.P. of year 163 where he has been given full Imperial titles. Nor can he be regarded as sovereign merely in the western part of the Gupta empire, as Dr. Shamasastry takes him to be, because we have his Sārnāth Inscription of year 157, subsequent to Kumāra Gupta II's Sāranāth Inscriptions of year 154, and his Eran Pillar Inscription of year 165. Consequently, Kumāra Gupta II could not have been ruling in 164 G.E. and the only alternative left to us is to accept the Kumāra Gupta of the Mandasor Inscription as Kumāra Gupta I. The theories of Dr. Shamasastry and Mr. Pai thus fall to the ground.

Mr. Mukherjee's method of explaining the Mandasor Inscription is curiously simple. In the first place he has identified the Gupta era with the Vikrama era of 57-58 B.C. and made Chandra Gupta I its founder by attributing to him the epithet Vikramāditya, although we possess no evidence of his ever using such a title. Then he proposes a second identification—of the Mālava era with the earlier Srī Harsha era, which, according to Alberuni, started 400 years before the Vikrama Samvat. 493 Mālava era would therefore be 93 V.S. or G.S. and he places Kumāra Gupta I in 93 G.S. although we know that Chandra Gupta II ruled at least down to year 93. His grounds for the above identification we may summarize in his own words. 'Darśaka or Harshaka started building Pāṭaliputra but died before he could finish it . . . . . Udayāśva, in memory of his brother-in-law Harshaka, started the new Harsha era from the date of his accession . . . . . the river Kritamala flowed through the Pāndya Capital Madura (South Mathurā), to commemorate the name of their mother river the era . . . . . also bore the name Kṛta'. It is needless to waste time discussing such a theory.

---

[1] Cf. Aphsaḍ Ins.—Fleet—Gupta Ins., p. 200f.

Mr. Mukherjee simplifies the other difficulties also by making the Kuṣānas the Western Satraps and the Guptas all use the V.S. But if we believed that, we would have to hold that the Gupta victory over the Śakas was contemporaneous with the reign of Rudradāmana, and that soon after the reign of Chandra Gupta II Mālwa and Kāthiwād passed again into the hands of the Śakas, whose rule then existed up to year 388 (i.e. over nearly three centuries) at least. This is a contradiction of known facts. The evidence of coins shows that the pieces issued in Mālwa and Kāthiwaḍ by the Śakas about year 388+x were restruck by the Guptas. We know also that Mālwa remained under Gupta suzerainty up to the days of Buddha Gupta, and Kāthiwaḍ was ruled over firstly by Gupta Viceroys at least down to G.S. 138, and afterwards by the powerful Maitrakas who remained feudatories to the Guptas for quite a long period. Similarly the eras of 200-201 A.D. and 272-73 A.D. would make the Gupta victory over Śakas take place during the reigns of Bhatṛdāman and Svāmī Rudrasena III respectively,[1] after whom the Śaka rule continued for at least 100 years in the first case and more than 22 years in the latter. Both these theories, therefore, ought to be rejected.

Thus we see that the Mandasor Inscription as well as the history of the western Satraps support the theory of 319-20 A.D. The other positive evidence for the case of Fleet's chronology are the Ganjam Plates of Śaśānka, G.S. 300. As we know that Śaśanka was a contemporary of Harshavardhana, evidently the G.S. must have started in the first quarter of the 4th century A.D., i.e. A.D. 319-20. Mr. Mukherjee attempts to explain this away by holding that Śaśānka was a Mahāsāmanta under Rājyavardhana—that both the Rohtasgadh seal as well as the 'real sense of Hiuen Tsang's statement' point to it—and therefore he could not have been identical with the Śaśānka of the Ganjam plates who appears to be an influential and sovereign king. But Hiuen Tsang's reference to Śaśānka is always by the title of king [1] and it is not clear why Śaśānka should be mentioned as so dangerous an enemy, particularly of Buddhism, if he was a mere vassal under Harsha, the patron of that religion. Secondly, Mr. Mukherjee tries to show that although Śaśānka murdered Rājyavardhana, when the latter was the king, 'Harsha never fought Śaśānka', because 'he was his Mahāsāmanta and owed allegiance to him'. Surely this is distorting history to suit a particular theory. It is expressly mentioned by Hiuen Tsang that Harsha 'set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection'.[2] Hiuen Tsang's statement is clear enough; Śaśānka, the king of Karnasuvarṇa, was an enemy of Harsha and there is every reason to suppose that this king, who figures so prominently in the history of the early part of the 7th century A.D., must have been identical with the influential king of the same name, mentioned in the Ganjam Plates.

---

[1] The western Satrap coins were most probably dated according to the Śaka era. See Rapson C.A.D., i.e. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty Introduction.

All these points being considered it is impossible to accept these new theories which are based on so very weak arguments and are in flagrant contradiction to some of the well-established historical facts.

---

[1] Cf. Watters i, 343, ii, 43, 92, 115, 116, 192.

[2] Cf. Watters i, p. 343.

THE ROYAL CROWNS OF INDIAN KINGS

By P. K. Acharya

The royalty in ancient India, in the age of the Śilpaśāstra to be more precise, was divided into nine classes on the basis of the corresponding division of their orders, insignia, qualifications, powers, measures, actions,[1] kingdoms, entourage, army, revenue-system, forts and cities, palaces and mansions, and pavilions and their various component parts and auxiliary courts, offices, residences, gardens, cemeteries and cremation grounds, arches, theatres, personal ornaments and house-furniture, and lastly the thrones, crowns and coronations. From these royal equipments it will appear that the Indian kings did not get their title as a mere honour, personal or hereditary, from a superior authority in recognition of their services, public or private. On the other hand, it appears clear from our *śāstra* and history that they had to qualify themselves for the title by birth, education and property. In other words, the title implied the substance and symbol of real power, and not the mere paper diploma of an honorary insignia of meaningless, bombastic and unpronounceable phrases. In fact, in the times of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature that is up to the pre-Christian era, the royal title did not go beyond the expressions Rājā, Mahārājā, and Chakravartin.[2] The Persian invasions by Darius in the fifth century B.C. and the Grecian invasions led by Alexander the great in the fourth century B.C. could not deprive the Indian kings of the substance of their powers. The kings of the Śiśunāga, Nanda, and Maurya dynasties were content with the real Indian titles of Rājā and Mahārājā alone. But from the beginning of the Christian era India became subject to the constant attack of the central Asian nomadic Yuechi hordes who left for good their hearth and home in search of a land of gold and sunshine for their permanent residence unlike the earlier Persian and Grecian invaders who came for the purposes of plunder alone like the earliest Pathan and Mughal invaders of the mediaeval ages. Like the kings of the Arabian Night stories who found themselves overnight installed upon royal thrones by some miracles from their humble position, the homeless nomadic Yue-chi hordes mingled with Sakas and Kushans whose territories they had destroyed when found themselves enthroned over the fertile and sunny Indian Empire seem to have lost their heads owing to an overflow of fortune and began to assume bombastic titles like the Daivaputra, Shāhānushāhi, combining the Indian and the Persian ones in a disproportionate manner. Thus from the times of these Indo-Scythian settlers, the royal titles began to be mere verbose and the imperial Gupta kings when by their matrimonial connections with the Lichchhavis of the Himalayan borders came to powers from their original humble position to rule over a portion of the Indian Empire assumed as many as five to seven bombastic titles at one time ; the meanings thereof could hardly be applicable in most cases of those who assumed them like the prefix *Śrī* numbering one, five and eight to one hundred and one, five and eight, and even to one thousand and one added before the names of chiefs and land-holders whose pecuniary income and intrinsic powers are far below those of a district collector of no pretension to any title. Thus one and the same king of a limited territory was called Mahārājā, Rājādhirāja, Parmeśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, Mahāraka, and Chakravarttī.[1]

---

[1] Their six qualities consist of valour, energy, firmness, ability, liberality and majesty, (*Manu-Samhita*, VII, 100).

Their three-fold powers consist of majesty (*prabhava*), energy (*utsaha*) and counsel (*mantra*), (*Amarakosha*, 2, 8, 1, 19).

The six measures comprise alliance, war, marching, halting, dividing the army and seeking protection, (*Manu*, VII, 100).

The three-fold actions are known as mobilization (*pratyutkrama*), array (*prakrama*), and advance (*upakrama*).

[2] महाराज—' a great king ' is frequently referred to in the Brahmanas, Aitareya, vii. 34, 9; Kausitaki V.S.; Satapatha 1. 6, 4, 21; ii. 5, 4, 9. Brihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, ii. 1, 19; Maitrāyani Upanishad, ii. 1.

It seems to mean no more than a king, or rather perhaps a reigning and powerful king, as opposed to a mere prince, who would also be called राजन् ।

राजाधिराज—' King of kings ', later a title of paramount sovereignty, is only found in Vedic literature in the late Taittiriya Āranyaka (i. 31, 6) as a divine epithet.

Rāmāyaṇa—राजा and महाराजा are the only titles mentioned.

Mahābhārata—राजा and महाराजा are the only titles mentioned.

चक्रवर्ती—Mat.P., Chap. 142, 59–73 ; Vish. II, III, ii. 57.

राजन्—Ag.P., ccxviii. 1–35 ; ccxx. 1–42 ; ccxxi. 36, 42 ; ccxxii. 1–6 ; 11–19, etc. ; ccxxiii. 4–41, 16, etc. ; ccxxiv. 1–42 ; ccxxv. 1–33 ; ccxxvi. 5–20 ; ccxxviii. 1–8 ; ccxxiv. 2–25 ; ccxxxiii. 11–26 ; ccxxxv. 1–17 ; ccxxxvi. 1–66, ccxxxvii. 1–19 ; ccxxxviii. 1–22 ; ccxxxix. 1–48 ; ccxl. 1–32 ; ccxli. 1–68 ; ccxlv. 1–6 ; ccliii. 30–34, 66 ; cclviii. 81–83 ; cclxviii. 1–31 ; cclxix. 1–39 ; cclxxvi. 25.

Vish.P., I, xxii. 16, etc. ; III, xiii. 34, 38, etc. ; Mat.P., Chap. 215, 2–99 ; Chap. 216, 1–38 ; Chap. 217, 1–87 ; Chap. 218, 1–38 ; Chap. 219, 1–34 ; Chap. 220, 1–47 ; Chap. 222, 1–10 ; Chap. 223, 1–16 ; Chap. 226, 1 ; Chap. 240, 2–27.

[1] Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudrādāman of the 1st century :—

(*a*) राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य ।

In the age of the Śilpa-śāstra, however, the epithets of all things had to justify themselves because it was an age of art and

---

(*b*) राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य ।

Kushan of 2nd and 3rd centuries:

(*a*) Sin. Vihar Copper-plate Inscr. of the year 11:—

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य.... ।

(*b*) Ara Inscr. of the year 41:—

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य (Ka) i (Sa) rasa Vajheshkaputrasa.

Gupta of the 4th and 5th centuries: In Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscr. we find महाराज and महाराजाधिराज, later on coupled with महेश्वर (supreme lord) and परमभट्टारक (most worshipped one). Cf. Alina grant of Śilāditya, VII. A Rewa grant of त्रैलोक्यमल्ल, dated v.s. 1297 says: परमभट्टारकेत्यादि राजावलित्रयोपेत.... । Other titles of paramount sovereignty are महाराजाधिराज and चक्रवर्ती ।

1st half of 6th century: Mandasor Stone Inscr. of Yasadharman and Vishnuvardhana:—

स जयति जनेन्द्र....नराधिपति....नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं राजाधिराज परमेश्वर.... ।

7th century: Madhuvana, Copper-plate of Harsha:—

परममहेश्वर महेश्वर इव सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीहर्षः ।

Deoli Plate of Krishna III. 862 Saka 940-41 A.D.:—

स च परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर.... ।

परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर.... ।

7th century: Sunsadi Plates of Siladitya II (669-70 A.C.):—

परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर चक्रवर्तिः श्रीधर सेनः.... ।

Bangarh grant of Mahipada I (who ruled 978–1030 A.D.):—

परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराज..परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः ।

Sen Kings of 10th and 11th centuries:

(*a*) Barrackpur Copper-plate of Vijaya Sena:—

महाराजाधिराज..परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद् विजयसेनदेवः कुशली ।

(*b*) Naihati Copper-plate of Vallala Sena:—

महाराजाधिराज..परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद् वल्लालसेनदेवः कुशली ।

(*c*) Anulia and Govindpur Copper-plate of Lakshmaṇa Sena:—

परमेश्वर परमवैष्णव (or) परमनारसिंह परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमल्लक्ष्मण सेनः ॥

architecture where not a single member of moulding could assume meaningless title not warranted by its form and substance. In that age of truth and reality and for those solid practical purposes the royalty was classified in a descending order into Chakravartin, Adhirāja, otherwise called Mahārāja, which later became combined as Mahārājādhirāja, Narendra, Pārshṇika, Paṭṭadhara, Maṇḍaleśa, Paṭṭabhāj, Prāhāraka and Astragrāha. As stated above these orders of kings were based upon neither on birth alone nor on the favour of a superior authority but upon various qualification and property franchise. But we are concerned here only with the Crowns which are the culminating royal insignia. It is, however, regrettable though logical, that all traces of even such an insignia should have entirely disappeared and the Indian Kings should have been left to their fancy to devise some sort of head dress including the Western top hats and the Eastern *Pagries* of all sorts having entirely forgotten the various types of the crowns and the occasions of their use.

The four occasions for which the various types of crowns are required are known as *Prāpta* or *Prathama*, *Maṅgala*, *Vīra*, and *Vijaya*. *Prāpta* means 'received', i.e. when the royal office comes to a king by inheritance or otherwise. This is also called the *Prathama* or 'first' coronation-function with a special type of crown in celebration of assumption of the exalted office. *Maṅgala* implies 'auspicious occasions' like the public and ceremonial entry of the king to some festivals or assemblies. For this purpose the kings used to wear a special type of Crown. *Vīra* means a 'hero': here it denotes some heroic achievement, for the celebration of which a special crown was required. It would correspond to the present-day 'honour' awarded by the King-Emperor or the Viceroy, and also with the 'diploma' conferred by a University or other educational associations. In both these latter cases also the paper 'honour' or 'diploma' is associated with some insignia or uniform but not with any real crown. *Vijaya* implies 'victory' in warfare, which event also was celebrated by a sort of fresh coronation with a special type of crown.

The types of crowns comprise Jaṭā, Mauli,[1] Kirīṭa, Karaṇḍa, Śirasraka, Kuntala, Keśabandha, Dhammilla, Alaka, Chūḍa, Mukuṭa and Paṭṭa. There were three kinds of the Paṭṭa-crown. The Patra-paṭṭa was assigned to the Paṭṭadhara class of kings, Ratna-paṭṭa for the Maṇḍaleśa kings, and the Pushpa-paṭṭa for the Paṭṭabhāj order. The lowest orders of kings known as the Prāhāraka and the

---

[1] These two types—Jaṭā and Mauli—are generally reserved for certain groups of deities.

Astragrāha were not entitled to put on a real crown or a diadem. Their head dress consisted of the *Pushpamālya* or a sort of flower-garland. Thus of the nine orders of kings the remaining four alone could put on a real crown. The Kirīṭa crown was reserved for the Chakravarttī (otherwise called Sārvabhauma) and the Mahārāja (otherwise called Adhirāja) orders of kings, the Karaṇḍa crown for the Narendra class and the Śirastraka for the Pārshṇika group. The Chakravarttī and the three higher orders could put on occasionally on the Makuṭa and the Karaṇḍa types also.

The Kuntula and the Makuṭa types were reserved for the consort of the Chakravarttī order, the Keśabhandha type for the queens of the Mahārāja (Adhirāja) and the Narendra orders, the Dhammilla and the Makuṭa types for the queens of the Pārshṇika, Paṭṭadhara, Maṇḍaleśa, and Paṭṭabhāj Kings, and the Alaka and Chūḍaka for the wives of the Prāhāraka and Astragrāha kings.

The artistic details of the crowns refer to the dimensions, designs, ornaments, and the number of gems and jewels to be set therein. The height of the crowns varies in accordance with the importance of the royal bearers. It may be equal to the length of the face, or twice or thrice thereof. The height of the Kirīṭa crown of the Chakravarttī order should be equal to the base of his head, but the same type of crown when used by the Mahārāja (Adhirāja) kings should be one-sixteenth part less in height. The height of the Karaṇḍa crown reserved for the Narendra kings should be two parts (out of the sixteen) less, and that of the Śirastraka crown for the Pārshṇika kings should be eight parts (out of the sixteen) less. The height of the Makuṭa crown for the queens of the Chakravarttī and Mahārāja (Adhirāja) should be equal to the girth of their head, or three-fourths or one-half thereof, and the height of the crowns of all other royal consorts should be equal to the length of their face. But the height of the Dhammilla type assigned to the queens of the Pārshṇika, Paṭṭadhara, Maṇḍaleśa and Paṭṭabhāj and the Alaka type for the wives of the Prāhāraka and Astragrāha kings should be less than the length of the face by one-fourth and one-half respectively.

The height of the Patra-paṭṭa turban for the Paṭṭadhara kings should be one-third of the girth of the head, that of the Ratna-paṭṭa for the Maṇḍaleśa should be one-fourth, and that of the Pushpapaṭṭa for the Paṭṭabhāj should be one-sixth of the girth of the head.

The height of the crest-jewel above the (Makuṭa) crown is excluded from the height proper of the crown. The Jaṭā, Makuṭa, Keśabandha, and Kuntala crowns should be triangular in general plan with the pattern of three-fold pocket, three-fold cup, three-fold leaf, three-fold cavity, or three-fold casket. The Kirīṭa and

Mauli crowns should resemble the ear in general design. The Karaṇḍa should look like the beak of peacock and the Śirastraka like the bubble. The Dhammilla should be shaped like the creeper. The Alaka should resemble a curl of hair and the Chūḍaka should be like the crest of a cock or peacock in general plan. The crown Kirīṭa (or Mukuṭa) assigned to the Chakravarttī order should be furnished with garlands made of ten leaves, rows or strings of gold pieces and jewels. The ornaments may vary in number from five hundred to one thousand, two thousand and two thousand five hundred in the small, intermediate and large size. The variation of the ornaments also depends upon the occasions of the use of the crown. Different crowns are used for the four coronations, namely, Prāpta or Prathama, Maṅgala, Vīra and Vijaya.

The number of jewels in the Makuṭa crown of the consort of the Chakravarttī order should be half of those prescribed for the King's crown. But the jewels in the crown of the same name assigned to the Mahārāja (Adhirāja) order may be up to two thousand, classified as before into three varieties. For the Makuṭa crown of the Narendra King, however, the jewels should number five hundred, one thousand, and one thousand and five hundred in the three varieties. In the Śirastra crown of the Pārshṇika Kings there should be four hundred, eight hundred, and twelve hundred jewels. In the Patra-Paṭṭa crown of the Paṭṭadhara Kings there should be three hundred, six hundred and nine hundred jewels ; in the Ratna-paṭṭa crown of the Maṇḍaleśa Kings the jewels should number two hundred, four hundred, six hundred and in the Pushpa-paṭṭa crown of the Paṭṭabhāj Kings there should be one hundred, two hundred and three hundred jewels in the three varieties.

As a general rule the height of the royal crowns being divided into twenty-six parts, the forehead fillet should be of five parts, the crest of two-and-a-half parts, the ear of five parts, and the bottom of six parts, and the rest for the head proper. This height of the crest jewel extends from the band to the bud ornament. Along the height of the lower band one part should be covered with garlands of jewels and all the circular members are discreetly fitted thereto. All other regions are generally furnished with wave-mouldings the interior of which is adorned with flowers of jewels. The ear-parts are adorned with crocodile-carvings, the interior of which is furnished with jewel bands surrounded with ornamental leaves. The jewel band is made in front, and on the outside it is surrounded with creepers. In the face-part of the crocodile the garland of creepers with projection is carved. At the front and back there is a continuous string of crocodiles.

There is a characteristic difference in the mouldings, ornaments and adornments with jewels and gems of all the crowns. The plates may serve as illustrations.[1]

The Chapter (XLIX) of the *Mānasāra*, the standard work on the Śilpaśāstra, dealing with the divine and royal crowns opens with a discourse on the necessity of making proper gifts to the artist. These gifts comprise young girls and other maids together with an assemblage of wealth and jewels, corn, land, houses, servants and conveyances. 'If the heart of the artists be gratified' it is stated, 'the master will attain his desirable fruit, but if the artist be dissatisfied (at the gifts) all prosperity will be ruined'. This perhaps implies that without the prospect of a handsome remuneration and reward the artistic finish of the crown, of whichever type it may be, is not possible. In fact, art cannot prosper without proper patronage and generous encouragements.

---

[1] For further details readers are referred to the writer's Indian architecture, pp. 64–66.

Dictionary of Hindu architecture, pp. 130, 223–225, 330-331, 461, 515-516.

The Mānasāra, Text, pp. 313–321.

,, ,, Translation, pp. 483–496.

Illustrations, Vol. V, Plates CXXXVIII, CXXXIX, CXL.

HEARTH AND HOME

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

वास्तु संक्षेपतो वक्ष्ये गृहादौ विघ्ननाशनं (Garuḍa P., Ch. 46.)

The ' hearth ' is primarily a ' fire-place ' which symbolizes the abode of comfort and hospitality. The ' home ' is primarily a dwelling-place which symbolizes the centre of an institution—domestic, religious, charitable, or educational. The ' homestead ' represents a dwelling-house with the adjacent ground, the enclosure, and the out-buildings. The Sanskrit term *vástu* or *vastu* [1] (Pali *vatthu*) primarily denotes a site, the site for a building, the site for a garden, the site for a dwelling-house, the site for a monastery, in short, for all that is implied by a homestead, or ' hearth and home '. The term, as employed in Indian Vástuvidyá or Sthapatividyá [2], denotes not only the site but all that is erected or built thereon. A householder is a *gṛhí*, *gṛhapati*, or *gṛhastha* (Pali, *gihí*, *gahapati* or *gahaṭṭha*), and the fire which is kept ablaze by a *gṛhapati* is called *gárhapatya*.[3] There is no conception of a home in Indian literature, domestic or religious, without its association with a fire-place (*agni-śálá*, *agyágára*).

The Vedic texts repeatedly speak of ' fixed dwellings, villages and towns ', ' cities [4] made of stone and iron having stuccoed or plastered houses', 'cities having vast comprehensive, thousand-doored, thousand-columned dwellings',[1] 'dwellings having halls (*prácína vaṃśa*).[2] In them we have the use of *āgāra*[3] or *gṛha*[4] (both singular and plural) to denote a dwelling-house for men. The word *gṛha* is also used to denote a shed for cattle[5] and for sheep.[6] A dwelling-house is said to have been composed of several rooms that could be securely shut up.[7] The house consisted of, in addition to other rooms, a *havirdhāna* (oblation-holder), an *agniśāla* (fire-place), a *patnínām sadana*[8] (inner apartments for ladies), *sadas* (sitting rooms), and a *dhanadhāni*[9] (treasure-house, or granary). The *gṛha* as a homestead also included the stables and the rest, and used to be surrounded by a fence or a wall of some sort.[10] Other terms used in connection with dwellings are: *śālā*,[11] *harmya*,[12] *nivesana*,[13] and *duroṇa*.[14]

---

[1] Vástu—Gṛhayogya bhūrvāstu ; gṛhakaraṇayogyabhūmiḥ.

[2] Vástuvidyá—see Ch. 52. Bṛhatsaṁhitá ; Vástuyuktiḥ in Yuktikalpataru, pp. 26–35 ; Vástu in Śabdakalpadruma ; Vástuvidyá-visáradaḥ in Brahmapuráṇa, Ch. 47, 3 (Poona ed., 1895, p. 139) ; one of the 64 kalās, Vátsyáyana's Kámasūtra, I, iii, 14.

Sthapti-vidyá—Sthapati : during Vedic period he was a Royal Official—A.V., II, 32, 4 ; V, 23, 11 ; Taitt. Saṁ., IV, 5, 2, 2 ; Vāj. Saṁ., XVI, 19 ; Śat. Brāh., V, 4, 4, 17 ; etc. ; subsequently he came to be regarded as Vástuvidyávidhánajño laghuhasto jitaśramaḥ, dírghadarśí ca śūraśca sthapatiḥ parikirtitaḥ, Matsya P., Ch. 189. He was honoured by a householder along with gods and brahmins :—

भक्ष्यैर्नानाकारैर्दध्यक्षतसुरभिकुसुममधूपैश्च ।
दैवतपूजां कृत्वा स्थपतीनभ्यर्च्य विप्रांश्च ॥ 99, Ch. 53, Bṛhatsaṁhitá ; cf. also

Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. xiii, 15, 16.

[3] Gṛhapatisaṁyukto gārhapatyaḥ agni, etc.

[4] R.V., II, 19, 6, 8 ; IV, 30, 20 ; VI, 47, 2 ; VII, 19, 5. *Pūr* and *pūra* occur more than sixty times in the whole of the Rigveda Saṁhitá. Sāyana takes both the terms to mean *nagara* or city. The *pūras* might be built on hills (R.V., I, 130, 7), they were very often made of *ayas* (VII, 15, 14), and of stone (*aśman*, IV, 30, 20)

In the next stage of Indian literature, as represented by the Pali Canonical literature, the Arthaśāstra, the two Sanskrit Epics, and the rest, we have ample evidence of the great advance made in India in respect of the art of building. Even the earliest portions of the extant Pali Canon clearly refer to *Vatthuvijjá* (Vástuvidyá) as one of the many sciences and arts that had developed by the time. The Vatthuvijjá or Vástuvidyá was but another name for Sthapati-vidyá, the art of the architect, mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. The art of building also came to be known as Vaḍḍhakisippa, the professional art of a builder. The common term to denote a householder was, of course, *gahakāraka*[15] (*gṛhakāraka*) which is explained

---

and were provided with gates (*dura*, VI, 18, 15). For a discussion on the meaning of *pūr* and *pūra*, see K. M. Gupta's The Land System and Agriculture of the Vedic Age, Orientalia, Part II, pp. 525–528.

[1] R.V., VII, 88, 5.

[2] Śat. Brāh., III, 1, 1, 6, 7; 6, 1, 23; IV, 6, 8, 20.

[3] A.V., IV, 36, 3; Kauś. Up., II, 15.

[4] R.V., II, 42, 3; III, 53, 6; IV, 49, 6; etc.; A.V., I, 27, 4; III, 10, 11; VI, 137, 1; etc.; Ait. Brāh., VIII, 21, 26; etc., Vāj. Saṁ., II, 32; IV, 33; etc.; Śat. Brāh., I, 1, 2, 22; 6, 1, 19; etc.

[5] R.V., VII, 56, 16; A.V., I, 3, 4.

[6] R.V., X, 106, 5; A.V., III, 3.

[7] R.V., I, 69, 2; A.V., V, 31, 5; VI, 120, 1; etc.

[8] A.V., IX, 3, 7.

[9] Taitt. Āraṇ. X, 67.

[10] R.V., VII, 55, 6.

[11] A.V., V, 31, 5; VI, 106, 3; etc.; Śat. Brāh., III, 1, 1, 6; etc.

[12] Palace of Yama, A.V., XVIII, 4, 55.

[13] R.V., IV, 19, 9; VII, 19, 5.

[14] R.V., III, 1, 18; 25, 5; IV, 3, 1; V, 76, 3; A.V., VII, 17, 3. For a complete information, see Wilson, Vol. I, Intro. xli; Vol. II, Intro. xv; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 229-230; Zimmer-Altindisches Leben, 155.

[15] Dhammapada 153, 154—Th. I, 183, 184; Dh. Comm., III, 128.

as being a synonym of *vaḍḍhakí*.[1] The skilled builders, or trained architects were honoured as *thapatis* (Sk. *sthapatis*),[2] and it appears that it became a custom with an Indian monarch, as early as the Buddha's time, to keep two *thapatis* in his service, the Pali Dhammacetiya Sutta immortalizing the names of two such *thapatis*, Isidatta and Purápa, in the service of King Pasenadi of Kosala.[3]

Almost all the words which are catalogued in Sanskrit lexicons, the Amarakoṣa and the rest, *veśma*, *sadma*, *sadana*, *bhavana*, *ágára*, *álaya*, *nilaya*, *oka*, *niketana*, *geha*, *śálá*, *mandira*, *vása*, *nivása*, *saṁvása*, *ávása*, and the like, are met with in the texts of the Pali Canon and other contemporaneous Indian works. It is not always easy to distinguish between the significance of one set of words and another. But a broad distinction in meaning of the terms employed may be realized from a general classification of the homesteads with reference to the persons, or classes of persons, who use them. The people of India were broadly divided into the *gṛhí*, those who kept to household life, and the *pravrajita*, those who adopted the ascetic and wandering life. The first comprised the common people and the aristocracy, the latter best repesented by the king and his family. The second comprised the *tāpasas*, or hermits, and the *bhikkhus*, or *parivrājakas*, the wandering ascetics, recluses, religious mendicants including the members of the Buddhist Holy Order. The parks and the public or private gardens[4] formed then as now a necessary part of the scheme of house-building, and as such they are allowed a place within the scope of the Vástuvidyá or Sthapatividyá.

Here we are to understand 'hearth and home' in this broad sense and to treat the whole subject mainly from the point of view of the part played by plants, either as a source of building materials, or as constituting the natural and æsthetic surroundings, or even as a means of decoration.

---

[1] Cf. *nagara-vaḍḍhakí*, the architect of a city, Miln., II, 1, 9. For detail see Indian Architectural terms by Coomaraswamy, Jour. A.O. Soc., Vol. 48, 3, pp. 250–275. For other meanings of the term *vaḍḍhakí*, see J.R.A.S. (1901), p. 863 with footnote.

[2] See *ante*. In the Jaina tradition the *thapati*, or the master-builder, is counted as one of the 14 'jewels' of a Royal Court, Uttarādhyayanasūtra Commentary. Cf. Coomaraswamy, p. 272.

[3] Majjhima, II, p. 123: Isidatta (Ṛṣidanta)-Purápa thapatayo mamabhattá mamayānā ahaṁ nesaṁ jívitaṁ dātā, yasassa āhattá: King Pasenadi said: 'Ṛṣidatta and Purāṇa, the two architects, are my men, my employees. I provide them with livelihood, and I procure fame for them.'

[4] For information on this interesting subject, see Upavana-Vinoda, pp. 17-18: Construction of a Garden-house. See also Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, Ch. ii, where provisions are made for Imperial and public game forests, placed in charge of Forest Officers (Kupyādhyakṣas, cf. Sukra. I, 665-666) and forest guards. Shyama Sastri ed.

I. Hearth and Home of Common People

The general Pali word to denote a dwelling-place, or residence of a person, is *vasanaṭṭhāna* (Sk. *vāsasthāna*), and the mode of life of a common householder is called *gharāvāsa* [1] (household-life). The word *gharāvasatha* is employed in the sense of a dwelling-house. A *giñjakāvasatha* [2] denoted a brick-built house. The dwelling-place of a householder is simply called a *ghara* [3] which is said to have been provided with door-posts (*dvāra-bāhā*).[4] These houses had each an outer side and an inner side, and the homestead also contained a kitchen (*pākaṭṭhāna* or *randhanaśālā*), a granary (*koṭṭhaka*), a store-house (*bhaṇḍāra* or *bhaṇḍasālā*), an extra house for guests and visitors (*asanasālā*), cattle-shed (*go-sālā*), and the like with an adjoining aviary (*viṭaṅka*) and the whole house used to be surrounded by a wall or a fencing of some sort.[5] If the householder happened to be an artisan, the homestead also contained an additional workshop (*āvesana*, *sippasālā*), such as *kumbhakārasālā*, *tantuvāya-sālā*, *kammāra-sālā*, etc. There was a kitchen garden attached to each house.

The subject of these dwelling-houses is to be dealt with under the following heads: Selection of site, plan of the homestead and commencement of building work, building materials, and trees in a homestead.[6]

---

[1] Vinaya II, 180; A., II, 208; M.I., 179, 240, 267, 344; S.N., 406; Jāt., I, 61.

[2] Aṅg., Chakkanikāya,—; Dīgha, II—. According to Buddhaghosa giñjaká-vasatha=iṭṭhakāmayo pāsādo.

[3] Dhammapada 241, 302; Aṅg., II, 68; Sn., 43; Jāt., I, 290; IV, 2, 364, 492; Miln., 47.

[4] Petavatthu p. 4: dvárabāhāsu tiṭṭhanti āgantvāna sakaṁ-gharaṁ. Cf. Mahávaṁsa, XXV, 38.

[5] Cf. Yuktikalpataru, p. 49, Gṛhayukti—

प्राचीराणां न नियमो गृहस्थानाच्च विद्यते ॥

यथा वास्तु यथाशक्ति प्राचीरामचयेद् गृही ।

गृहवेधो यथा न स्यात्तथा प्राचीरकल्पना ॥ २४५-२४६ ॥

[6] Kāmikāgama, patala 33, lays down the following procedure for an architect while going to construct a house :—

ग्रामादीनां तु विन्यासे निवेशादिश्च कथ्यते ।

आदौ कालपरीक्षा स्यातु द्वितीयो देशनिर्णयः ॥

तृतीया भूपरीक्षा स्यात् प्रवेशार्थं बलिस्ततः ।

सीकारः पंचमो भूमे षष्ठः कर्षणमुच्यते ॥

A. *Selection of Site*

The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra[1] prescribes: A man should build a house on an even ground which is covered with grass, which cannot be destroyed by inundation or otherwise, on which the waters flow off to the east, or to the north, on which grow plants which have no milky juice, or thorns, and which are not acrid. One who is desirous of holy lustre should select a ground on which darbha grass grows, of strength on soil covered with big sorts of grass, and of cattle on soil covered with tender grass. (2–11).

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[2] recommends for this purpose the ground on which grow such annual herbs as *jayā*, *jayantí*, sacrificial plants like *pippala* as well as creepers (शस्तौषधिद्रुमलता), and the ground which is sweet, charming and fragrant, pleasant, level and without any pores, even and hard (मधुरा सुगन्धा स्निग्धा समा न सुषिरा च मही), as a proper site for the construction of a dwelling-house.

The ground marked by the presence of enshrined trees (*caitya*), or that marked by the presence of anthills and pits (*valmíkaśvabhra saṅkule*), or the ground marked by the presence of a tortoise-shaped mound (*kūrmākāre*) is to be avoided, for the first means danger from planets and ghosts, the second disaster, the third loss of wealth.

The ground which is overgrown with *kuśa*, *sara*, *dūrvā*, and *kāśa* grasses taken in order is said to be conducive to the family prosperity of brahmin, kṣatriya, vaiśya, and of other castes respectively (कुशयुक्ता शरबहुला दूर्वाकाशावृता क्रमेण मही । अनुवर्णं वृद्धिकरी, etc.).

According to the same authority a man does well to cut away all trees near a house except those in which birds dwell, those which are broken, dried up or burnt, and those which stand by temples or grow on a cremation ground. He should also leave undisturbed trees having milky juice, and *dhava*, *vibhítaka*, *nimba*, and *araṇi*

शङ्कुसंस्थापनं पश्चादष्टमः पदनिर्णयः ।
नवमः सूत्रविन्यासो दशमो देवता बलि ॥
स्तम्भवीथ्यादि भेदस्स्यादेकादश उदाहृतः ।
द्वादशो गर्भविन्यासस्ततो देवनिवेशनम् ॥

[1] *Loc. cit.*, IV, 7; S.B.E. 30, pp. 120–122. Cf. also Āśvaláyana, II, 7, 1, etc. *seq.*; Pāraskara, III, 4; Āpastambha, VII, 17, 1; Sāṅkhāyaṇa, III, 2, *seq.*; Khadira, IV, 2, 6, *seq.* and Hiraṇyakeśin, I, 27-28.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 52, Ślokas 1–125.

trees (खगनिलयभग्नसंशुष्कदग्ध-देवालयश्मशानस्थान् । क्षीरतरुधवविभीतकनिम्बारणि-वर्ज्जितां श्छिन्दात् ॥).[1]

B. *Plan of the Homestead and Commencement of Building Work*

The prescription in the Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra regarding the planning of the house of a *nāgaraka* is applicable to the houses in general. According to Vātsyāyana, a dwelling-house must be built in close proximity to a source of water. It is to be divided into two parts, the inner part for women and the outer part for attending to business, etc., by the master of the house. (तत्रभवनमासन्नोदकं वृक्षवाटिकावद्विभक्तकर्म्मकक्षं द्विवासगृहं कारयेत्). Attached to every house there should be a *vṛkṣavāṭiká* or *puṣpavāṭiká*, a garden with wide grounds where flowering plants and fruit trees can grow, as well as vegetables. A well or tank, large or small, should be excavated in the middle of the homestead (मध्ये कूपं वापीं दीर्घिकां वा खानयेत्). The person in charge of this garden (usually the mistress of the house), is to duly procure seeds of common kitchen vegetables and medicinal herbs, such as *mūlaka*, *āluka*, *pālaṅkí*, *damanaka*, *āmrātaka*, *ervāruka*, *trapusa*, *vārtāka*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, *alāvu*, *sūraṇa*, *śukanāsa*, *svayaṁguptā*, *tilaparṇikā*, *agnimantha*, *laśuna*, *palāṇḍu*, and such others (मूलकालुकपालङ्कीदमनकाम्रातकैर्वारुकत्रपुसवार्त्ताककूष्माण्डालावु-सूरणशुकनासास्वयंगुप्तातिलपर्णिकाग्निमन्थलशुनपलाण्डुप्रभृतीनां सर्व्वौषधिनाञ्च वीजग्रहणं काले वापश्च). The direction is also given as to how greens and vegetables are to be reared in specially prepared beds, sugarcane in clumps, stunted shrubs of mustard, *jíraka*, *ajamoda*, *śatapuṣpā*, and similar herbs in patches, and the dark tamala trees in groves (परिपूतेषु च हरितशाकवप्रान्निक्षुस्तम्बाञ्जीरकसर्षपाजमोदशतपुष्पातमालगुल्मांश्च कारयेत्). The flowering plants recommended comprise *kuvjaka*, *āmalaka*, *mallikā*, *jātí*, *kurantaka*, *navamālikā*, *tagara*, *nandyāvarta*, *japā*, etc. ; the shrubs include *vālaka*, *uśíra*, and other grasses which yield fragrant leaves and roots. The garden is also to be provided with bowers and vine groves (वृक्षवाटिकां मृद्वीकामण्डपं) with raised platforms, here and there, for rest or recreation (कुब्जकामलकमल्लिकाजातीकुरन्तकनवमालिकातगरनन्द्यावर्त्तजपागुल्मानन्यांश्च बहुपुष्पान् बालकोशीरकपातालिकांश्च वृक्षवाटिकायाश्च स्थण्डिलानि मनोज्ञानि कारयेत् ॥). A swing [1] too is to be fitted on a spot well guarded from the sun by a leafy canopy (स्वास्तीर्णा प्रेङ्खा दोला वृक्षवटिकायां सप्रच्छाया). The text speaks, indeed, of an abundance of various flowers to be artfully arranged here and there. The homestead is to be kept perfectly clean and the floors of houses are to be kept smooth and polished so as to relieve the eyes (वेश्म च शुचि सुसंमृष्टस्थानं विरचितविविधकुसुमं श्लक्ष्णभूमितलं हृद्यदर्शनं, etc.).[2]

---

[1] Cf. Matsya P., Ch. 227, पूर्व्वं भूमि परीक्षेत पश्चाद्वास्तुं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ etc. ; Yuktikalpataru, Vāstuyuktiḥ : नदीश्मशानशैलानां वनस्य निकटे तथा । न वास्तुकर्म्म कुर्व्वीत न द्वन्द्वनगरान्तयोः ॥ See also Silpaśāstra by Rev. J. F. Kearns (Ind. Ant., 1876, pp. 231, 235) ; Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus by Ram Raj, p. 49 ; Mānasāra, Chs. III, IV, and V ; Mayamata, Chs. III and IV ; Indian Architecture by Dr. P. K. Acharya.

According to the Matsya Purāṇa some space is to be left all round the building and the trees should rather be at the back of the house than in front.[3]

The Hindu authorities substantially agree as to the month, period, and day in which the building work should commence. According to the Yuktikalpataru,[4] for instance, the most auspicious months for this purpose are *Vaiśākha*, *Āṣāḍa*, *Śrāvaṇa*, *Kārtika*, *Agrahāyaṇa* and *Phālguṇa*, the auspicious period is the bright half of the month, and all days of the week, except the Sunday and the Tuesday, while the Matsya Purāṇa [5] includes also the month of *Māgha* in the list of auspicious months with the proviso that if the work commences in this month, there is a risk of fire.

C. *Building Materials*

The trees, bamboos, canes, ropes, and grasses, constituted then as now, the main building materials of common houses in India.[6]

---

[1] Cf. Mānasāra, Ch. L, where height of the post or pillar is given; see Indian Architecture, p. 69, by Dr. P. K. Acharya.

[2] Kāmasūtra, I, iv, 3 and 4; III, i, 6, 7, 8; cf. Social Life by Chakladar, pp. 151–155; see Upavana-Vinoda for a detailed information regarding the laying out of a Vṛkṣavāṭikā.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 256, 3–10, p. 299. The authority further says that 'after choosing a good and lovely site one should lay the foundation of the house in an auspicious hour ascertained by an astrologer after putting some jewels underneath it. Over the jewel is to be placed a stone, and on the stone all sorts of seeds are to be kept'.

[4] *Loc. cit.*; the text runs: वैशाखश्रावणाषाढमार्गफाल्गुणकार्त्तिकाः । सुप्रशस्ता गृहारम्भे पत्नी-पुत्र-समृद्धिदाः ॥ and so on, p. 32.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 253; S.B.H., XVII, ii, p. 295. The text runs: चैत्रे व्याधिमवाप्नोति यो गृहं कारयेन्नरः । वैशाखे धनरत्नानि ज्यैष्ठे मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ॥ See also Viśvakarmāprakāśa, śls. 27–29.

[6] Arrian in his Indika (X) says that cities in India that were situated on the banks of rivers, or on a sea coast were generally built of wood rather than of brick.

The Sohgaura Copper-plate[1] contains the design of two store-houses (*koṭṭhāgāra*) built on one and the same pattern. Each of them appears to be a two-roofed thatched house, built entirely of wood, bamboo, and grass. The Suttanipāta Commentary[2] speaks of an institution of carpenters, or wood carvers, which maintained itself by executing occasional orders for the building purpose.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā, the Śilparatna, and the Purāṇas give detailed descriptions of various kinds of wood and timber to be used in the construction of dwelling-houses. They also prescribe certain ceremonies to be observed in cutting down the trees for timber. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā says[3]: After offering oblations and worship during the night one should do well to walk round the tree beginning from the east, before cutting it down. If the tree in question fall either to the east, or to the north in the process of its being cut, it means good; if otherwise one should do well not to use that tree for the purpose of building a house.

If the tree is properly cut down it is propitious to a house; and if the part where the tree is cut is yellow one should conclude the presence of a *gosāpa* in that tree. If that part is intensely red there must be a frog inside the tree; if blue, a snake; if slightly red, a *kṛkalāśa*; if jewellish, a stone; if violet, a mouse; and if it assumes the colour of a sword one must conclude that there is water in the tree.

The wood of the following trees are to be avoided: those that are inhabited by birds, are broken, dried up, burnt up by fire, growing within temple yards and burial grounds, those that have milky juice, the *vibhítaka*, *nimba*, and *śamí* (*araṇi*).

According to the Matsya Purāṇa[4] one should go on an auspicious day to the forest and should first of all offer sacrifices and worship to the trees selected for timber. If the tree falls towards the north-east it is very lucky and it is unlucky if it falls towards the south. The wood of bo-tree and of other milky trees should not be used for a building, nor should the wood of trees inhabited by a large number of birds, or one burnt up by fire be used, nor the tree cut and torn by wind is auspicious. The wood of the trees broken by elephants, struck by lightning, semi-dried up, or dried up of itself, or those growing near a Chaitya, or sacrificial place, a temple, confluence of two rivers, burial ground, well and tank, should in no case be used for house-building by one desirous of great influence and wealth. These trees are to be specially avoided. *Nípa*, *nimba*, *vibhítaka*, *śleṣmāntaka*, mango, *kaṇṭakí* trees, *asana*, *aśoka*, *madhūka*, *sarjja*, *sāla* are the auspicious timber trees. It is very auspicious to use sandal and *panasa* wood for a building. *Deodar* and *haridrā* are auspicious when used in the building in one, two, or three pieces. But if more pieces are used it is dangerous. *Śiṁsapā*, *śríparṇi*, or *tinduka* are auspicious in house-building when only one of these is used, but the mixture is inauspicious. Similarly, *syandana*, *panasa*, *sarala*, *arjuna* and *padmaka* trees alone are auspicious, but when mixed are inauspicious. A tree cut and brought down to the ground is named *godhā*. If the colour of the wood at the time of cutting down a timber tree is that of *mañjiṣṭhā* the tree is termed *bheka* ; if the wood is of the blue colour it is named *sarpa* ; if it is red it is termed *sarata* ; if it is of the colour of the pearls it is termed *sūkaḍi* ; if it is of tawny colour it is termed *muṣika* ; if the wood is of the shape of a sword it is known as *jalaccheda* ; one should avoid the use of such timber for building purposes. If the wood of an auspicious tree previously cut be lying somewhere, one should fetch it and use it. Multiply the length of the tree by the circumference in hands and then divide it by 8 ; if the remainder is 1, it is *dhwajā* ; if the remainder is 2, it is *vṛṣa* ; if 3, it is *siṁha* ; if 4, it is *vṛṣabha* ; if 5, it is *gardhava* ; if 6, it is *hastí* ; and if 7, it is *kāka*. Of these, *dhwajā* is auspicious in all directions and is good, especially it brings all sorts of happiness when used in towards the western door. *Siṁha* is auspicious towards the north, *vṛṣabha* towards the east, and *hastí* towards the south. This is what the *Ṛṣis* have said and all these are lucky. The other trees face the corner directions and they should be avoided (3–19).

---

[1] J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 510ff.; Barua, Ann. Bh. Orien. Res. Inst., XI, pp. 32ff.; I.H.Q., X, pp. 54–56.

[2] Paramatthajotika, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 575–577.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 52, pp. 643–705, the translation is author's own.

[4] Chap. 257; Eng. Tran. S.B.H., XVII, ii (1917).

The Śilparatna [1] mentions stone, brick, good timber, good earth, and iron as materials out of which buildings may be constructed :

शिलेष्टका-सुधादारुमृत्स्नाम् लोष्ठ-लोहकाः ।
एते विमानकरणे दिव्यत्वेन निरूपिताः ॥ १ ॥

The text gives following directions regarding the collection and selection of timber : The person desirous of happiness should do well to avoid the trees that are full of holes, that are entwined by creepers, that are eaten up by worm, full of thorns, or that always bear flowers and fruits, that are under the influence of gods, that are curved in size, broken, or have ghosts and snakes residing in them, or that contain nests of birds, have milky juice, are struck by wind and burnt by fire, that are ravaged by elephants or struck by lightnings, or grown in a temple area, or at the confluence of rivers, or that are on the banks of tanks and near wells. One should do well to avoid using the following trees : *Palāsa*, *kuṭaja*, *lodhra*, *vilva*, *pílu*, *śiriṣa*, *ślesmātaka*, *kadamba*, *kovidāra*, *kiṁśuka*, *pathyakhya* (?), *āmalaka*, *arjuna*, *suptisnavarṇā* (?), *ambaṣṭa*, *saptaparṇa*, *kāraskara*, *vikaṇṭaka*, *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *plakṣa*, *śālmalí*, *tinduka*, *nandyāvarta*, *vadara*, *karavíra*, *kapittha*, *sarpamāra*, *arimeda*, *putrañjíva*, *dunduka*, *tintṛṇí*, *pātalā*, *aśoka*, *karpūra*, *aguru*, *añjana*, and *arka* (76-84). One should also avoid trees with sap-wood. One should better use trees that are straight, hard-wooded, strong, and perennial, such as *śāka*, *asana*, *madhūka*, *sāla*, *sarjja*, *candana*, *panasa*, *devadāru*. The following trees are specially recommended for making posts of a building : *khadira*, *sāla*, *madhūka*, *vaka* (सवकस्तथैव), *siṁsapā*, *arjuna*, *akanau* (अकनौ ?), *kiríṇí* (किरीणी ?), *padmaka* and *candana*, *visikha* (?), *dhanvana*, *pindí*, *siṁha*, *rājādana*, *śamí* and *talaka* (93-94).

---

[1] Ch. 14, अथ प्रासादादिकरणे द्रव्यविधिः—Building materials (sl. 1), and timber (sls. 77–188), p. 65 (Ed. Ganapati Sastri) ; see also Vástuvidyá—by the same author, Ch. 5, sls. 13–19 (pp. 28-29), and Ch. 15 भवन परिग्रहो नामः, pp. 69–72. Cf. also Manuṣyālayachandrikā, edited by the same author ; Viśvakarmāprakāśa (Bombay, 1917 Samvat) ; Matsya P., Ch. 252–257 ; Agni P., Ch. 105 ; Garuḍa P., Ch. 46 ; and others.

As regards materials for the roofing of a house the Vinaya texts recommend brick, stone, cement, straw,[1] and leaves.[2] The same authority also speaks of three kinds of ramparts made of brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences (VI, 3, 4). We have also mention of fences of three kinds, namely, bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches (VI, 3, 10).[3]

---

[1] Cf. A.V., III, 12, 5 ; IX, 3, 4, 7.

[2] Cullavagga, VI, 3, 10 ; S.B.E., XX, Part iii, pp. 177-179.

[3] *House-entry Ceremony* : After the house is constructed, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā directs that 'one should enter a newly constructed house in an auspicious moment, after making several artificial flower gates at the outer entrance of the house, and after keeping several pots full of water there and performing worship with the help of incense and other scents, with oblation in accompaniment of the recitation of Vedic formula by the Brahmins' (Ch. 52, 123).

The Matsya Purāṇa also directs that 'after building according to the prescribed formula one should place a pot full of water, curds, uncooked rice, fruits, flowers and gold at the gates. Then entry into the house should be made on an auspicious moment' (Ch. 257, 22-23). Cf. also Yuktikalpataru, p. 33 ; *Atha prabeśakālaḥ* ; and Samayapradípa for the following text : ज्येष्ठा-पुनर्वसूजं गटद्वारमोदितश्च यत्, etc. quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. II, pp. 1027-1028 ; also Cullavagga, V, 21.

D. *Trees in a Homestead* ✓

The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra lays down certain definite rules regarding the planting of trees in a homestead. According to Gobhila a householder should avoid an Aśvattha tree on the east side (of his house), and a Plakṣa on the south side, a Nyagrodha on the west side, and an Udumbara on the north. An Aśvattha brings (to the house) danger from fire; a Plakṣa tree, early death; a Nyagrodha, oppression through (hostile) arms, and an Udumbara, (fig) diseases to the eye. The Aśvattha is sacred to the Sun, the Plakṣa to Yama, the Nyāgrodha is the tree that belongs to Varuṇa, and the Udumbara to Prajapāti. He should place these (trees) in another place and should sacrifice in honour of their presiding deities.[1]

According to the Agni Purāṇa, a Plakṣa tree planted and grown on the north of a building brings good luck to its master, so are a Vata on the east and Udumbara on south and an Aśvattha on the west. Thorny shrubs to be so planted as to edge the southern boundary of the homestead. The flower garden should be laid on the left hand side of a dwelling-house and blooming plants or sesame cultivated therein. Tanks should be excavated in the garden and arms of rivers should be made to run into the same. *Ariṣta*, *aśoka*, plantain, *punnāga*, *śirīṣa*, *jambū*, *vakula*, pomegranate, and such other useful trees should be carefully planted in the garden.[2]

The Matsya Purāṇa has a similar but a more elaborate prescription, according to which a Banyan tree to the east of the house is auspicious; so are a fig tree to the south, a Pipal on the west, and a Plakṣa to the north. If thorny trees, milky trees, *asana trees*, and the straight trees be planted in the homestead, it means misery to the lady of the house and her children. If one does not cut down such a growth, he should plant auspicious trees near them (obviously to neutralize the evil effects). The following trees in the homestead are very auspicious: *Punnāga*, *aśoka*, *vakula*, *śamí*, *tilaka*, *campaka*, *dāḍima*, *pippalí*, *drākṣā*, and also a flower bower (*kusumamaṇḍapa*). The trees that bring prosperity and increase riches are: *Jambíra*, *pūga*, *mallikā*, cocoanut, *kadalí*, and *pāṭali*. (20–24.)[3]

In the Linga Purāṇa occurs the following text regarding houses with inauspicious trees on the homestead:—

---

[1] *Loc. cit.*, IV, 7; S.B.E., XXX, p. 122.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 246; Eng. Tran., pp. 889–893; Ch. 282, pp. 1037-1038. Cf. also Garuḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 46, Vāstumānalakaṣmaṇa, where it is said: अश्वत्थप्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः पूर्व्वादौ स्यादुडुम्बरः। गृहस्य शोभनः प्रोक्त ईशाने चैव शाल्मलिः ॥ etc.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 255; S.B.H., XVII, ii, p. 298.

यत्र कण्टकिनो वृक्षा यत्र निष्पाव वल्लरी ।
ब्रह्मवृक्षाश्च यत्रास्ति सभार्य्यस्त्वं समाविश ॥
अगस्त्यार्कादयो वापि बन्धुजीवो गृहेषु वै ।
करवीरो विशेषेण नन्द्यावर्त्तमथापि वा ॥
मल्लिका वा गृहे येषां सभार्य्यस्त्वं समाविश ॥
कन्या च यत्र वै वल्ली द्रोही वा च जटी गृहे ।
बकुला कदली यत्र सभार्य्यस्त्वं समाविश ॥
तालं तमालं भल्लातं तिन्तिडी खण्डमेव च ।
कदम्ब खादिर वापि सभार्य्यस्त्वं समाविश ॥
न्यग्रोधो वा गृहे येषामश्वत्थच्यूत एव च ।
उदुम्बरश्च पनसः सभार्य्यस्त्वं समाविश ॥

According to Varāhamihira the presence of Plakṣa, Vata, Udumbara, and Aśvattha trees respectively to the south, west, north, and east of a house forebodes evil. The same trees present in a reverse order, i.e. Plakṣa being to the north, Vata to the east, Udumbara to the south, and Aśvattha to the west, it means good to the house. The presence of thorny trees like khadira near a house means danger from enemies, that of kṣīra trees, loss of things, and that of trees like mangoes, etc., indicates loss of children. One should not use even the wood of these trees as fuel. If one does not want to dispense with these trees, one must, at least, plant punnāga, aśoka, ariṣṭa, vakula, panasa, śamí, and sāla near them.[1]

Garga, an authority quoted in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, prescribes that one should avoid Aśvattha to the east, Plakṣa to the south, Nyagrodha to the west and Udumbara to the north (of his house), for it is said that Aśvattha (in such a position) engenders fear, Plakṣa defeat, Nyagrodha illness of the king and Udumbara that of eyes. Vata in front of a house is best, so are the Udumbara, Aśvattha, and Plakṣa in the south, west and north of the house respectively.

The Śukraníti suggests that those trees which bear good flowers should be planted in the homestead (IV, iv, 103). A fair garden should be laid out to the left of the dwelling house (IV, iv, 104). Those trees which bear thorns, e.g. khadira, etc. are known as *āraṇyaka* (wild), and should be planted in forests (IV, iv, 113-114). Expansive trees, shrubs and creepers are to be carefully planted in a homestead, if domestic ; in forests, if wild (IV, iv, 123-124).[2]

---

[1] Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Ch. 52, pp. 643–705.
[2] S.B.H., XIII, pp. 165-166 (1914).

The Yuktikalpataru (p. 47) has the following directions on the point :

स्ववास्तु-वृक्षतोदोषः कुलसम्पत्तिनाशनः ।
वर्ज्जयेत् पूर्व्वतोऽश्वत्थं प्लक्षं दक्षिणतस्तथा ॥
ऐशान्यां रक्तपुष्पश्च आग्नेय्यां क्षीरिणस्तथा ।
यत्र तत्र स्थिता वृक्षा विल्वदाडिमकेशराः ॥
पनसा नारिकेलाश्च शुभं कुर्व्वन्ति निश्चयं ।
निशा नीली-पलाशश्च चिञ्चा श्वेतापराजिता ।
कोविदारश्च सर्व्वत्र सर्व्वं निघ्नन्ति मङ्गलं ॥ 322–325.

II. HEARTH AND HOME OF ARISTOCRACY

The aristocracy, other than that of the royal family, is said to have been represented by three classes of persons, called Khattiya-mahāsāla, Brāhmaṇa-mahāsāla and Gahapati-mahāsāla. According to Buddhaghosa a Mahāsāla was a man of great substance (*mahāsāra*). That is to say wealth constituted the socio-economic status of aristocracy in ancient India. ' Buddhaghosa gives ', says Dr. B. C. Law, ' a traditional idea of the minimum monetary strength determining the status of a person considered wealthy (mahāsāla) among the nobles, the Brahmins, and the traders. A noble was considered wealthy if he had hoarded treasures worth one hundred or one thousand crores and in whose house the daily egress and ingress of money took place at the rate of one to two cart-loads of *kahāpaṇas*. A Brahmin was deemed affluent if he had a hoarding of eighty crores and in whose house the daily transactions of money amounted to one *tumba*. Similarly, a trader or banker was considered rich if he had hoarded at least forty crores, and in whose house the daily outflow and receipts of money went on at the rate of five *ammaṇas* to one *tumba* of *kahāpaṇas*.'[1]

The wealthy among the nobles were either courtiers and high officials, or leading citizens of a town. The wealthy among the Brahmins were either ministers, or councillors in royal service, or heads of State-endowed Vedic institutions. The wealthy among the rest of the householders were either merchants, or bankers, or owners of big factories.[2] The *nāgaraka* is the general term employed in the Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra to denote a person who could well afford to pass as a fashionable man of the town ; in other words, to think of the *nāgaraka* is to think of the aristocracy in general.

---

[1] Śrāvastí in Indian Literature, p. 19 ; see also Sumaṅgalavilāsiní, II, p. 586.

[2] The Jaina Uvāsaga-daśao introduces to us Saddālu-putta, a lay supporter of the Ājívikas, who had attached to his house a large pottery in which thousands of neighbours daily worked, Bibliotheca Indika, edited by Hoernle.

As regards the 'hearth and home' of such an aristocracy, the principles of the selection of the site, the testing of the soil, the general plan of the homestead, etc. are the same as those of other people. Here we are to consider only those descriptions in Indian literature and of those representations in Indian art that have bearing upon the homestead of the Indian *nāgaraka*, or aristocracy, as defined above.

Early records of Buddhism preserved the memory of some of the rich households of such bankers as Dhanañjaya, Sudatta-Anāthapiṇḍika, Migāra and Sirivaḍḍhaka. We need not bring together occasional descriptions of their residences. The description of the play-hall (*krīḍāśālā*) built by Mahosadha, son of the banker, Sirivaḍḍhaka, may suffice to give an idea of the grandeur and surroundings of their homesteads. The description of Mahosadha's play-hall, as given in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (Fausböll No. 546), is important for reasons more than one. First, it states the circumstances that led man to think of building a house. Secondly, it shows how the site was selected, and the ground was prepared for the laying out of the house. Thirdly, it indicates how the plan and design were made. Lastly, it exhibits how the plan and design were carried out, and the homestead was given an æsthetic and hygienic look all round. We are told that when one day Mahosadha was playing with other children in the village some elephants and other animals passed by and disturbed their games. Sometimes they were disturbed by the rain and heat. As a protection against all these disturbing factors Mahosadha felt the need of a suitable hall and made up his mind to build one where he and his playmates might comfortably stand, sit or lie in time of wind, hot sunshine, or rain. The contract was given to a master-builder. The estimated cost of construction was put down at one hundred lacs of money. The builder took the money, levelled the ground, cut posts and spread out the measuring line according to his practical experience, without grasping the idea which was in Mahosadha's mind. Mahosadha guided him in the matter, saying, 'Here is the plan drawn out by me. Take the line and proceed to build the hall according to my instructions.' The hall was so arranged that there was in one part a place for ordinary strangers, in another a lodging for the destitute, in another a place for the lying-in of destitute women, in another a lodging for holy-men of all denominations, in another a lodging for other sorts of men, in another where foreign merchants could stow their goods—all apartments having doors opening outside. There was also a public place erected for sports with a court of justice and a hall for religious congregations attached to it. When the work was completed he sent for painters, he having himself examined them, set them to work at painting beautiful pictures, so that the hall when completed became like the celestial hall, Sudhammá. Still he thought that the homestead was not complete without a tank in it. He ordered the ground to be dressed and sent for an architect, and having discussed with him and given him money, he had a tank constructed with a thousand bends in the bank and a hundred bathing ghats. The water was covered with the five kinds of lotuses, and looked as beautiful as the lake in the heavenly garden, Nandana. On its bank were planted various trees, and a park was laid out which vied with Nandana. Near this hall he made arrangements for a public distribution of alms to holy men of all persuasions, and for strangers and for people from neighbouring villages.[1]

The Brahmin-mahāsālas, as Dr. Barua and Dr. Law have sought to prove, ' were not only rich and influential but distinguished heads of Vedic institutions founded in different localities in Kośala and Magadha. There must have been similar institutions also in other parts of India .'[2] They are represented as residing each in a place ' teeming with life, with much grass-land, wood-land, and cornfields around, on a royal domain ' which was either the gift of king Pasenadi of Kośala, or that of king Bimbisāra of Magadha. Their homesteads must have been spacious enough, each to make an accommodation for 500–700 hundred pupils. They were allowed to exercise as much power over the locality as the king himself. Theirs must have been palatial buildings on extensive grounds. Unfortunately no clear and full description of their residences is to be found anywhere in literature.

The Pali Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka (F. No. 62) speaks of a Brahmin chaplain in service of the king of Benares who could well afford to build and maintain a seven-storeyed building, each storey provided with an entrance guarded by female guards.[3]

The Arthaśāstra[4] lays down in general terms that in each fortified city there shall be temples ; the royal palace ; houses of ministers, royal preceptors, priests, artisans ; houses of common people, stables, storehouses, factories, working house, bazars, hospitals, parks, gardens, groves and the rest—all laid out on definite plans.

---

[1] Jātaka, Vol. VI, pp. 158-159 ; Cambridge edition and translation.

[2] Barua—A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 360. Law—Śrāvastí in Indian Literature, pp. 14, 15.

[3] Purohitassāpi gehaṁ sattabhumakaṁ sattadvárapuṭṭhakaṁ hoti, sabbesu ti dvárapuṭṭhakesu iṭṭhinaṁ ñeva arakkho.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. IV, pp. 57–60 ; Shyama Sastri edition.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā [1] contains elaborate rules determining dimensions of the king's palace, the quarters of the officials and the rest without giving the needed full description of the homesteads. But the account of the residence of the nāgarikā, Vasantasenā, in the Mṛcchakaṭikā may be taken as a typical description of the houses and homesteads of wealthy aristocracy of India in the past.

Vasantasenā's residence consisted of eight courts (*prakoṣṭha*) with a garden attached to it. The homestead was surrounded by a wall with a main gate. The gate was very high. The arch (*toraṇa*) was made of ivory, the pillars supporting the arch were adorned with garlands hanging low and moving to and fro by the wind. Its beauty was further enhanced by the highly precious stone-set flags fluttering in the wind as if welcoming all visitors. At the base of the pillars were placed many *maṅgala kalasas*, all crystal jars, with auspicious mango twigs placed on them. The ornamented door-leaves were made impregnable by thickly set nails.

The gateway led to the first court which consisted of rows of pavilions (*pāsāda-panti*) with ornamented stairways set with all manner of precious stones. The *prāsādas* were covered with chunam plaster and looked elegantly white as the moon, the conchshell and the white lotus. The crystal windows in decorated frames opened as if having a view of the city of Ujjain. The pavilions were in charge of guards. The second court contained stables for bulls, cows, buffaloes, horses and elephants. The third court contained ante-chamber well furnished and decorated with elegant seats for men of noble birth and aristocracy. The chambers contained books, dice boards, and other arrangements for pastimes. They were also rendered entertaining with revolving painted and multi-coloured pictures.

The fourth court consisted of music and dancing halls, equipped with such musical instruments as the *mṛdaṅga*, the flute, the harp and the rest; entertainments were given by young women who were well trained in the art of singing, dancing and of playing on instrumental music. The halls contained ' water-coolers (*salila-gagario=salilagargarayaḥ*) hanging from the ox-eye windows (*gavakkha-gavākṣa*) '.[2] The fifth court formed the kitchen department with elaborate arrangements for cooking various dainty dishes including egg preparations, cakes, modakas, and other sweets. The sixth court consisted of pavilions with beautiful and splendid, gold and silver, arches, that being decorated with blue emeralds looked like so many rainbows. Architects, artisans, and appraisers were busy comparing precious stones and assessing their values. The jewellers were busy making jewelleries, and other artists were busy preparing the toilet.

---

[1] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 52. Śls. 1–125 ; pp. 643–705.

[2] Indian Architectural Terms, by A. K. Coomaraswamy. *Jour. Amer. Orien. Soc.*, 48, 3, pp. 257-258.

The seventh court formed the aviary provided with beautifully constructed cages in which were kept the *śuka*, the *maynā*, the *lavaka*, the cuckoo, the partridge, the pigeons, and peacocks, while in the artificial small lakes were to be found swans and cranes. The eighth court consisted of bed-chambers, all tastefully decorated and well furnished, the rooms being set apart for different inmates.

The garden within the homestead was a paragon of beauty. The flower-beds were all artistically laid out, and various trees planted, some heavy-foliaged with swings hung from their branches. The golden *yuthikā*, the *śephalikā*, the *mallikā*, the *mālatí*, the *navamallikā*, the *kuruvaka* and the *mādhaví* were the sweet and fragrant flowers that had lent charm to the garden. The tanks were charmingly adorned with red and white lotuses and lilies. The Aśoka trees with their red flowers in bunches stood up, here and there, like posted soldiers.[1]

---

[1] Summarized from Mṛcchakaṭikā, IV, 28–30; ed. Haridas Siddhantavagish, Bengal, 1329 B.S.

PROFESSOR POUSSIN ON ŚAKAYAVANAM

By STEN KONOW

In a short note, above II, p. 584, Professor de La Vallée Poussin has commented on Professor Bhandarkar's discussion, above I, pp. 275ff., of the dvandva *Śakayavanam*, and especially on my remarks on the same, above II, pp. 189ff. Against my suggestion that the compound bears reference to Śakas and Yavanas in Bactria he objects that Greek princes were ruling in India in the first part of the second century B.C. and that the Śakas could hardly have been looked upon as *Śūdras niravasitas* if they were only known by name, and he adds: 'The right conclusion (I venture to say) is the gloss of Patañjali which is a strong argument against the generally admitted date of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. See L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas, pp. 199–202'.

I readily admit that I ought to have taken due notice of Professor Poussin's excellent book in my paper, the more so because it contains a clear and good résumé of the discussion about Patañjali's date. My only excuse is that I was alone concerned with Professor Bhandarkar's argument, and that I was not, and am not, prepared to accept Professor Poussin's solution of the problem. After his new note, however, it becomes incumbent on me to state my reasons for disagreeing, and I may perhaps hope that Professor Bhandarkar, who is much better qualified for the task than I, will do the same.

The usual dating of Patañjali about the middle of the second century B.C. is, as is well known, based on his remarks on two of Pāṇini's rules about the use of tenses.

In dealing with the various forms used to denote past time (*bhūte*) Pāṇini III, ii, 111 prescribes the imperfect (*laṅ*) for a past which does not belong to the present day (*anadyatane*, i.e. according to the first vārttika and Patañjali's rendering of the same, when there is no (question of the) current day, *avidyamānādyatane*). Then comes the second vārttika *parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye* 'and (the imperfect is used) about what is out of sight, universally known, within the range of him who uses it (i.e. might have been witnessed by him)'. As examples of this use of the imperfect are given the sentences *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*, *aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām*, 'the Yavana has besieged Sāketa, Madhyamikā'.

From this passage the conclusion has been drawn that a Greek chief, be it Menander or Demetrius, laid siege to Sāketa and

DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM (II)

By B. C. LAW

Khemā Dedrāṇi.

Cāṁpsi Mehtā and Sādulkhān Umdār of Cāṁpān met, on their way to the Durbar, a clown who addressed the former as 'Sāh Bādsāh'. On reaching the Durbar, Sādulkhān said to Bādsāh Māhmud Begḍā, 'Your Majesty, that clown who eats your salt, has praised the merchant and called him "Sāh Bādsāh".' In answer to Māhmud Begḍā's query as to why he had praised the merchant named Cāṁpsi, the clown said, 'The ancestors of the merchant did many good deeds, Jagḍu Sāh saved the people from the ravages of famine in Samvat 1315'. The Bādsāh let the clown go and thought that he would prove his words to be false as soon as he would get an opportunity.

Once a severe famine broke out in Guzarat. The Bādsāh did not get an opportunity to test the generosity of the merchant. He said to the clown, 'Tell that merchant to feed the famine-stricken people for one year. If he fails to do so, he will be punished, and the man who calls him Sāh Bādsāh will also have the same fate'. In consultation with the merchant, the clown asked for a year's time which was granted by the Bādsāh.

Merchants and bankers assembled together and decided to raise money. The money so collected was enough to meet the expenses of feeding the famine-stricken people for four months only. They then came to Pāṭana where merchants collected funds to cover the expenses for two months more. They then came to Dholaka where they succeeded in getting an amount sufficient for ten days. Thus they spent twenty days in collecting funds. As they were to reach Cāṁpān within ten days, they proceeded towards Dhuṁdhuk. On their way through Hadālā, a village, they were fed sumptuously by Khemā, a trader who passed his days like a poor man. On learning from Cāṁpsi Mehtā and other merchants of their mission, Khemā consulted his father Dedrāṇi who advised him thus, 'My boy! Money has never accompanied and will not accompany anybody after death; it may be regained but an opportunity comes but once. This occasion affords us an opportunity to acquire, while staying at home, the merit which is generally accrued by dying on the bed of the Ganges. We must do good deeds as far as possible'. Then Khemā undertook to feed the famine-stricken people for 360 days. At this everybody was struck with wonder. Khemā took the party to a cave in a bush close by. All were surprised to see the vast

riches stored up there. They praised Khemā for not being proud and conceited, and took him to the Durbar. They introduced him to the Bādsāh saying that Khemā Seṭh would feed the famine-stricken people of Gujarat for 360 days. Questioned by the Bādsāh as to how many villages he had, Khemā said that he had only two—one a scale and the other a pot. With the help of the former he used to purchase vegetables and with the latter he used to sell oil, ghee, etc. The Bādsāh was greatly pleased and praised Khemā very much. Khemā gave food to hundreds of thousands of men for one year and thus saved them from starvation. Then he lived a holy life in the sacred city named Satruñjaya where he breathed his last. Since the days of Khemā there runs a proverb, 'The first Sāh is the merchant, the second is the Bādsāh'.

Pethaḍakumāra.

On the death of his father, Dedaśāha, who was very rich, Pethaḍakumāra gradually lost his inherited fortune and became so very poor that it was impossible for him to maintain himself, his wife, Padminī, and his only son, Jhājhan. With his wife and son, he began to pass his days in a monastery in a village called Nāṁdurī in Nimār. Once a learned *Muni* came to the village and advised the villagers to lead a happy life, to practise self-control by meditation and to sanctify their mind by deep devotion to God. Some of the villagers followed his advice. At this time poor Pethaḍakumāra was thinking of his bad luck. The learned *Muni* advised him to observe the vow of earning money. Pethaḍakumāra promised to perform pious deeds after keeping something for his livelihood if he would again receive sufficient riches. Gradually he became poorer and poorer so much so that it was impossible for him to make two ends meet. He then left the village with his family.

At this time Māṇḍavagarh in Mālava was a beautiful town inhabited by thousands of rich and respected merchants. Pethaḍakumāra came to this town and opened a shop. He used to purchase pure ghee from milk-women of neighbouring villages and to sell it at a fixed price. He did well in his business on account of his honesty and genial temperament. Pethaḍakumāra made money within a short time. Jayasinha, king of that country, was very much charmed by his intelligence and he liked his son also on account of his wisdom and sagacity. The king appointed him as his Chief Minister and his son named Jhājhan as his Police Officer. The old prime minister became jealous of him. He said to the king that Pethaḍakumāra had a *citrāvalī* which never exhausts one's own store. Pethaḍakumāra being asked, spoke the truth and assured the king that the citrāvalī would be used for the benefit of the kingdom. The king was very much pleased. Pethaḍakumāra reduced taxation and tried his utmost to improve the condition of the people. He then came to Mount Abu and saw a beautiful temple thereon. There he found various kinds of trees and plants. With the help of a tree he succeeded in manufacturing gold. Pethaḍakumāra spent a large sum of money in building beautiful temples at Māṇḍavagarh and Devagiri, besides many other temples in different places in order to fulfil his promise. He secretly helped his co-religionists. At the age of thirty-two he led the life of a celibate.

Once Līlāvatī, queen of king Jayasinha, was attacked with high fever accompanied by burning sensation all over her body. Her maid-servant brought Pethaḍakumāra's cloth and covered up her body with it. She felt relieved and slept. A wicked person informed the king that the queen enamoured of the beauty of the prime minister had been lying by putting his cloth on her body. At this the king became very much annoyed, imprisoned the prime minister, and ordered the executioners to take the queen to the forest and kill her there. The executioners brought the queen to the forest but could not kill her. They left her in the forest and came back. The queen changed her dress and returned to the city. Jhājhan kumāra cleverly brought her to his house.

Once the king's favourite elephant, heavily drunk, bolted for a while and became senseless. When all attempts to restore the elephant to normal health were fruitless, a maid-servant brought Pethaḍakumāra's cloth and covered the body of the elephant with it. The animal recovered and stood up. The maid-servant then narrated how the queen was cured of her high fever by covering her body with Pethaḍakumāra's cloth. On hearing this account, the king became very much remorseful. He then released Pethaḍakumāra from prison and he regretfully acknowledged his offence. The king was surprised to learn that the queen had then been living. He sent for the queen, begged her pardon and began to reign happily.

Pethaḍakumāra in his old age and accompanied by a big retinue of followers came to Siddhācala or Śatruñjaya where he became a great devotee of Lord Ādinātha. He then visited Girnar and returned to Māṇḍava. Several good books were written at his instance. He passed away peacefully after spending the rest of his days in deep meditation.

Amarakumāra.

Śreṇika, king of Rājagṛha, had many skilful artists and painters brought from different places and had a museum built. After the exhibits were hung on the wall, the main door of the Museum fell down and broke. A new door was prepared again but it also fell down and broke immediately after fixing. At this the king became disgusted and consulted an astrologer. It was then announced by beat of drum that a boy having thirty-two marks would be required by the king for sacrifice. A brahmin-beggar named Ṛṣabhadatta had four sons of whom the youngest, Amarakumāra, had thirty-two marks. He used to listen to the advice of the religious men. He learnt the Navakāra mantra, the remembrance of which removes distress and difficulty. Ṛṣabhadatta sold his son Amarakumāra to the king and the son was afterwards brought to the Museum. He was then bathed in the holy water of the Ganges, garlanded and besmeared with sandal paste. He then was kept standing near the sacrificial fire. With the help of the Navakara Mantra he escaped injury from sacrificial fire in which he was thrown and everybody was astounded to find him appearing like a saint free from any mark of injury on his person. At this moment the king fell down bleeding profusely and afterwards he felt relieved with the help of Amarakumāra. The king being pleased offered him wealth which he refused. Amarakumāra then went to a forest to engage himself in deep meditation. His parents received the news that their son had become a saint and they feared much that the money so paid to them by the king would be snatched away by royal officers. His mother was bold enough to see her son in the forest and she put an end to his life by stabbing him on the breast. Amarakumāra fully knew that it was the act of his mother who was so very cruel to him and he expired absorbed in good thoughts.

Almost simultaneously Bhadrā met with a terrible end of her life as she was devoured by a lioness in consequence of her misdeed.

Vimala Śāh.

Lāhira, a Buddhist monk, was the commander-in-chief of Vanarāja, the first king of Gujarat. He was a very able and influential Kṣatriya. His courageous son Vīra was religious minded. Vīra had by his wife, Vīramatī, a son named Vimala possessed of thirty-two marks. When his son returned home after finishing his education, Vīra advised him to be fearless and to follow the teachings of Mahāvīra. He then left home to receive ordination. Shortly afterwards Vīramatī came to know that many people had been jealous of Vimala, and it was not safe for him to live there. So with her son, she left that place and came to reside in her father's house. Since then Vimala used to help his maternal uncle in cultivation and in keeping poultry in the forest. He learnt riding and archery. Very soon he became a reputed archer. Śrīdatta, a merchant of Pātana, decided to give his daughter, Śrī, in marriage to Vimala. Vimala learnt from his maternal uncle that this marriage would not be performed, until he could accumulate a large sum of money. Vimala went to a forest with the grim determination to earn money. While he was brooding over this beneath a tree, he accidentally penetrated his stick into a hole and found a pitcher full of gold mohurs. He brought that pitcher home and placed it before his mother. Vīramatī was very pleased and fixed the date of her son's marriage. Very soon Vimala's marriage with Śrīdevī was performed with pomp and grandeur. Then he with his mother and wife left his maternal uncle's house and came to Pāṭana. One day he found that none of the soldiers engaged in target practice, could hit the target; so he told them that they would not be able to rescue the lost kingdom of Mahārāja Bhīmadeva. Just at this time the Mahārāja came there but he too failed to hit the target. Vimala smilingly said that all assembled persons were novices and that though they were at the helm of the royal administration, they were incompetent to rule the kingdom. On hearing this, the Mahārāja requested him to display his archery. Vimala said, 'Let a boy with 108 betel leaves on his belly lie on the ground and I shall hit those leaves which will be marked by your Majesty and the boy will not be hurt. If I fail to do so, you are at liberty to kill me. Further, by your command, I can hit the ear-ring of a woman churning curd. Similarly I shall be punished if I fail to do so'. Then Vimala satisfied the king by showing his skill in archery. He was appointed as the Commander of 500 cavalry. He kept the army under his control. Chieftains of Gujarat were afraid of him. Soon he succeeded in securing the post of a minister. He built a very big and beautiful residence and increased the strength of his own army. He had deep regard for Jineśvaradeva. His prosperity was not liked by his enemies who informed the king of his raising a big army with the intention of conquering his kingdom. It was further reported to the king that he had no regard for any god other than Jineśvaradeva. The king came to Vimala Śāh's house and was convinced of the genuineness of the report he received. In course of the meeting of the cabinet for devising ways and means to remove Vimala Śāh from the kingdom, one of the ministers suggested that at dinner time a tiger should be let loose in the city and Vimala Śāh would be asked to bring the tiger under control. The tiger would surely kill him and the end would then be achieved. The king accepted this suggestion. Accordingly on the following day, a tiger was set free and it began to run hither and thither. The people became panicky. Vimala Śāh caught hold of the tiger by its ears so tightly that it could not escape. He then encaged it. People began to praise him but the king and his ministers were disappointed. A few days later Vimala Śāh defeated his rival, Rājamalla, in a boxing and thus frustrated the plan of the king to kill him. Vimala Śāh noticed a sudden change in King's attitude towards him and on enquiry he was asked by the ministers to repay the loan of a large sum of money taken by his grandmother. He further came to know from them that this was the reason why the king behaved with him so coldly. He at once left the place with many cavalry, infantry and camels loaded with gold, elephants and chariots, fully knowing that conspiracy was going on against him. He proceeded towards Mount Abu. When the king of Candrāvatī, a town near the Mount Abu, heard of Vimala Śāh's march, he fled from his kingdom. Vimala Śāh acting as the commander-in-chief of king Bhīmadeva, conquered many places and declared the victory of King Bhīmadeva. He defeated Paṇḍiyā, the tyrant king of Sind, and he forced Khuṇḍadeva, king of Paramāra, to accept the suzerainty of king Bhīmadeva. He then ascended the throne of Candrāvatī. King Bhīmadeva sent an umbrella and a tail-fan as presents to Vimala Śāh. King Vimala Śāh built beautiful temples and rest-houses, dug wells and tanks, and opened markets. There he was passing his days well. There came one day a priest named Śrīdharmaghosa who advised him to lead a religious life and explained to him the essence of dharma. The priest also asked him to build a Jaina temple on the Mount Abu. Vimala Śāh came to Mount Abu with his relatives and found many temples of God Śiva with eleven thousand worshippers. At that time the influence of the Brahmins was very great. Vimala Śāh purchased a piece of land for building a temple. He brought skilful artisans from different countries to build the temples. Many valuable marble slabs were also laid there. Several years were spent in the construction of this beautiful temple on the Mount Abu, where the image of God Ṛṣabha was placed. This unique temple still adorns the Mount Abu.

Śrīpāla.

Śrīpāla was the only son of King Siṁharatha and Queen Kamalaprabhā, who ruled over Campā in Aṅga. He lost his father when he was a mere boy. The Prime Minister declared a Council of Regency. But Śrīpāla's uncle, Ajitasena, who was a very clever man, conspired with the army and officers of the State and decided to kill the queen-mother and the boy-king. The queen-mother got some scent of this conspiracy. She fled from the palace with her son at midnight and entered straightway into a dense forest which was full of wild animals. She took shelter in a colony of seven hundred lepers. She was kept covered with a white bedsheet. In course of their search, the soldiers of king Ajitasena came there and enquired the lepers about the queen-mother and the boy-king but no clue was found out. The soldiers then left the place.

Having taken his food from the lepers, Śrīpāla was attacked with leprosy which caused his skin to burst like the bark of a Umbara tree. He was therefore named Umbara Rānā. The Queen-mother, Kamalaprabhā, learnt from a stranger that a certain physician (vaidya) of Kauśāmbī could cure all kinds of leprosy. She started for Kauśāmbī and asked all the lepers to wait at Ujjain where she would meet them. The lepers acted according to her instruction. At this time there reigned at Ujjain a king named Pratipāla who had two fully accomplished daughters, Sūrasundarī and Maynāsundarī. The king asked them whether they were dependent on destiny or on their father for their livelihood. Sūrasundarī said that she was dependent on her father while Maynā replied that she was a child of destiny. The king was pleased with his first daughter and gave her in marriage to a prince. While searching for an old bridegroom for his second daughter, the king found a gang of lepers among whom he met Umbara Rānā and gave Maynā in marriage to him. He said to Maynā, 'Daughter, now feel the consequence of being a dependent on destiny'. Maynā replied, 'If Fortune favours me, I shall be happy'. Maynā and Umbara Rānā then came to the village called Svāminātha and observed the vow of Amvila for nine times at the instance of the royal preceptor. After the observance of the vow for the third time was over, Umbara Rānā was totally free from the malady. Seven hundred lepers also observed the same vow and were cured. On her way to Kauśāmbī Kamalaprabhā heard of this and returned to Ujjain. Maynā's maternal uncle who used to reside in that village, brought her and her family to the palace newly built for her.

One day while Śrīpāla was riding in the village, a man pointing his finger towards him, said to another, 'The king's son-in-law is riding'. Śrīpāla was sorry to hear such words and thought thus, 'The best man is he who is known by his merits, next to him is he who is known by the reputation of his father; a mean person is he who is known by his maternal uncle's name and the meanest is he who is known by the reputation of his father-in-law'. He then decided to go elsewhere to earn money and to regain his lost kingdom. He left his mother and wife assuring them that he would return home after one year. When he reached a mountain, he saw a man trying to be an expert in an art and was requested by him to stay with him for some time. Śrīpāla acceded to his request and that man mastered the art. Greatly pleased with him he taught him two arts, by virtue of one, a man would not be drowned, and by virtue of the other, his body would not be injured by any kind of weapon. Śrīpāla then left the place and reached Bhaṇḍoca port where he found a rich merchant named Dhavalaseṭh who was about to leave the port for foreign countries with 500 ships loaded with merchandise. Śrīpāla promised to pay 100 gold coins per month and boarded a ship. When the ships were anchored at the port of Varbbarakoṭa, the port officers demanded tolls. Dhavalaseṭh refused to meet the demand and was arrested. Śrīpāla thought that Dhavalaseṭh would be put to death and the merchandise would be forfeited. He asked the guards not to touch a single hair of Dhavalaseṭh. A great battle ensued with the result that the soldiers were defeated and fled. Śrīpāla escaped injury by virtue of one of the arts he had already learnt. Dhavalaseṭh was saved and he gave half of the merchandise to Śrīpāla as a reward. Śrīpāla first married the daughter of the king of Varbbarakoṭa. Dhavalaseṭh and Śrīpāla left the place and came to Ratnadvīpa. Śrīpāla then succeeded in marrying the daughter of the king of Ratnadvīpa by opening the door of the temple according to the royal proclamation.

Śripāla with his two wives and Dhavalaseṭh proceeded homewards. Dhavalaseṭh grew jealous of his (Śrīpāla's) fortune and tried to kill him by throwing him on the sea. Śrīpāla began to swim. Under the influence of Jalataraṇī art, he reached Kaṅkan where he took shelter in a forest. The king of Kaṅkan had a marriageable daughter who was given in marriage to Śrīpāla.

After throwing Śrīpāla on the sea, Dhavalaseṭh tried to outrage the modesty of the two chaste wives of Śrīpāla but in vain. Dhavalaseṭh then reached Kaṅkan and was surprised to find Śrīpāla there. He could not imagine how Śrīpāla had come there. Dhavalaseṭh then tried to prove that Śrīpāla was of low descent but in vain.

The king decided to put him to death but Śrīpāla out of gratitude to Dhavalaseṭh for having given him shelter at one time, saved him. Śrīpāla was very kind to Dhavalaseṭh who was not a very good man. He attempted to enter into the inner portion of Śrīpāla's house with an evil intention at midnight but he fell down and met with an instantaneous death.

Once a princess promised to marry one who would be able to defeat her in playing upon Vīṇā. Śrīpāla defeated her and married her. Once an exquisitely beautiful girl declared her own Svayamvara. When Śrīpāla came there, the girl put the garland round his neck. Once a princess decided to marry one who would be able to complete a certain ballad (dōhā). Śrīpāla did so and married the princess. Once a princess was bitten by a poisonous snake, Śrīpāla saved her life and married her. A certain princess promised to marry one who would be able to sing Rādhāvegh ; Śrīpāla did so and married the princess. Thus he married eight princesses and earned a good fortune.

Accompanied by his eight wives and a large number of soldiers, Śrīpāla came to Ujjain. The king of Ujjain thought that a more powerful king had come to attack him, so he acknowledged Śrīpāla as his overlord. Śrīpāla met his mother and his first wife, Maynāsundarī and they became very pleased to see him.

Śrīpāla then came to Campā with a big army and requested Ajitasena to abdicate the throne and to devote himself to piety. The latter refused to comply with his request with the result that a big battle ensued. Ajitasena was defeated. Śrīpāla ascended the throne and appointed his uncle as one of his high officers. In course of time Ajitasena took ordination and began to lead a religious life. King Śrīpāla with Queen Maynāsundarī and other queens led a holy life and in due course attained *mokṣa*.

Dṛḍha Prahārī.

Durdhara, a Brahmin youth, was a veritable rogue, who was greatly insulted and driven out of the kingdom. He pocketed the insult quietly but he determined to take vengeance upon the entire populace. Proceeding aimlessly he entered into a dense forest and spent the night on the top of a tree. At daybreak he proceeded till he met some Bhils who took him to their king. Durdhara told the king that he would like to stay with him and to help him in making money. The king of the Bhils understood that Durdhara would be very skilful in stealing, so he gladly agreed. In course of time the king of the Bhils liked him very much, treated him as his son, and gave him the entire property. Durdhara used to kill his compeer in the act of stealing, so he was named Dṛḍha Prahārī.

Once he being the chief of a gang of dacoits came to the city of Kuśasthala to plunder it. A member of the gang entered into the house of a poor Brahmin who tried to resist him with a cudgel but was killed by Dṛḍha Prahārī. The Brahmin's cow could not see this horrible sight and rushed forward to attack Dṛḍha Prahārī who fearlessly killed it. Unable to tolerate this sort of torture, the Brahmin's wife who was pregnant, began to abuse Dṛḍha Prahārī, who struck her at the belly with the result that both the woman and the child in the womb died instantaneously. After killing a Brahmin, a cow, a woman and a child, Dṛḍha Prahārī became very much remorseful and came to a forest where he met a *muni* by whom he was ordained. He afterwards became a pious man and was engaged in deep meditation. People who knew him to be a wicked person began to throw stones at him, to beat him mercilessly and to torture him in many ways; but he patiently bore the injury with the result that he attained complete sanctification and developed love for all creatures. People then took him to be a saint and acted according to his advice. At last he attained salvation.

THE CONCEPT OF AJÑĀNA IN VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY

By SATKARI MOOKERJEE

Almost all schools of Philosophy believe in the reality of *ajñāna* or ignorance as an epistemic fact. That there are limits to our knowledge and we are conscious of these limits is not open to doubt and this constitutes an undeniable confession of the existence of ignorance as a psychic phenomenon. Barring the realistic school of Prabhākara there is almost complete unanimity with regard to the possibility and actuality of false knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) which consists in believing one thing for another, that is to say, in attributing a false predicate to a real subject. There is of course difference of opinion with regard to the ontological status of the predicate in the same or different context, with which we shall not concern ourselves in the present paper. I propose to discuss the primary evidence of ignorance as revealed in our ordinary simple experience 'I am ignorant'. Ignorance may be unqualified or qualified; according as it may have a reference to an objective datum or not have it. But whether the judgment of ignorance be qualified or otherwise, an analysis of it will be a prolific pursuit and the determination of the qualitative character of the judgment will yield important results in the domain of metaphysics. The Advaitist has based the entire superstructure of his philosophy on the positive character of this elementary judgment and a contrary finding will deal a fatal blow to his metaphysical theory. A study of this problem is therefore possessed of exceeding philosophical interest and the controversy among rival philosophers has been preserved to us in voluminous literatures, and it will not be possible to go into specific details of the issues raised. We propose to undertake a short evaluation of the logical value of the judgment and shall purposely refrain from entering into the metaphysical issues.

Now, what is the implication of the judgment 'I do not know'? Is it a negative judgment or affirmative? If negative, what does it negate? It may be said that knowledge is negated. But negation of knowledge involves affirmation of it as its necessary presupposition and affirmation and negation of knowledge in the same context is self-contradictory. In denying knowledge I affirm my knowledge of this denial, otherwise the denial will not be possible. So the negation of knowledge cannot be understood in a universal unrestricted reference without self-contradiction. Moreover, nega-

tion of an object is made possible only by a previous knowledge of the object and this previous knowledge must be present in the mind at the time of negative judgment. A person can predicate the absence of a jar provided he has knowledge of a jar and not otherwise. If the knowledge of the object were not a necessary condition of negative judgment, a blind man could be expected to deny colour and other visible attributes of an object—which is an absurdity. If the judgment 'I do not know' be negative, the knowledge of the object of negation, e.g. knowledge, must be present in the mind and the presence of knowledge being contradictorily opposed to absence of knowledge, the judgment 'I do not know' would not be possible. In other words, the judgment 'I do not know' cannot be negative in character under pain of self-contradiction.

7030

It may be contended that the knowledge of the object of negation may be present in the shape of memory and the negation of knowledge here means the negation of perceptual knowledge or the like—that is, of a type of knowledge distinct from memory. There can be no contradiction between the presence of one kind of knowledge and the absence of another kind. But this contention is not supported by experience. The judgment 'I do not know' or 'I have no knowledge' does not allow such restriction being put upon 'knowledge', the negation of which is predicated. When I say 'I have no knowledge', I cannot be supposed to mean that I have absence of a particular kind of knowledge only. To take a concrete instance, 'there is no jar on the ground' is a negative judgment. Now the negation of jar is an unqualified negation and is incompatible with the knowledge of the presence of any jar. If any jar is present on the ground my denial of it will be false and contradictory and not true. No sane man can be expected to have such negative judgment when he is aware of the presence of any particular individual jar. The negation of jar in the judgment concerned implies the negation of all jars and not of a particular jar, because there is no qualifying adjective present in the judgment. Of course one can deny the presence of a blue jar though a red jar may be present; but in that case one must express the judgment in the form 'there is no blue jar'. The negation of the unqualified jar has a universal reference and it will be contradictory to experience to put a restricted interpretation upon it. The judgment 'I have no knowledge' is an equally unqualified negative judgment and as such has a universal reference, in other words, the absence of all knowledge is predicated. But this is impossible, as the knowledge of the negated predicate is bound to be present as the universal condition of negative judgment. So we cannot predicate the absence of knowledge in a universal reference under pain of contradiction. The analogy of other negative judgments is not relevant, as the predicate is not knowledge but other objects. You can say 'there is no pen' as there is no contradiction between the absence of pen and the knowledge of pen present in memory. But this does not hold good in a negative judgment with knowledge as the object of negation.

We have seen that unqualified negation of knowledge involves self-contradiction. We shall see that the same difficulty arises even when the negation is qualified by reference to an object. 'I have no knowledge of Persian' is a specific negative judgment. A man who has absolutely no knowledge of the existence of the Persian language cannot be supposed to make this judgment. Only a person who has such knowledge can declare his ignorance of the language. But if this ignorance were tantamount to negation of knowledge the judgment would lead to self-contradiction. Negation of knowledge of Persian presupposes the knowledge of it as its necessary condition and the negation of knowledge with its affirmation in case of hopeless self-contradiction. It may appear that this is only a mean quibble. What is denied is the specific knowledge of the language and this is not incompatible with the implicit affirmation of a general knowledge. One may know of the existence of Persian, but this knowledge does not amount to knowledge of the language in its details. So the contradiction is only specious. But the objection of the Advaitist is not based upon a quibble. Your interpretation that the negation here refers to specific knowledge and not knowledge of its mere existence does not go sufficiently deep into the implications of the judgment. Well, if specific knowledge of the language be the object of negation, the knowledge of the object must be present as the condition of the negative judgment. How can you know that you have no specific knowledge of the language unless you are thoroughly persuaded that there is such a thing as specific knowledge of the same? And if you are aware of the specific knowledge the denial of it will be equally self-contradictory. One may contend that the awareness of the possibility of specific knowledge does not amount to specific knowledge of the language and so there is no contradiction, as only the absence of specific knowledge is opposed to presence of the same and not to awareness of the possibility of such knowledge. But this too does not improve the situation. For the absence of specific knowledge can be predicated only if there is a knowledge of what is called specific knowledge. So the contradiction is unavoidable. One may say that knowledge of definite details is only affirmed and this is made possible by a general knowledge of the existence of such definite details. But the knowledge of the existence of definite details is equivalent to knowledge of the definite details. The knowledge of the existence of the jar is the same thing as the knowledge of the jar. The knowledge of the existence of the details is therefore the self-identical knowledge of the details. Knowledge means knowledge of the possibility. So the denial of knowledge, specific or otherwise, invariably leads to self-contradiction.

One may possibly contend that the knowledge of details as the pre-condition of the negation of details relates to other entities than the object of negation. When I affirm that I have no detailed knowledge of Persian, I am of course aware there is such a thing as detailed knowledge, but this detailed knowledge does not relate to Persian but to the language I know. The simple meaning of the judgment is that I have no such detailed knowledge of Persian as I have of English and so on. So there is no contradiction between knowledge and absence of knowledge. But this contention is only superficial. What is the precise object of the negative judgment ? It is not general knowledge of the language which is the condition of it. Nor can it be the specific knowledge, as the knowledge of it will be the presupposition of the negative judgment. Does the negative judgment seek to deny the specific knowledge of Persian or of any other language ? Certainly the latter possibility is not tenable, as this would be a contradiction of fact. My specific knowledge of English is not denied when I say I do not know Persian. It must therefore be admitted that it is specific knowledge of Persian that is negated in the judgment. So specific knowledge as the object of negation has a necessary reference to Persian and I am aware that I have no specific knowledge of Persian although I am aware that such knowledge is possible. But as we have said before, knowledge of the possibility of thing is not distinct from knowledge of the thing. It may be urged that knowledge of the possibility of specific knowledge of Persian is not tantamount to specific knowledge of Persian. What I am aware of is only the possibility of it and what I deny is actual possession of the thing. But this too is only a superficial defence. How do you know that knowledge of the possibility of specific knowledge of Persian is different from actual specific knowledge of Persian, unless you are aware what actual specific knowledge of Persian is ? Certainly one cannot say that a chair is different from a table unless one has knowledge of each of the terms. So if the possibility of specific knowledge is to be distinguished from actual specific knowledge, there must be a previous knowledge of the two terms to be distinguished. This means that denial of specific knowledge, possible or actual, is only feasible only with an affirmation of the same and affirmation and negation of the same thing in the same reference and context involves an unmitigated absurdity.

Furthermore, the memory of dreamless sleep furnishes evidence of positive ignorance and we shall see reasons for refusing to believe it to be a negation of all knowledge. A person awakening from a state of dreamless sleep remembers that he did not experience anything in that interval. Let us examine the import of this judgment 'I did not know anything'. It has been contended that this judgment is only a case of inference. The judgment posits absence of knowledge in dreamless sleep and this absence of knowledge is inferred from the absence of all conditions of knowledge. But this involves a *petitio principii.* How can one be sure of the absence of the conditions of knowledge? The absence of the cause is inferred from the absence of the effect and the absence of the cause of knowledge is sought to be proved from the absence of knowledge and the latter again is established by means of the former. This is clearly a case of arguing in a vicious circle. Nor can the absence of the conditions of knowledge be inferred from the refreshed state of the sense-organs, because the refreshed condition of the organs is due to another cause, viz. the experience of the blissful nature of the self, which shines unobstructed in that state. Moreover, the judgment 'I did not know anything' cannot be construed to refer to a negative condition in which the absence of knowledge has been felt. Negation can be understood only by reference to the object and if there is a negation of knowledge, the presence of knowledge in the form of reference to the negated object has to be posited and this involves the absurdity of simultaneous affirmation and negation of knowledge. The absence of knowledge cannot be inferred as there is total lack of a ground of inference. Nor can it be remembered unless there was a perceptual experience of it; but perceptual experience of negation, even if it is conceded, would presuppose the knowledge of the object of negation, e.g. knowledge, and so there will be a contradiction. The fact of the matter is that there can be no denial of knowledge without its affirmation.

The Advaitist observes that the inevitable difficulty attending the attempts of interpreting the experience of 'I do not know', etc. as unqualified negation of knowledge gives the corroborative proof of a positive entity, called 'ignorance'. 'I do not know' is not a negative judgment. It is a pure affirmation of ignorance—a positive fact. And this ignorance may be felt directly in itself with or without reference to an object. In dreamless sleep we envisage this ignorance as enveloping the pure consciousness of self and this is referred to in wakeful experience. The absence of knowledge is a concomitant of ignorance and hence it is competent to be inferred on the basis of ignorance. It may be urged that this ignorance too cannot be perceived as ignorance is diametrically opposed to knowledge and knowledge of ignorance will be open to the same difficulty as the knowledge of negation of knowledge. But the Advaitist maintains that the difficulty does not arise in the case of positive ignorance and there is no contradiction between ignorance and transcendent experience of the same. Ignorance about a thing is opposed by knowledge of the self-same object and so there can be no synchronism between them. But the existence of ignorance is proved by our direct experience of it and this experience is not empirical, but transcendental. If there were opposition between ignorance and transcendent experience (*sākṣijñāna*), the existence of ignorance could never be known. Certainly it is absurd to argue that the proof of ignorance should be antagonistic to its existence—a position which leads to the denial of an obvious fact. We have therefore no alternative but to formulate the theory that there is no opposition between ignorance and *a priori* knowledge of ignorance and the opposition subsists only between determinate knowledge and ignorance when they refer to the same object. The attestation of ignorance is effected by the transcendent consciousness, which is an eternal fact and is not generated by any accredited instrument of knowledge. This transcendent consciousness is alogical or super-logical in character and is the prius of logical knowledge. Ignorance or false knowledge is sublated by a logical knowledge and not by transcendental consciousness, which rather attests and reveals all knowledge-situations irrespective of their logical character. But this advantage cannot be claimed by negative knowledge, as negation presupposes the knowledge of the term to be negated and this is incompatible with negation of all knowledge, as has been set forth before.

Rāmānuja does not admit the possibility of transcendental pure consciousness and all consciousness according to him is knowledge with a subject-object reference. Accordingly he refuses to believe that consciousness may be in one place antagonistic to ignorance and in another place may function as its attesting proof. But this denial by Rāmānuja of the transcendent variety of knowledge does not appear to be in consonance with our experience. The relation of opposition between two terms is understood from the experience of the behaviour of the terms in question and is never known *a priori*. The empirical knowledge of a jar is antagonistic to ignorance of the jar and it does not lie in us to question or impugn this relation on *a priori* grounds. We cannot call in question the validity of opposition obtaining between heat and cold and we have to record this law on the basis of our observation. In other words, our knowledge of opposition is empirical in character and when the relation of opposition is seen to obtain between ignorance and empirical knowledge it is not competent to us to question its truth or to extend this law to other facts on the basis of analogy. The behaviour of things is known from observation and the extension of our knowledge to unobserved data is always exposed to the risk of untruth and infidelity to facts. If one argues that a lump of steel should behave as a sword, as both are composed of the same substance, viz. steel, the argument is proved false only by an appeal to fact and not by abstract *a priori* considerations. So there is no logic in the contention that ignorance would be exposed to the same fate as negation of knowledge and if one is not opposed to knowledge the other should also not be opposed. And to deny the difference between transcendent consciousness and empirical consciousness is to defy the verdict of experience.

We have to dispose of another difficulty in theory of entitative ignorance. It has been shown that ignorance like absence of knowledge is opposed by presence of knowledge when they relate to the same object. Now, when I say that I do not know Persian I affirm only my ignorance of Persian and this ignorance cannot subsist if there is knowledge of the same. That being the case, ignorance of Persian cannot be affirmed if there is knowledge of Persian and if there is no knowledge of Persian one cannot affirm one's ignorance of the same. So the theory of ignorance too is confronted by a *cul de sac*. It may be contended that ignorance together with the object referred to is attested by transcendental consciousness and transcendental consciousness does not present opposition to any knowledge, false or true. So the consciousness of ignorance along with the object referred to does not involve a logical difficulty, as the consciousness is alogical in character. But this contention, even if conceded, raises another difficulty. If the knowledge of ignorance and its object be furnished by transcendental consciousness, the knowledge of the object should be definite and capable of being explained. Even transcendent knowledge is capable of leading to affirmation and communication of its objects, as is seen to be the case with mental facts, which are all revealed by transcendental knowledge and are capable of being affirmed or communicated. If the object of ignorance were revealed by transcendental knowledge, this should enable us to define and explain the nature of the object. But this would make ignorance impossible. We are ignorant of an object only if we cannot specify the nature of the object. Ignorance of an object would thus be rendered impossible whether there is awareness or absence of awareness of the object. So the theory of positive ignorance has no advantage over the other theory which believes it to be a negation of knowledge. If however the difficulty is sought to be avoided by the hypothesis that ignorance of the specific nature of the object is consistent with the general knowledge of the same, the same explanation can be offered by the advocate of negation also. It can be consistently supposed that absence of knowledge of the specific nature is not incompatible with a general knowledge of an object and so the affirmation and negation of knowledge will not involve a contradiction. And the congruence of this combination is attested by the possibility of such psychical phenomena as desire of knowledge and the like. Now a desire of knowledge is possible only if there is a general awareness of the object sought to be known together with absence of specific knowledge. If there is specific knowledge or unqualified absence of knowledge, no enquiry or desire to know can come into existence. The judgments 'I do not know' and the like are thus capable of being explained in terms of negation and the hypothesis of an entitative ignorance is uncalled for.

The Advaita in reply observes that the opponent has no doubt made out a plausible case for himself, but the explanation will not stand scrutiny. In a situation where there is combined affirmation and negation of the same kind of facts the knowledge of the negation invariably presupposes the knowledge of the specific nature of the object negated. For instance, when we negate a jar in a place where another jar is present, the negation of the jar relates to a particular jar and is capable of being predicated if the jar to be negated is known in its full individuality. To take another example. When I find that of the two pens I use, one of Parker's and another of Waterman's make, the Parker's pen is not present on the table, I can affirm the absence of the Parker's pen only because I know what a Parker's pen is from what it is not. In this case there is a simultaneous knowledge of the presence and of the absence of the same class of objects and this knowledge has been made possible because I am aware of the specific determinate nature of the object of negation. The judgment 'I do not know' also involves, as we have seen before, an affirmation and a denial of knowledge—to be explicit, there is an affirmation of one piece of knowledge and the negation of another, both however belonging to the same class-category. And in such a situation the knowledge of the specific determinate individuality of the negated object is the necessary condition and this makes the negative judgment impossible. But this difficulty does not arise if the so-called negative judgment is looked upon as affirmation of a positive fact. The judgment 'I do not know the specific contents of the book' is thus an affirmative judgment and asserts the knowledge of a positive fact, viz. ignorance, which has the appearance of a negative concept, the negative character being a consequential determination of it. And the knowledge of a positive subjective phenomenon having a reference to an objective datum does not involve or presuppose the knowledge of the objective datum with all its specific determinations. This is evident from the cognizance of such psychical phenomena as enquiry, desire of knowledge, and the like. One feels the urge of a desire of knowledge only when one is aware of the presence of the object and not its full determination. The ignorance of the determination is a positive fact and is felt without the full knowledge of the specific determinations of the object of the desire. So also with all cases of absence of knowledge as felt by a person within his mind. It is not absence of knowledge that is felt, because the knowledge of absence can be understood only if there is knowledge of the relevant object with all its determinations and this means the impossibility of such experiences as 'I do not know'. But the difficulty vanishes if the psychic phenomenon 'do not know' is thought to be an assertion of a positive psychosis, as this does not presuppose the knowledge of the object with all its determinations. The negative judgment on the other hand is only formed after the full specific knowledge of the object of ignorance has been acquired and not before. Only when a man has fully studied the contents of a book, he can feel and say that he did not know these facts before his study. The judgment is indeed negative, but this has been made possible by a full knowledge of the contents with their specific determinations. If the initial primary experience of ignorance, which is the preliminary condition of enquiry, be regarded as a negative judgment, this will presuppose full knowledge of the object of enquiry as a precondition and this is suicidal to its possibility. The full knowledge is the result and not the condition. So the so-called negative judgment 'I do not know this or that' is believed by the Advaitist to be affirmatory of a positive subjective fact and the knowledge of such psychical phenomena does not require the full knowledge of the object; but this would be an inevitable consequence if the judgment were negative.

We have seen that the Advaitist's proposition that nescience or ignorance (*ajñāna* or *avidyā*) is a positive fact and is directly intuited in our experience is based upon a dialectical necessity and the absurdities of the contrary interpretation of it as a negative experience, which have been discussed by us, furnish a corroborative evidence of the soundness of the theory. This positive ignorance, it has been shown, is a dynamic formative principle which serves as the prius of the whole phenomenal world, both subjective and objective. It lies beyond the scope of the present discourse to go into the metaphysical issues hanging upon this concept; but we think we have prepared the way for such discussion by giving the psychological evidence in favour of the existence of *ajñāna* as a positive fact. The metaphysical issues follow as logical consequences from its entitative character. It may be hoped that a critical student of Vedānta will realize that Vedānta does not draw all its strength only from scriptural evidence, but is broad-based upon an unassailable logical foundation.

CAREER OF YUSUF ‘ĀDIL SHĀH OF BIJĀPUR[1]

By K. K. Basu

The second story about the early history of Yusuf ‘Ādil Shāh is given by Mir Ibrāhim Asadkhāni. Not unlike his other ancestors, who rendered devoted service to the royal family of the ‘Ādil Shāhis, Ibrāhim awaited upon ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh II.

‘Alā’-ud-din, popularly called Hasan Gangu, and the founder of the Bāhmani dynasty, was succeeded by a long line of kings. During the reign of one of his descendants Sultān Maḥmud Bāhmani, whose dignity outshone Faridun’s[2] and Jamshed’s[3] and whose posterity became distinguished like Bahman[4] and Isfandiyār,[5] there appeared in his capital Haidrabad Bidar a moss-trooper. In physical prowess and knowledge in pugilism he was unequalled. Accompanied by seven hundred pupils he left Iran for Hindustan where he visited every country and town and carried all before him. Many costly rewards and valuable presents were, in consequence, showered down upon him.

Reaching Bidar, the competitor looked out for an adversary. When this news came to the Sultan, he enquired, ‘ Who is there in this city who can put up a fight with this foreign *sabreur* ? ’ His courtiers informed him, that there was one veteran who had triumphed over every disputant and had even made short work of mad elephants! 'Bring that brave and powerful assailant near me!' commanded the Sultan. The man, so alluded to, was Ḥusain Āqā. When he was introduced to the Sultan, he submitted, 'Your Majesty! I am stricken in years and weather beaten. But there are some powerful and strong athletes in our tilting-ground. If your Honour condescends, I may bring forward one!' Thus, with the Sultan's permission Ḥusain Āqā brought Yusuf Beg Sāwi to the front.

---

[1] Based on Mirza Aḥmad Zubairi’s *Busatin-us-Salatin.*

[2] *Faridun* or *Firidun* was an ancient and celebrated king of Persia who reigned in 750 B.C. His father or grandfather Jamshed, was driven from his throne by an usurper named Zohak. The people after groaning under the oppression of this tyrant for several years, flew at length to arms, under the conduct of a blacksmith of Isfahan. The said blacksmith marched at the head of a party with his apron displayed as a banner from the point of spear, gave battle to Zohak, defeated and put him to death.

Faridun is the boast of the Persians as a model of every virtue, but his reign is so much dignified by fable that we cannot place confidence in the facts.

[3] Jam or Jamshed was an ancient king of Persia. He is confounded with Bacchus, Solomon, and Alexander the Great, and is the subject of much fable. The cup of Jamshed, called *Jām i Jam*, is famous in the East, furnishing the poets with numberless allegories and allusions to wine, the philosopher’s stone, divination, enchantment, etc.

[4] Bahman, name of Ardshir, son of Isfandiyar, king of Persia, identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

[5] Isfandiyar, was the son of *Kishtasb*, of the First Dynasty of Persian kings. He was surnamed *brazen body* on account of his great strength. He was one of the greatest heroes of Persia. He was killed by Rustam, celebrated in Eastern poems as the Persian Hercules.

The Sultan decreed that the competitors should get themselves ready for the action. There was in the agenda a day fixed for wrestling and it happened to fall on the day when the Sultan held his public levy. His Majesty seated himself on the throne and every member of the court was present. All the prize-fighters from far and near congregated. Having clothed himself with the customary wrestling *trousseau* and anointing himself with musk, saffron, sandal, and ambergris, and with shawls suspended round his neck, Yusuf appeared on the cockpit. He first made an obeisance to the Emperor and his courtiers and then shook his hands with the associates. The Irani champion, on the other hand, with sandal and other perfumes besmeared all over his body and decked in his native apparel befitting the occasion, entered the arena and bowed low. His seven hundred pupils remained standing round the throne in a circle.

Afterwards, the Irani game-cock, considering his opponent an unworthy match, approached the Sultan and submitted, 'Long live the Sultan and his prosperity! During my lifetime I have had occasions when I tried conclusions with many a contestant much more superior to this youngster in strength, and there is no such instance in which I did not vanquish them! Now, I colour up when I think of having a contest with this nonage! How absurd!!' In reply Ḥusain Āqā said, 'Don't worry! There is no harm in trying this youth who has taken into his head to be put to the test. When he is outwitted, others, who have been kept awaiting, shall be brought forth!'

However, the two swordsmen at last faced each other. Yusuf, at first, offered his prayers to God, and facing West performed *Sijda*; he then ranged opposite and trenched on his rival. Both showed their ingenuity and played their best card, but the result remained indecisive. Gracious goodness! What a marvellous display of skill and dexterity on the part of the two!! The Sultan, his court and others who were present were lost in amazement and they sang *pæans* of congratulation.

All on a sudden, skilfully and adroitly Yusuf dealt a simultaneous blow on the girdle and the neck of his powerful opponent, and then, in the name of God, the Prophet and Ali, he raised him high up in the air and hurled him with such a terrific momentum that it broke his spine. The Sultan and all those who witnessed the scene rend the air with their uproar.

Subsequently, Yusuf was introduced to the Sultan and he received from him robes of honour and other costly rewards. The nobility, on their part, also conferred, according to their own means, gifts and donations on the victor. The very day, the Sultan endowed Yusuf with Gogi and five other villages and posted him in his personal staff. This incident happened in the year 895 H. (1489 A.D.).

Yusuf's upright conduct, conscientious discharge of duties, and winning ways caused delight to the Sultan,[1] and he was therefore soon appointed Master of the Horse, and then, the chief Kotwal, and ultimately a Havildar.

It should be kept in mind that this narrative might lead to a diversity of opinion. It is not unlikely that Yusuf belonged to the royal family of Room. From the first account it is apparent that he had a straight descent from the nobility of Sāwah. The second statement makes it manifest that the eternal predestination had brought him out of his native country,[2] and led him to Hindustan and to the Deccan, where, like the other nobles who, in accordance with the custom that obtained in the country, began their career as a slave and then made a rapid rise to power, he won distinction, gradually rising from the body of royal slaves.[3]

It was an age when wrestling and other forms of physical exercise came into vogue ; and, thus, Yusuf soon cut a figure and he obtained precedence by trampling a prize-fighter under his foot. Strange to say that, some editions of Muhammad Qāsim Ferishta's work throw out a suggestion that Yusuf was born of a Turki slave and obtained by purchase. It matters not if the opinions differ, the truth is, that his star was on the ascendant and his capabilities stood out.[4]

---

[1] در حرکات و سکنات و اوضاع و اطوار بشایستکی تمام و مقبولی کلام در نظر سلطان و سایر اعیان درکاه جلوه‌کر می شد *

[2] آب و دانه او را از مسقط الراسش بر آورده .

[3] The text reads چیلهای پادشاهی .

[4] الغرض نجم طالعش در اوج و ترقی بود یوماً فیوماً آب کوهرش می افزد و جوهر ذاتیش ظاهر میکردید *

Yusuf sent to Telang against the rebels.

In the *interim*, it transpired that, the people on the frontier of Telang [1] had run riot and put the roads in danger. The inhabitants of those parts fared ill under their oppression. The ministers of the court recommended for the despatch of a big army against the insolent evil-doers. Some of the courtiers, who burst with envy at Yusuf's fortune and wanted him to be removed from the court, appealed to the Sultan. 'Yusuf Beg is brave and powerful', they represented, 'he should be sent against the refractory people of Telang'. This proposal was deemed fair, and the Sultan conferred on Yusuf robes of honour befitting a king and the titles of *Majlis-i-Raf'ī* and *Malik-us-Shark* and sent him off against the rebels at the head of a large army. *Majlis-i-Raf'ī* came off successful, and having chastised the mutineers and brought peace and order in the country, he made preparations for his return.

Rumour about Yusuf's rebellion.

Meanwhile, no report about Yusuf reached the court on account of the obstruction that it met at the hands of the mischief-makers. The spiteful and malicious courtiers made a representation stating that Yusuf had set the authority at naught and possessed himself of the country he had been sent to. But Ḥusain Āqā protested. 'Yusuf, a traitor!', he exclaimed. 'Who would have thought it! He cannot, I am sure, fly in the face of the Sultan. There might be some other reason for his delay!'

Bari Āqā sent to bring Yusuf.

At last, Ḥusain became apprehensive for the safety of Yusuf and he despatched Barī Āqā to bring him back. But Barī Āqā, likewise, made delay in returning, and the officers of the court affirmed that the two recalcitrants had joined hands and there was no possibility of their return.

Husain Āqā was then sent for the same purpose.

The Sultan, now, issued a command asking Ḥusain Āqā to produce Yusuf to court without the least delay. Ḥusain, accordingly, set out and reaching Telang he left there Barī Āqā as the Sultan's representative, and then traced his way back taking in his train Yusuf and various costly presents. When the news about the victorious return of *Majlis-i-Raf'ī* reached His Majesty, his heart leapt with joy and he forthwith set off to the necropolis of Khalil-ul-lah Karmāni, May his grave be hallowed!, and having paid his tribute to the earthly remains of that pious soul, he returned to his capital.

---

[1] Also called Tulingana, Telingana, or Telinga; it was one of the principal kingdoms of Southern India.

Ḥusain Āqā and *Majlis-i-Raf'ī* at first made an offering of valuable presents to the Sultan, and then they gave him a true picture of the state of affairs at Telang, narrating to him how the rebels were chastised and order effected in the country.

Rewards made to Yusuf.

The Sultan made an acceptance of their tribute and became exceedingly delighted at the sagacity and acts of fidelity so displayed by *Majlis-i-Raf'ī*. He gave away many costly presents to Yusuf and further endowed him with a territory extending from Karangarti[1] and Kaliyan to Manjan,[2] Goa, Kanchi, and Kalista.[3] Mangalbira,[4] which had been the old seat of the Hindu rajas, was also consigned to him. As for Barī Āqā, he was honoured with the appellation of *Subhān-i-Kuli* and sent out to Telingana.

Yusuf strengthens his position.

At the end, day by day, Yusuf's course ran smooth and he rose higher up till he became one of the greatest amirs of the court. On the death of Muhammad Shah tumult and disorder sprang up, but *Majlis-i-'Ali* did his best endeavour to draw together the soldiery that belonged to various nationalities such as the Turks, Mughals, Persians, and Turanies, and providing them with good berths he not only poured oil on the troubled waters but also augmented his own power. He had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name, and he effected a change in his title,—from 'Khān' to 'Shāh', so that, he was henceforth called Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh. As he was brought up at Sāwah, he was named Sāwi. After his demise, the people of the Deccan called him Yusuf Sāwi for the reason that, in common parlance 'Sāwa' signified 'one and a quarter' and as Yusuf was the greatest among the omrahs of Muhammad Shah's court, and the country under his possession was greater in extent in comparison with those possessed by other tarafdars and jagirdars by a 'quarter', he was called 'Sāwi'.

Disaffection of Qāsim Barid.

When Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh beat the drum of his sovereignty and his star rose higher and higher and his power and authority waxed, Qāsim Barid,[5] who had established his own authority at the cost of Sultān Maḥmud and was, for some time past, contemplating to seize Bijāpur, prevailed upon Timrāj, the ruler of Vijayanagar, to join with him. Qāsim invited the sympathies of other *tarafdars* of the vicinity and thus created a disturbance.

---

[1] کارنکرتی . [2] منجان . [3] کالستہ . [4] منکل بیرہ .

[5] Ferishta writes that Qasim Barid Turk invited the Ray of Beejanugur and Bahadur Gilany to invade the country of Yusuf 'Adil Shah.

Sultan's illness and recovery. His benefactions.

But it so happened that by the grace of God 'Ādil Shāh, by means of his practical wisdom and skill, put an end to the chaos and confusion that arose in the country. In the meantime Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh had a severe attack of illness,[1] so that, for two months he remained confined to bed. At last by the mercy of God, when he was restored to health, he opened the treasury in charity and made benefactions upon near and distant relatives and gave alms to the poor and the needy. Twenty thousand *huns* were given away to the *'ulemas* and the meritorious residing at Mecca and Medina. The same amount was conferred upon Khwaja Abdullāh Harwi, who accompanied the Sultan when the latter left his native home for Hindustan, so that, with the money that he received, he could construct *masjids* and reservoirs at Sāwah.

Timraj and Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh at war: Latter's victory.

Sometime after, Timrāj[2] advanced against Bijapur with hostile intentions. With an army numbering less than 8,000, the Sultan personally marched against the enemy. The belligerent forces met each other in battle order,[3] and a sanguinary contest took place, thousands dying on both sides. At last, the infidels scored a victory over the Muslims. Under the circumstances, 'Ādil Shāh having selected a body of famous and well-tried soldiers left the battle-field. The work of destruction in the Muslim rank weighed upon the Sultan's heart, but he kept his spirits up.

Report came that, the enemy, flushed with victory, was engaged in plunder and rapine. The Sultan took time by the forelock and with an army of 2,000 soldiers he made a dash at his opponents. This attack broke the line of the enemy[4] who made a precipitate retreat leaving behind a rich booty which fell into the hands of the Muslims. Having expressed his heartfelt thanks to Heaven, 'Ādil Shāh made his way to the capital.

'Ādil Shāh introduces Shī'a religion.

On account of the augmentation of his honour, glory, and power, and increase of territory beyond description, and with the land-holders under his beck and call 'Ādil Shāh was in a high flow of spirits.

---

[1] Ferishta says that after his victory over Qasim Barid, Malik Ahmad Bheiry, and Khwajah Jehan Deccani, Yusuf while amusing himself with hunting was attacked with ague and fever.

[2] Timrāj was the general of the Rai of Vijayanagar.

[3] The date of the battle as given by Ferishta is Rajab 898 H., Apr. 1493 A.D.

[4] According to Ferishta Timrāj and the young Rai (of Vijayanagar) fled to Vijayanagar. The Rai died of wounds received in battle and Timrāj seized the government of the country.

Once, he summoned[1] an assembly of his courtiers and nobles, high officials and theologians; addressing them he said, 'At first I made a promise to God, The Most High, The Causer of Causes!, that if He conferred on me regal power, I would introduce the doctrine of the *Imāmiyah*[2] and have the *Khuṭba* read in the name of 'Ali, Peace be upon him!' 'I have', the Sultan continued, 'no antagonism with the Sunnis or the Hanifis.[3] A man can follow the religion he likes most. None would thrust himself in other people's affairs'. 'What counsel do you now suggest?', the Sultan at last interrogated.

In the said conference, there were some Shī'as and others who concurred with the Sultan merely to humour him. 'Capital!' they all echoed in support of the Sultan's ideas, 'what's the need for consultation-prayer[4] when good actions are concerned?' Others again, who belonged to the Sunni or Hanifi sect made no reply. But those who were outspoken responded. 'We would only make a fool of ourselves if we give our opinion in the matter', they said. 'Though', they continued, 'your sovereignty is based on strong foundations, your enemies are hovering around; Maḥmud Shāh, the rightful heir to your throne, is out for it; there are, besides, other claimants, such as Amir Barid, Aḥmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk who are Sunnis in faith! Further, most of the amirs and the soldiery and most of the theologians of the city and the vicinity belong to the Hanifi sect and are friendly to the Sunnis. It is not unlikely that the introduction of the Shī'a faith might lead to a great upheaval which cannot be kept off. It is advisable therefore, that your Honour should give up the idea'.

At this the Sultan bent down his head, and uttered no words. Soon, news came from Iran that Shāh Ismāil Safvi[5] had introduced the Shī'a doctrine in his country, had changed the *Khuṭba*, and got it read in the name of the Khalifs and the holy Imāms, Peace be upon them! On receipt of this piece of news the Sultan became elated, and he made up his mind to accomplish his object.

---

[1] Ferishta says that the council was held in 908 H. (1502 A.D.).

[2] *Imāmiyah* or *Imāmīyat* is the sect of the Shī'as, who hold that 'Ali is the true Imām or immediate follower of Muhammad. Shī'a meaning 'a follower', i.e. to say of 'Ali cousin-german of the Prophet and husband of his daughter Fatima. The Shī'as maintain that 'Ali was the first legitimate Imām, and they accordingly reject the first three Khalifas recognized by the Sunnis, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usmān.

[3] The Hanifi or Hanafi is one of the four orthodox schools of Law interpretation, founded by Abū Hanifā, which is followed in Turkey, C. Asia, and North India.

[4] استخارة lit. meaning, conciliating the divine favour; looking in the Qur'ān, or any favourite book for a good augury.

[5] Ismail, the founder of the Safvi dynasty, ruled from A.H. 905–930 (1499–1524 A.D.).

Shī'a religion enforced.

On Friday, Jamā-di-ul-awwal 908 H. (Nov. 1502 A.D.) some of the amirs, courtiers, and the public assembled at the fort-masjid. At the behest of the Sultan, Naqīb Khān, a high noble of Meshed, rose to the minaret and cried out, 'I bear witness that, 'Ali is the friend of God'. He then ascended the pulpit and delivered an oration in the names of the great companions of the Prophet and the twelve 'Imāms, May peace be upon them ![1]

Dissatisfaction of some of the nobles.

In that congregation there were nobles and others who professed the Sunni doctrine. Of these, 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was a great noble and the commander of the army, Dilāwar Khān Habshi, Muḥammad Sistāni, and others feeling uncomfortable returned home without saying their prayers.

Nobles send petition to Maḥmud Bāhmani.

Very soon the people turned contumacious, and 'Ādil Shāh approached every individual and tried to pacify them saying, 'For you there is your own religion and for me, mine'. Nevertheless, some of the 'ulemas, theologians, and nobles of the city who were Sunnis, sent a petition to Sultān Maḥmud Bāhmani requesting him to help them by defending their religion. The latter, therefore, in conjunction with Amir Barid, Aḥmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Qutb Shāh, made preparations for war. Finding his position untenable, 'Ādil Shāh came out of the city and found his way to Khandesh. The Sultan, then, threw himself into the arms of 'Imād-ul-Mulk who was in intimate terms with him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was a man of grey hair and experienced; he at first reprimanded 'Ādil Shāh for his actions, and then, advised him to give up the new creed. In compliance with the counsel thus offered, 'Ādil Shāh issued a command to his agent at Bijāpur ordering him to discontinue the new doctrine and to re-instate the old one. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, then, issued, on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh, a proclamation, expressing regret for the Sultan's conduct, whereupon Aḥmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, Qutb Shāh, and others traced their way homewards.

Sunni religion restored and Shī'a religion re-imposed.

Subsequently, when the disturbance ceased, 'Ādil Shāh returned to Bijapur. As some of the people were still perturbed and displeased, he had the *Khuṭba* read in the name of the Khalifs, but, at last, when he was out of the meshes, he ordered the

---

[1] Ferishta says that Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh was the first prince who dared to perform these ceremonies publicly in Hindustan.

The names of the twelve Shī'a Imāms begin with 'Ali and end with Muhammad al-Askari.

Khuṭba to be read in the name of the holy Imams, May their soul rest in peace !

Goa re-conquered from the Christians.

It transpired from Goa,[1] that on account of the inadvertence of the commandant, the Christians had laid siege to the fort. On receipt of this information, the Sultan, with an army of 2,000 cavalry composed of Mughal and Deccanies, marched out of Bijapur and reaching his destination surrounded the fortress. With great effort and some loss of men on his side, the Sultan, at last, conquered the fortress. A large number of the inmates of the fortress was put to death. Thus, having set everything in order, the Sultan returned to his capital.

Sultan's death.

After a reign of two and twenty years,[2] Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh suffered from urinary troubles.[3] His ailment was daily on the increase, and at last, finding that his days were numbered he appointed Ismā'il, his heir-apparent, and Kamāl Khān Deccanī, the regent. He desired that his corporeal body should be interred at Gogi, near the sarcophagus of Saiyyad Jalāl, popularly known as Shāh Chandāh Ḥusaini, who had loyally served him.

Its date.

The author of Tabākāt-i-Akbari places the death of Yusuf in 913 H. (1507-1508 A.D.), Qāsim Ferishta in 914 H. (1508-1509 A.D.), while Rafi-ud-dīn Shirāzi and Mir Ibrāhim Asad in 920 H. (1514-1515 A.D.).

Sons and daughters of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh.

Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh had one son named Ismāil, and three daughters. In spite of the difference in religion, each of the daughters was married to a Sunni. Thus, the eldest, Mariam Sultān, was espoused to Burhan Nizām Shāh, the second Khadija Sultān to 'Alā'-ud-din Nizām-ul-Mulk, and the third Bibi Sati to Aḥmad Shāh, son of Sultān Maḥmud.

Constructions of 'Ādil Shāh.

The name of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh is associated with the following constructions, viz. :—

(*a*) the fort of Bijapur ;
(*b*) the old 'Id-gāh, which during the rule of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh was included within the fort ;
(*c*) a canal, which was dug out of a fountain popularly called But Bowli, situated at the extremity of Torouh, and taken inside the fort by cutting strong stones. In

---

[1] The year, as given by Ferishta, is 915 H. (1510 A.D.).

[2] Ferishta writes 21 years.

[3] Ferishta is of opinion that Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh died of dropsy. With regard to Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh's physical features and character, Ferishta writes that, handsome in person, the prince was great in wisdom, eloquence, learning, liberality, and valour.

width and breadth, the aqueduct was moderate, and could be forded by young stalwart bodies heavily armed. The above fountain, which was the source of the conduit, though scanty in supply, is reported by the older people to be once full of water. It had a subterraneous water supply. For want of supervision, the fountain has practically become non-existent, being gradually filled up with earth ;

(*d*) the mausoleum of S̲h̲eik̲h̲ Muḥammad Shirāj Junaidi at Ahsanābād Gulburgah. The S̲h̲eik̲h̲ was related to Yusuf ;

(*e*) the city of Bijapur. The name is very old. It was a place of residence for 'ulemas and other eminent personages. S̲h̲eik̲h̲-ul-Mus̲h̲aik̲h̲ S̲h̲eik̲h̲ 'Ain-ud-din Ganj-i-'Alum, May his grave be sanctified ! in his work *Atwar-ul-Abrar* or the biographies of the saints, writes that, S̲h̲eik̲h̲ Ibrāhim Sankāni, on him be peace ! remained for some time at Daulatābād whence he migrated to Bhirol [1] and then to Bijapur, where he died. His tomb lies on the north of the city. S̲h̲eik̲h̲ Ibrāhim in his work *Tārikh-ul-Hāq* says that 'Az-ud-dīn Aburjā, a noble of the court of 'Alā'-ud-din, was, during the closing years of the reign of 'Ali 'Adil S̲h̲āh, appointed the governor of the new city in 701 H. (1301-1302 A.D.). Having remained there for 6 years, he went to Bijapur as its governor in 706 H. (1306-1307 A.D.). It was at the request of Rai Ramdeo that he laid at Bijapur the foundation of the Jāmi' mosque made of wood. On the demise of Aburjā, his son and successor Malik Karim-ud-dīn Aburjā constructed the mosque with stone in place of wood in 716 H. (1316-1317 A.D.). This latter mosque still exists within the fort and bears an inscription in the name of Malik Karim-ud-doulāh.

Yusuf 'Ādil S̲h̲āh's cavalry numbered 12,000, infantry 14,000, and elephants 37.

Construction of forts and masjids during Yusuf's reign.

In 892 H. (1487 A.D.) the fort of Parendah was constructed under the supervision of K̲h̲wājāh Jehān. A year before, i.e. in 891 H. (1486 A.D.) the fort of Palganoh [2] was built under the care of Asad K̲h̲ān. Some two years later, i.e. in 893 H. (1488 A.D.) the fort of Merj was also completed by Asad Khān. In 888 H. (1483-1484 A.D.) the erection of the fort of Sholāpur was undertaken at the orders of *Ma-shaheba*, the Queen-mother; the work of superintendence was entrusted to Khwājāh Jehān. In 878 H. (1473-1474 A.D.) the fort of Aḥmadnagar was set up under the direction of Aḥmad Nizāmshāh Bahri. The edification of the fort of Bidar was done at the orders of Ahmad Shāh Bāhmani in 803 H. (1400-1401 A.D.). The fort of Bijapur was raised by Yusuf 'Adil Shāh in 919 H. (1513-1514 A.D.). A masjid within it was constructed by the Sultān in 918 H. (1512-1513 A.D.). The foundation of Fateḥpur Mouza was laid in 919 H. (1513-1514 A.D.), and Farrukh Mahal in 921 H. (1515-1516 A.D.). A masjid near Anand Mahal was run up in 894 H. (1488-1489 A.D.) under the guidance of Khwājāh Jehān.

---

[1] بهیرول .

[2] قلعه پلکانوه .

THREE LIṄGARĀJA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR AND JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

The famous Liṅgarāja Temple at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa is the repository of a great number of records of the Gaṅga period. About the middle of the year 1934, Mr. Vinayak Misra prepared estampages of a number of inscriptions on the said temple. Mr. Misra was kind enough to hand over the estampages to us. We give in the following pages an account of three of the more interesting records.

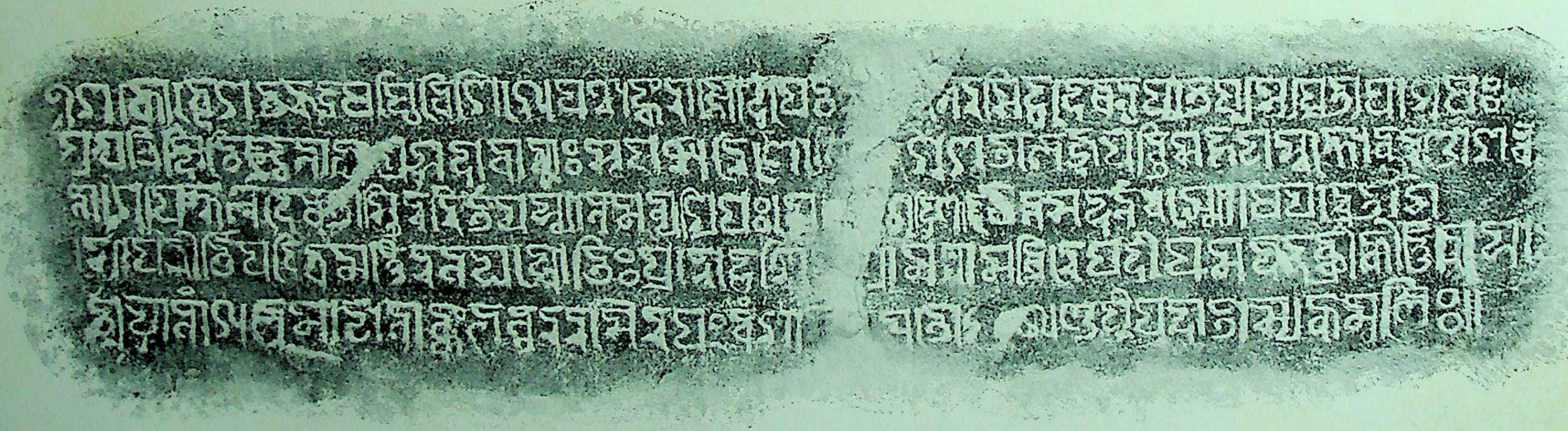
I. INSCRIPTION OF THE GAṄGA KING NARASIṀHA I OF ŚAKA YEAR 1165 AND AṄKA YEAR 5

The record is written in five lines, each of which is about 18 inches in length. They cover a space of 3½ inches in breadth. The letters are about ½ inch, both in length and in breadth. There is a crack in the middle of the record, running from top to bottom, which has caused the effacement of two letters from each of the lines.

The alphabet is proto-Bengali. The letters *kha*, *ja*, *ta*, *ma*, *va* (or *ba*), etc., are almost modern. It is interesting to note that the *anusvāra* has been expressed both by a small circle on the head of the letter (as in modern Nāgarî), as well as by a circle and an inclined bar beginning with a loop, put at the right side of a letter (as in modern Bengali). In the following inscription of Narasiṁha II, all *anusvāras* are of this second variety. As regards orthography, the *avagraha* or sign indicating the elision of the initial *a* in l. 5 is interesting. *Va* and *ba* have not been discriminated.

The record is written in Sanskrit verse. It is dated in the 5th *Aṅka* year of Pratāpa-vîra-Narasiṁhadeva and in the Śaka year *śatarudra*=1100+*ṣaṣṭi*=60+*viśikha*=5. It is, therefore, actually dated in the 4th regnal year (the first of the *Aṅka* year is to be omitted) of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha, who must be Narasiṁha I, son of Anaṅgabhîmadeva III and grandson of Rājarāja III, and in the Śaka year 1165. The date is important inasmuch as it shows that Narasiṁha I's first regnal year fell in Śaka 1161-62, that is to say, about 1240. This necessitates a correction of the views of Monomohan Chakravarti (*J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 117), who placed the date of this prince's accession about two years earlier. As no inscrip-

PLATE I



I.—Inscription of the Gaṅga King Narasiṃha I.

tions with both regnal years and Śaka dates were available for the three successors of Rājarāja III, Chakravarti took the reign periods of these kings as given in the Kendupatna grant to be *Aṅka* years and calculated backwards from Śaka 1200-01, which is the first year of Narasiṁha II, the grandson of Narasiṁha I. According to his calculations, the latter reigned in Śaka 1160–86 (*Ibid.*, p. 121) and his son Bhānudeva I in 1186–1200 (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-5). The present record, dated both in regnal and Śaka years, however, shows that Narasiṁha I began his rule, not in 1160 Śaka, but about two years later.

The inscription records the offer of a lamp to the temple of the god Kîrttivāsa (Kṛttivāsa), made by a person named Kambali.

TEXT *

L. 1.—Oṁ [1] Śākābde śata-rudra-ṣaṣṭhi [2]-viśikhe pañc-āṅka-rājyobdā [3] p[ra*]t[āpa-vīra*]-Narasiṁhadeva-nṛpate[r=]yasya pratāpāśrayaḥ

L. 2.—pratyarthi-kṣitibhṛd-dhan-ātyaya-sadā-vāsaḥ sva-sañcāriṇo . . g-viśva-tale jayanti sa[d-bhū]pasya kānta-caṇḍāśa [4]-k[ā *]-

L. 3.—my-āvyaya-kula-devat=āsti racitā yasy=ānamanya-śriyaḥ [5] | Pra . . . . . dhana-sadana-dharmmo='pi yā [6] vratī sa . . . . .

L. 4.—So='yaṃ kīrtti-pavitra-mūrtir=anagha-jyotiḥ praroha-śriy . . . . . marccā-mandire pradīpam=ayacchac=chrī-Kīrttivāsāya

L. 5.—Aghānāṃ khalu māṭānāṅkkalantara-rasair=ayaṃ vaṁśā . . . . mato='khaṇḍa-dīpa-dāt=āsya Kambaliḥ ||

II. INSCRIPTION OF THE 4TH REGNAL YEAR OF VĪRAVARA-KEŚARĪ

The record consists of nine lines, the first eight of which are about 17 inches in length, while the ninth is about 13½ inches. The nine lines together cover a space 6 inches in breadth. The letters are about ½ inch both in length and in breadth. The record is damaged in many places.

---

* From estampages kindly supplied by Mr. Vinayak Misra.

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Read *ṣaṣṭi*.

[3] Read *rājyābde*.

[4] Possibly we have to read *caṇḍīśa*.

[5] Read *anavadya-śriyaḥ*.

[6] Read *yo*.

The alphabet is remarkably similar to that used in the above record of the time of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I whose first regnal year falls in Śaka 1161-62 (about A.D. 1240). The striking palæographical resemblance of the two records to each other seems to show that one of them cannot be far removed from the other in point of time. The record is throughout written in Sanskrit prose.

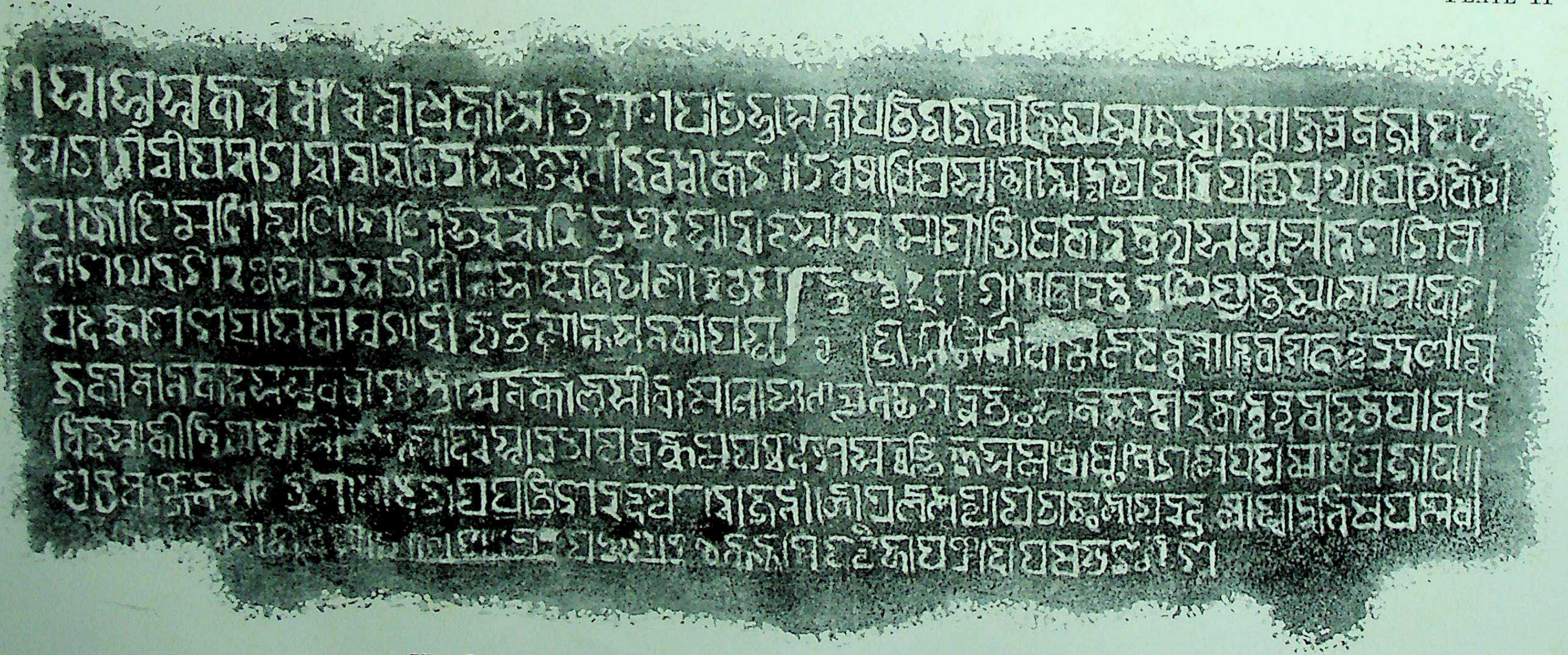
The inscription is dated in the fourth year counted from the *sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka* of a king called Vīravara-Keśarī. That this Vīravara-Keśarī was not a feudatory prince is not only proved by the reference to his *sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka*, but also by his epithet *paripanthi-pṛthvīpati-kirīṭa-koṭi-maṇi-ghṛṇi-śreṇibhir=aruṇita-pada-saroja*. The king is also described as *sva-kara-karavāla-kampita-gaṇapati-bhū-senāpati-gaja-vāji-samāja-rājarāja-tanuj-ātmaja*.[1] Here we are told that he was the grandson (*tanuj-ātmaja*=son's son or daughter's son) of Rājarāja who is said to have shaken by the power of his sword the kingdom (*bhū*) of Gaṇapati, and the assemblage of the latter's generals, elephants and horses. Who can these kings, Gaṇapati and Rājarāja, be ? We have already seen that on grounds of palæography the record can hardly be much earlier than the time of Narasiṁha I. Gaṇapati of this record therefore seems to be the celebrated Kākatīya Gaṇapati who ruled from A.D. 1199 to 1260. Gaṇapati's contemporary, Rājarāja, may be no other than the Gaṅga king Rājarāja III, grandfather of Narasiṁha I. The Kūrmeśvara temple (Śrīkūrmam) inscription of Śaka 1128 and the 11th *Aṅka* year (=9th regnal year) of Rājarāja III shows that this king's first regnal year fell in Śaka 1120-21 (about A.D. 1199). He therefore began to rule about the same time as Kākatīya Gaṇapati.

The next important point is regarding the identification of king Vīravara-Keśarī in whose 4th regnal year the record is dated. We have seen that the king has been called the *tanuj-ātmaja* of Rājarāja whom we are inclined to identify with Gaṅga Rājarāja III. The passage *tanuj-ātmaja* however may signify both son's son (*tanuja+ātmaja*) and daughter's son (*tanujā+ātmaja*). If then we accept the first meaning, Vīravarakeśarī would appear to have been a *biruda* of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I. Since names and *birudas* ending in *keśarī* have been found in different royal families of the Orissa region, the suggestion may not be altogether impossible. If, however, we accept the second interpretation, we are to think

---

[1] M. Chakrabarti seems to have wrongly read this passage as *rājarāja-tanuj-ānaṅgabhīma-vīra . . . . rājasya sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-saṃvatsare* and attributed the record to Anaṅgabhīma III. See *J.A.S.B.*, LXII (1903), p. 118, No. 1 (Inscription No. 3 on the south jamb of the porch of the great temple at Bhuvaneśvara, lines 1-4) ; also Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2069 and Ray's *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 478.

PLATE II



II.—Inscription of the 4th regnal year of Vīravara-Keśarī.

that a line of the Keśarīs was ruling independently to the east of the Gaṅga kingdom even in the glorious days of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. The existence of the Keśarīs in the Orissa region as late as about the 12th century A.D. is proved by the Sonpur, Bhuvaneśvara, Lalāṭendukeśarī and Navamuni inscriptions which mention the royal name Udyotakeśarī and by the *Rāmacarita* which mentions Karṇakeśarī, king of Utkala, who was defeated by Jayasiṁha, a feudatory of Rāmapāla who ruled up to about the beginning of the second quarter of the 12th century (Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, I, pp. 287-88; Ray, *Dynastic History*, I, p. 408ff.). If we accept the second meaning Vīravara-Keśarī is to be taken as a descendant of these Keśarī kings.[1]

The inscription seems to record the grant of 65 units of land in two villages called Citrā and Gajisyā, situated in the Cakralambota-viṣaya, in honour of the god Kṛttivāsa, styled Siddha-Lambodara, in order to supply necessaries for the god's autumnal worship in each year.

TEXT *

L. 1.—Oṁ[2] Svasti[|| *] Sva-kara-karavāla-kampita-Gaṇapati-bhu[3]-senāpati-gaja-vāji-samāja-Rājarāja-tanuj-ātmaja-

L. 2.—sya Marīcī - Parāśar-ācāra - vicāra - catura - Vīravara - Keśari-dhar-ādhipasya tyāgannamra[4]-paripanthi-pṛthvīpati-kirī-

L. 3.—ṭa-koṭi-maṇi-ghṛṇi-śreṇibhir=aruṇita-pada-sarojasya sāṃ-rājyābhiṣeka-caturtha-samvatsare[5] śaśi-ka-

L. 4.—la-śekhara-śiraḥ-srotasvatī-nīra-sādara-nirmala-retasaḥ [saṃ-sāra *]-sāgar-oddhāra-taraṇi-pratima-Vyomakeśa-

L. 5.—pada-kuśeśaya-sevā-mukharīkṛta-mānasena Kāyastha . . . . . kamala-bandhanād=deva-dvij-endra-caraṇ-āmbu-

L. 6.—ja-kānan-aika-haṁsa . . . . kālasī - kamalo . . [vinaya] - vrataḥ sānanda-vṛndāraka-vṛnda-vandita-pād-āra-

L. 7.—vindasya Kīttivāsya[6] Sīddha[7]-Lambodarasya . . . . pañca-daśa-surabhi-kusuma-k[o*]ṣa-triṁśat-saṁpadyamāna-pūjā-daro

---

[1] A *Mahārāja* Vīrakesarī is known from the Sonpur plates, issued in the king's ninth *Aṅka* year (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 570.)

* From estampages kindly supplied by Mr. Vinayak Misra.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read *bhū*.

[4] Read *tyāga-namra*.

[5] Read *saṃvatsare*.

[6] Read *Kṛttivāsasya*.

[7] Read *Siddha*.

L. 8.—ghṛta-vyāñjana-sahitam=ātma-hitāya prati-śaradi puṣpa-rāja - nīl - otpala . . . . -tāmbulāya Cakralambota - viṣaya-madhya-

L. 9.—pāti-Citrā-grāme [Gajisyā-nāma-grāme] ca pañca-[ṣaṣṭi]-bhūmi . . . pañcā dāpayata itiśca.[1]

III. INSCRIPTION OF THE GAṄGA KING NARASIṀHA II OF AṄKA YEAR 24

The record consists only of four lines of writing. The first three are about 17 inches in length, while the fourth is about 14 inches long. They cover a space of about 3 inches in breadth. The letters are about ½ inch in breadth, and a little more than that in length. There is a vertical crack in the middle of the stone containing the inscription, which has caused total or partial effacement of two letters in each of the lines. The alphabet is proto-Bengali, but the characters are more developed than those of the above record of the time of Narasiṁha I. The letters *kha*, *ga*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra*, *sa*, etc. closely resemble Bengali characters of the present day. The secondary forms of the vowels *a*, *i*, *î*, *au*, etc. are also modern. Initial *i* (l. 4) is midway between modern Oriya *i* and the old sign consisting of two dots with a horizontal bar above. The *anusvāra* is the same as in modern Bengali. The letters *va* and *ba* have not been distinguished.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose, but is full of wrong spellings, *e.g.*, *sukla-tṛtiā* (śukla-tṛtīyā), etc. This shows that the scribe had little knowledge of Sanskrit to his credit.

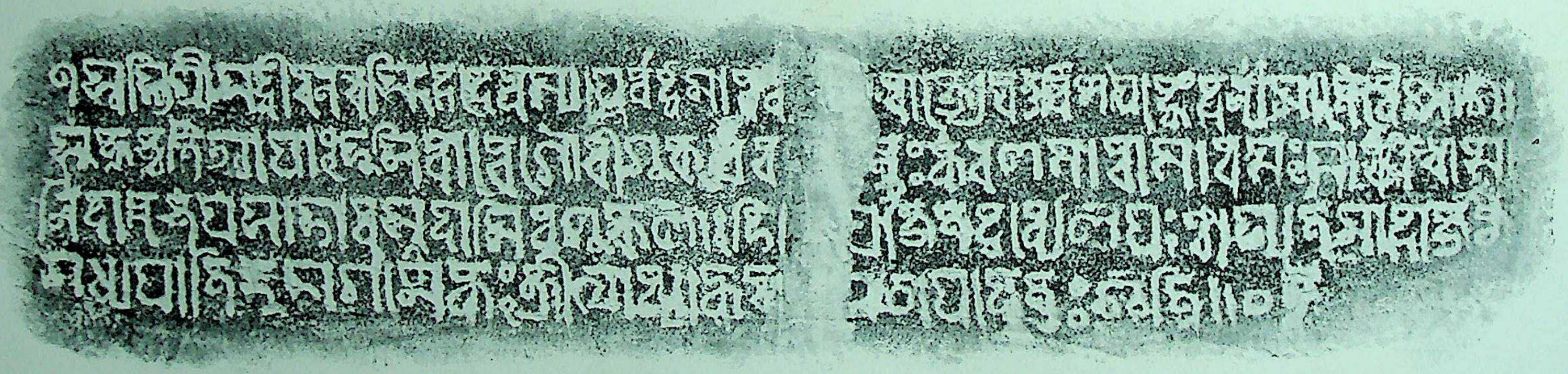
The inscription is dated on *Bhaumavāra*, *Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā* of the 24th *Aṅka* year of the *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of Śrī-mad-vîra-Narasiṁhadeva. This Narasiṁha must be the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II, son of Bhānudeva I, and grandson of Narasiṁha I. Omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years, the 24th *Aṅka* year of Narasiṁha II comes actually to be his 20th regnal year. From a number of inscriptions dated in the reign of Narasiṁha II, we come to know that the beginning of his reign fell in Śaka 1200, i.e. A.D. 1278. The details of the date in our record, viz. *Bhaumavāra*, 3rd lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, thus show that the actual date of the inscription is Tuesday, 15th April, 1298 A.D.

The inscription records that a piece of land in Paṁñcāsyata-Māhājanî was purchased by the savings of the *guru*, Bhāvasadāśiva by name, and was donated for the study of *Vyākaraṇa*.

---

[1] Read *pañcaṃ dāpayat=īti*.

Plate III



III.—Inscription of the Gaṅga King Narasiṁha II.

TEXT *

L. 1.—Oṁ [1] Svasti[|| *]Śrīmad-vīra-Narasiṁhadevasya pravarddhamāna-v[ijaya *]-rājye caturviśaty-aṅke vartyamāne [2] vaiśākha-

L. 2.—sukla-tṛtiāyāṁ [3] bhūmivāre [4] Gaurī-guru-caraṇ[ā*]ntaḥkaraṇa-sār-āsāra-saṁsāra-nirāsā-[5]

L. 3.—nidāna-tapasā [6] Bhāva-Sadāsiva [7]-guruṇāṃ bhi[*kṣ-opa]jita [8]-dravyeṇa paṁñcāsyata-māhājanī-

L. 4.—madhyapāti-bhū-bhāgam=ekaṁ krītvā vyākara[ṇa-pā *]ṭhāy =āprattaḥ iti [9] ||O

---

* From estampages kindly supplied by Mr. Vinayak Misra.

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Read *caturviṃśaty-aṅke vartamāne.*

[3] Read *śukla-tṛtīyāyāṃ.*

[4] Better read *bhauma-vāre.*

[5] Read *nirāśā.*

[6] We are possibly to read *tapasāṃ.*

[7] Read *Sadāśiva.*

[8] We are possibly to read *bhikṣ-opacita.*

[9] Read *pāṭhāya prattam=iti.*

AŚVAGHOṢA THE POET

By B. C. LAW

Aśvaghoṣa as a poet is revealed in his Buddhacarita[1] and Saundarananda Kāvyas.[2] The Buddhacarita Kāvya consists of 28 cantoes and records a biography of Lord Buddha from his birth to his renunciation. A complete work is not available, but a Chinese translation of the whole text can be procured. The book up to the 14th canto written in Sanskrit has been found out in Nepal. The thirteen books of the Sanskrit poem claim to be the composition of Aśvaghoṣa and the four cantoes have been added by Amṛtānanda who, according to Raja Rajendra Lala, was the author of two Sanskrit treatises and one in Newārī. This work appears to have exercised much influence on the succeeding Indian poets of the classical period, e.g. Māra's temptation of the Buddha and Kāma's assault on Śiva in the Kumārasambhava. This temptation by Māra is not an originality of Aśvaghoṣa. In the Lalitavistara, Māra is described as the teacher of the daityas or demons. Māra of the Lalitavistara is similar to the Madanadeva having five arrows. Kāmadeva of Kālidāsa pleases everybody and increases the delight of the world. He has appeared in this earth for the good of the world. His self-sacrifice is exemplary. He sacrifices his own life in order to bring about union between Śiva and Pārvatī. When Māra failed to tempt the Buddha, he tried to terrify him but in vain. A similar picture is also found in Bhāravī's Kirātārjuniyaṁ. In the third book of the Buddhacarita Kāvya we find ladies all crowded in balconies (vātāyanebhyasca vinihsṛtāni) to see Siddhārtha. A similar picture is given in the seventh book, 11th śloka, of the Raghuvaṁśa in which we find ladies crowding to see Prince Aja as he passes by from the Svayambara where the Princess Bhojyā has chosen him as her husband. In the fifth book of the Buddhacarita we find a description of the Buddha leaving his hearth and home after seeing the ladies lying in an unconscious state with their bodies uncovered, hairs dishevelled, etc. A similar picture is given in the 5th canto of the Rāmāyaṇa where the monkey king entered the Rāvana's palace by night and saw his wives asleep in the seraglio in their various

---

[1] Edited by Cowell.

[2] Edited by MM. Haraprasad Shāstrī and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Johnston has edited the text later and a Bengali translation by Dr. B. C. Law is available.

unconscious attitudes. This kāvya, on the whole, is a masterpiece of Sanskrit poetry. It excels in diction, brevity, vivid description, metaphor and simile throughout. In some places the style suffers in dullness and unintelligible subtle points of philosophy are presented in the garb of poetry especially where the kāvya contains the philosophy of Āḷāra Kālāma. Cowell points out that Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita was written before the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form but Jacobi refutes this theory of Cowell thus :—(1) there is no mention of Buddha or yavana in the Rāmāyaṇa ; (2) there is no mention of Pāṭaliputra in the Rāmāyaṇa ; (3) Mithilā and Viśālā were under the rule of two different kings ; (4) the capital of Kośala was known by the name of Ajodhyā ; (5) Sāketa was unknown to the Buddhist age ; and (6) there is a description of many small kingdoms in the Rāmāyaṇa. From all these it is clear that according to him the Rāmāyaṇa was written before the 5th century B.C., i.e. before the fall of the Magadhan empire. In answer to Prof. Jacobi we may point out that here we are not concerned with the original date of the Rāmāyaṇa as an epic. The issue raised by Cowell concerns the relative chronology of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita and that passage in the Rāmāyaṇa which gives a similar description of the various unconscious attitudes of women while sleeping in the seraglio of Rāvana. The description in the Rāmāyaṇa is simpler as compared with that in the Buddhacarita and as such one may be tempted to place it earlier than the latter. But we should bear it in mind that we have a description of those attitudes of female musicians in sleep in the Jātaka Nidānakathā as well as in the Vinaya Mahāvagga (p. 15), the first in connection with the pabbajjā of Prince Siddhārtha and second in connection with the pabbajjā of Yasa. The Pali prose description has no erotic colouring. This is nevertheless important as indicating that a description of this kind became so common in India as not to necessitate any borrowing by one poet from the writings of another. Further, the Buddhacarita as a whole, may be shown to have been modelled on the Vatthugāthās forming a prologue to the Nālaka sutta of the Sutta-Nipāta. (*Vide* B. C. Law, History of Pali Literature, Vol. I, p. 6 ; Barua—Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, p. 173 Fn.

Cf. Sutta-Nipata, verse 686 :—

Tato kumāraṃ jalitam iva suvaṇṇaṃ
ukkāmukhe va sukusalasampahaṭṭhaṃ
daddallamānaṃ siriyā anomavaṇṇaṃ
dassesu puttaṃ Asitavhayassa Sakyā.

Buddhacarita III, verse 23 :—

Dṛṣtvā ca taṃ rājasutaṃ striyastā
jājvalyamānaṃ vapusā Śriyā ca.

The next piece of poetry written by him is the Saundarananda Kāvya. The subject-matter of this poem is this. The Buddha had a step brother named Nanda. After Gautama renounced the world, Suddhodana in order to guard Nanda against giving up household life married him to a beautiful girl. Both of them were very much devoted to each other. One day Buddha went to his house for alms and left it without finding anybody there. Nanda on receipt of the news of Buddha's advent at his door was about to leave the company of his wife but he was prevented from doing so by his wife named Sundarī. Nanda somehow managed to leave his wife and was following the Buddha who afterwards came to his hermitage. Nanda entreated him much to come to his house and accept alms but he refused. The Master then had his head shaved by a barber and left the task of instructing him to the care of a sage named Vaideha. The Master heard that Nanda wanted to see his wife and did not like the life of a Samaṇa. He then went to Nanda and asked him thus, 'Let us go for a walk. The Himalaya is not far from this place'. As they were mounting the Himalayas both of them saw a female monkey at a certain place and the Master asked him thus, 'Is your wife more beautiful than the female monkey?' Nanda replied 'My wife is exceedingly beautiful and unparalleled in beauty to anyone else'. The Master without saying anything further proceeded to climb up the mountain and reached the heaven which was full of heavenly nymphs and where heavenly musicians were singing songs. The Master pointing to a heavenly nymph asked Nanda, 'Who is more beautiful? Your wife or this girl?' Nanda admitted that the heavenly nymph was more beautiful than his wife. The Master enquired 'Would you like to have one heavenly nymph?' He replied in the affirmative and he was asked by the Master to engage himself in meditation to get an apsarā. Nanda came back to the Buddha's hermitage and led the life of an ascetic. At last he realized the worthlessness of human beauty and became absorbed in deep meditation. He was given instructions in dharma by the Buddha and very soon attained salvation. He was asked by the Master to lead others to the path of salvation. The people became greatly surprised to find Nanda leading the life of a bhikkhu who formerly indulged so much in luxury. Many became his disciples among whom his wife Sundarī was one. (Cf. Mahāvagga, I, 54, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, I, pt. I, pp. 115 foll.)

By writing the Saundarananda Kāvya Aśvaghoṣa tried to show the path of salvation through poetry. The Saundarananda Kāvya contains many Vedic and Paurānic references. Mr. Jhonston[1] is right in pointing out that the greatness of Aśvaghoṣa lies not in the depth or originality of his thought but in the spiritual fervour which informs his simple yet eloquent style. He was undoubtedly a religious poet, a poetic preacher, addressing himself to the educated lovers of good literature among his countrymen, whether Hindus or Buddhists. As to the contents of the Saundarananda Kāvya, there are 18 chapters dealing with the description of Kapilavastu, virtues of the prince and the Tathāgata, Nanda's prayer to his wife, his renunciation, lamentation of his wife, lamentation of Nanda, his wife's trouble both in body and in mind, cessation of vanity, visit to heaven, divine admonitions, jhāna or ecstatic musing, precepts and control of senses, first renunciation, removal of doubts, explanation of four noble truths, attainment of nirvāna, and exposition of Buddha's Dharma. This book was carefully read by the Brahmins, the Buddhists and the Jains. A careful study of this fine piece of poetry convinces us of the fact that Aśvaghoṣa was a well read man and was highly proficient in Buddhist philosophy. This work gives ample testimony to his erudition and sound judgment and forceful arguments. It is difficult to understand how an author who tackled such difficult problems of philosophy could excel in poetry.

---

[1] The Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa, 1928, Preface.

It is interesting to note that the Saundarananda Kāvya is an excellent production as it excels in thought, style and language. In many places Kālidāsa has borrowed his ideas from this book, e.g. :—

Kālidāsa.	Aśvaghoṣa.
Mārgācala vyatikarā kuliteva sindhuḥ । śailādhirāja tanayā na yayau na tasthau ।	Taṃ gauravaṃ Buddhagataṃ cakarṣa bhāryānurāgaḥ punarācakarṣa । So'niścayānnāpi yayau na tasthau taraṁ taraṅgeṣviva rājahaṃsaḥ ॥

That Kālidāsa and Bhāravī both flourished after Aśvaghoṣa and that they had the opportunity of reading the Buddhacarita kāvya is evident from the ślokas or portions of ślokas mentioned below :—

Buddhacarita.	
Sa hi svagātraprabhayojjvalantyā dīpaprabhāṁ bhāskaravanmumoṣa । mahārḥajāṁbūnada cāruvarṇō vidyotayāmāsa diśaśca sarvāḥ ॥ (Canto I, Śl. 32.)	Ariṣṭaśajyāṁ parito visāriṇā sujanmana stasya nijena tejasā niśīthadīpāḥ sahasā hatatviṣo vabhūvurālekhya samarpitā iva. (Raghuvaṁśa, Canto III, Śl. 15.)
Tasmāt pramāṇam na vayo na kālaḥ kaścit kvacit Śraiṣṭhyamupaiti loke । rājñāmṛṣiṇāñca hitāni tāni kṛtāni putrairakṛtāni pūrvvaiḥ ॥ (Canto I, Śl. 51.)	Tejasāṁ hi na vayaḥ samīkṣate (Raghuvaṁśa, Canto XI, Śl. 1.)

Mahātmani tvayyupapannametat priyātithau tyāgini dharmakāme । satvānvayajñānavayonurūpā snigdhā yadevaṁ mayi te matiḥ syāt ॥ (Canto I, Śl. 60.)	Sarvvaṁ sakhe tvayyupapannametat (Kumārasambhava, Canto III, Śl. 12.)
Śrutvā vacastacca manaśca yuktvā jñātvā nimittaiśca tato'samyupetaḥ । didṛkṣayā Śākyakuladhvajasya śakradhvajasyeva samucchritasya ॥ (Canto I, Śl. 63.)	Kālidāsa has used the word ' Sakradhvaja ' many times in his kāvya.
Vātā vavuḥ sparśasukhā manojñā divyāni vāsāṁsyavapātayantaḥ । sūryaḥ sa evābhyadhikaṁ cakāśe jajvāla saumyārciraṇīrito'gniḥ ॥ (Canto I, Śl. 41.)	Diśaḥ prasedurmaruto vavuḥ sukhāḥ pradaksiṇārccirhavirāgñirādade vabhūva sarvvaṁ śubhaśaṁsi tatkṣaṇaṁ bhavo hi lokābhyudayāya tādṛśām (Raghuvaṁśa, Canto III, Śl. 14.)
Vātāyanebhyaśtu viniḥsṛtāni parasparopāsita kuṇḍalāni । strīnāṁ virejurmukhapaṅkajāni saktāni harmyeṣviva paṅkajāni ॥ (Canto III, Śl. 19.)	tasāṁ mukhairāsavagandhagarbhaiḥ vyāptāntarā sāndrakutūhalānāṁ vilolanetrabhramarairgavākṣaḥ sahasrapatrābharaṇā ivāsan (Raghuvaṁśa, Canto VII, Śl. 11.)
Kācit tāmrādharoṣṭhena mukhenāsavagandhinā । viniśaśvāsa karṇe'sya rahasyaṁ śrūyatāmiti ॥ (Canto IV, Śl. 31.)	Karṇe lolaḥ kathayitumabhūdānana sparśalobhāt (Uttaramegha, 40.)
Muhurmuhurmadavyāja- śrastanīlāṁśukāparā ॥ ālakṣyarasanā reje sphuradvidyudiva kṣapā (Canto IV, Śl. 33.)	Amuṁ sahāsaprahitekṣaṇāni vyājārddhasaṁdarśita mekhalāni nālaṁ vikarttuṁ janitendra śaṅkaṁ surāṅganā vibhrama ceṣṭitāni (Raghuvaṁśa, XIII, Śl. 42.)
Sa rājasūnurmṛgarājagāmī mṛgājiraṁ tanmṛgavat praviṣṭaḥ । lakṣmīvijuktō'pi śarīralakṣmyā caksūṁṣi sarvāśramināṁ jahāra ॥ (Canto VII, Śl. 2.)	Sa nyastacihnāmapi rājalakṣmīṁ tejoviśeṣānumitāṁ dadhānaḥ । (Raghuvaṁśa, II, Śl. 7.)
Hatatviṣohanyāḥ śithilātma bāhavaḥ striyo viṣādena vicetanā iva । na cukruśurnāśrū jahurna śaśvasu rnacetanā ullikhitā iva sthitāḥ ॥ (Canto VIII, Śl. 25.)	Niśīthadīpāḥ sahasā hatatviṣo vabhūvurālekhya samarpitā iva (Raghuvaṁśa, Canto III, Śl. 15.)
Ādityapūrvaṁ vipulaṁ kūlaṁ te navaṁ vayo dīptamidaṁ vapuśca । kasmādiyaṁ te matirakramena bhaikṣāka evābhiratā na rājye ॥ (Canto X, Śl. 23.)	Ekātapatraṁ jagataḥ prabhutvaṁ navaṁ vayaḥ kāntaṁidaṁ vapuśca । (Raghuvaṁśa, II, Śl. 47.)

Yo hyarthadharmmau paripīdya kāmạḥ
syāddhvarmmakāmye paribhūya cārthaḥ ।
kāṃārthayoścaparamena dharmmas
tyājyaḥ sak kṛtṣṇo yadi kāṅkhitārthaḥ ॥

(Canto X, Śl. 29.)

Nadharmmamartha kāmābhyaṁ
vavādhe na ca tena tau
nārthaṁ kāmena kāmaṁ vā
so'rthena sadṛśā striṣu

(Raghuvaṁśa, XVII, Śl. 57.)

Besides the examples given above, some verses have been quoted by H. P. Śāstrī in the preface to his edition of the Saundarananda kāvya published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. They are as follows :—

Tāṁ sundarīṁ cenna labheta Nandaḥ
sā vā niṣeveta nataṁ natabhrūḥ
dvandvaṁ vruvaṁ tad vikalaṁna śobhet
anyonyahīna viva rātri candrau
Paraspareṇa spṛhaniya śobhaṃ
na cedidaṃ dvandvamayo jaiṣyat
asmin dvaye rūpa vidhānayatnaḥ
patyuḥ prajānaṁ vitatho'bhaviṣyan

(Raghuvaṁśa, Canto XVII, Śl. 14.)

AŚVAGHOṢA THE PHILOSOPHER

By B. C. LAW

Aśvaghoṣa was a celebrated expounder of Mahāyāna doctrine. He was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Kumāralabdha, the reputed founder of the Sautrāntika school.[1] His father's name was Suvarṇākkhi and his native place was Sāketa. He was at first a Brahmin but afterwards became an adherent of Mahāyāna. Gradually he acquired proficiency in Buddhism. Not only he was a preacher of Buddhism, but also a great teacher of philosophy. He was held in high respect by the people of his time. He became the spiritual adviser of King Kaṇiṣka in the 1st century of the Christian Era and wrote many thoughtful books. He has been rightly described as ' one of the deepest thinkers of Buddhist patriarchs, one of the most eminent leaders of earlier Buddhists, the first champion, promulgator ', and a true interpreter of Mahāyāna philosophy. He had a very powerful influence over the spiritual India of his time. Tārānāth, the celebrated Tibetan historian, is right in saying that his influence in the spiritual world was as incomparable as the temporal power of Kaṇiṣka.[2] According to him he was the son of a rich Brahmin called Sanghaguhya who married the youngest daughter of a merchant in Khorta. As a youth when thoroughly familiar with every department of knowledge, he went to several places, e.g. Tirhut, Kāmrupa, etc. defeating everywhere his Buddhist opponents by his ingenious logic.

There is much difference of opinion as to the place of his birth. According to some he was a native of Benares. Others place him in South India. Śrāvastī is also mentioned as his birth place. According to Nāgārjuna he is mentioned to have been born in Western India. We learn from ' A biography of Vasuvandhu ' that Aśvaghoṣa was a native of Sāketa and according to it he was summoned to Kabul by Kātyāyanīputra, the alleged composer of the Abhidharma in eight sections, in order to help him in the compilation of the great commentary (Mahāvibhāṣā) on the text of that Abhidharma.[3] (Ency. of R. & E. Vol. II, p. 159.) The Tibetan and Chinese sources point out that Aśvaghoṣa in his earlier life was the most powerful adherent of Brahmanism. Tārānāth says that Āryadeva, the most eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna, defeated Aśvaghoṣa not by his usual subtlety in dialectics but by the superiority of his magical arts. Aśvaghoṣa was coverted to Buddhism by Pārśva's disciple named Puṇyayaśa. He was at first a learned and a haughty man but he was converted to the Buddhist faith, and with his conversion to Buddhism, his temperament changed.

---

[1] Caraka was also the contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa—*vide* Wassilieff, Buddhismus, p. 52, note.

[2] Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 92.

[3] Aśvaghoṣa was invited to give a literary finish to the Mahāvibhāṣā.

The Mahāyāna Sraddhotpāda sūtra was one of his best philosophical treatises. The time when it was written never saw the full growth of Mahāyanism. This work traces the rise of Mahāyāna faith and it contains the views of the Buddhists of the time. This philosophical treatise is studied in the monasteries of Japan as the basis of Mahāyāna doctrine. It was first translated in 534 and then in 710 A.D. into Chinese. It is curious to note that the doctrine which this book incorporates, is that of the Vigñānavāda as followed by Asaṅga and the teachings of the Tathāgatagarbha as embodied in the Laṅkāvatāra sūtra. A careful study of this work occasionally shows a strong resemblance to the Upaniṣad philosophy as well as to the Sāṅkhya system though of course retaining its own independent thought throughout. It is full of specific phraseology and highly abstruse speculations and in many places unintelligible discussions of subtle points of Buddhist philosophy. But this work is of great importance as it is the first attempt at systematizing the fundamental thoughts of Mahāyanism and it is regarded as a main authority of all the Mahāyāna trends of thought. It is essential for a proper understanding of the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism. As regards the contents of this book, a bare outline is given here. The subjects of discussion are the following :—

(*a*) *Soul* as suchness, sameness, trueness, absolute negation, etc. ;

(*b*) Soul as birth and death ;

(*c*) Incomprehensible karma or activity and pure wisdom; under karma various phenomena are discussed as to the performance of deeds, suffering due to the fetter of deeds, attachment, names, ignorance, etc. ;

(*d*) Ego, consciousness, birth and death and its cause or condition, arising of thought, individual cause and universal cause, various kāyas e.g., dharma kāya, sambhoga kāya, prajñā kāya, etc.

Aśvaghoṣa in this work refutes the false views held by those who believed in a personal ātmā. We have here a very lucid treatment of right path and the ways of practising it. Then comes a very clear explanation of pāramitā or perfection. The author then deals with the practice of faith or śraddhā and gives a detailed exposition of the aspects of faith. Jhāna and samādhi are well explained in all their details. On the whole, this work clearly presents the spiritual significance of Mahāyāna, and serves as a guide to elucidating many subtleties and difficulties in understanding the deepest and greatest significance of the Dharma of the Tathāgata. It really helps us greatly in an intelligent study of the subject and serves as a beacon light to sincere seekers after truth.

Another work of philosophy namely the Sūtrālaṅkāra is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. It shall be noted that this Sūtrālaṅkāra is different from the Sūtrālaṅkāra written by Asaṅga. How far from the study of the Sūtrālaṅkāra associated with the name of Aśvaghoṣa, it can be established that its contents agree with those of the Śraddhotpāda sūtra, is still a point that awaits a careful investigation and consideration.

A NEW BRANCH OF KNOWLEDGE IN INDIA

(With a Digression on a Certain Method of Research)

By C. L. FÁBRI

It is a matter for regret that the Rev. Father H. HERAS, S.J., has published his *Los orígenes de la heráldica india* in the Spanish language which, unfortunately, is not understood by the great bulk of Indologists either in Britain or in India; for this article is, I do not hesitate to say, of the utmost importance for everyone interested in ancient India, and lays the foundations of a new branch of knowledge: that of Indian heraldry. All those who are able to read Spanish will, I feel, support me when, with due respect, I confer in the name of all grateful readers on Father HERAS the well-earned epithet of 'Father of Indian Heraldry'. As he modestly points out in a foot-note, 'This is an entirely new study in India. Ever since I started studying the history of India, it always attracted my attention in an extraordinary manner that this highly interesting problem of studies should have completely been avoided by the historians. Recently one of my research students has presented to the University of Bombay a thesis upon this problem for obtaining the academic degree of Master of Arts. The thesis is entitled *The Royal Lāñchanas of Ancient India*. In view of the fact that few Indologists in this country can read Spanish, I consider it justified to give a detailed summary and discussion of this article. The more so, as I believe that Indian heraldry, if pursued in the right spirit, will ultimately give us the clue to many an unidentified relief and painting.

The first few sentences deserve literal translation: 'There does not exist in India a heraldry in the strictest sense of the word, for the simple reason that it was not a custom for a king or nobleman to be preceded by a herald who exhibited on his coat or upon a banner the symbols or emblems of his King or Master. Nevertheless, there did exist symbols and devices of royal families in a manner similar to that of Europe, and undoubtedly at much earlier times than European heraldry. These are called in Sanskrit *lāñchanas*.

'There exists a Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century of the Christian era, in which mention is made of the King Samudragupta, of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Pāṭaliputra, as a liberal king of not common reputation, for having distributed amulets which were adorned with the image of the Garuḍa, *Garuṭmad-aṅka*. This

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

sentence seems to indicate that the well-known bird Garuḍa was the symbol or *lāñchana* of the Gupta Dynasty.'

The royal emblem of the Kadambas was a lion ; of the Hoysalas, a tiger ; of the Pāṇḍyas, two fishes ; other dynasties adopted heraldic animals like the Nandi bull ; the goddess Lakṣmī with two elephants ; a deer ; an elephant ; a mouse ; a horse, *etc*. These heraldic symbols appear on the seals of the ruling kings, on their copper-plates, on their coins, in decorative devices on the edifices erected by them. Sometimes a heraldic symbol is used by various members of a dynasty but with minor additions (very much like in Europe) ; an interesting example is that of King Achyuta Deva Rāya who changed the elephant banner of his ancestor Mallikārjuna inasmuch as he added an eagle grasping four elephants. In other cases fresh members of the dynasty introduce altogether fresh heraldic symbols.

The conception that a king must have an emblem was so strong in India, Father HERAS continues, that the Muslim rulers, notwithstanding the aversion of Mussalmans against human and animal representations, adopted the custom and even the very devices of their Hindu predecessors ; the Sultans of Bidar minted coins with a lion on them ; the Nawābs of Janjira caused a remarkable 'coat of arms' to be engraved on the entrance gate to their fortified capital : a lion grasping six elephants, four with its claws, and one each with its mouth and tail. The Nawābs of Oudh minted coins with two fishes, later converted into two sirens ; Haidar 'Alī and Tipū Sulṭān accepted the old symbol of the Mysore kings, the elephant.

It also appears that these very symbols were used on the royal banners carried before or behind the kings in times of war. The author adduces evidence to support this opinion. Reliefs illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* wars on the walls of the Hoysaleśvara Temple at Halebidu show kings fighting on war-chariots, distinctly showing royal banners attached to their vehicles. There is also inscriptional evidence quoted by Father HERAS. (Pp. 9-10.)

FATHER HERAS ON THE ORIGIN OF HERALDIC EMBLEMS

What is the origin of these *lāñchanas* ?, asks Father HERAS. The answer is that they go back to much earlier times, and are derivable from symbols found on the punch-marked coins. He finds the symbol attributed to King Chandragupta Maurya on the punch-marked coins ; and as the elephant is a *lāñchana* of the Ganga dynasty, the bull a royal mint-mark of the Valabhis of Saurāṣṭra, the fishes that of the Pāṇḍyas, it is logical to surmise that these and similar punches on the *purāṇa*-coins are nothing but royal signs of contrôle to show that those coins have been weighed and found correct by some royal authority.

Let me add now, before proceeding to sum up the last portion of Father HERAS' article, that this conclusion seems to me to be convincing, logical and irrefutable. Its importance will not escape anyone's attention who has tried to solve the problem of the punch-marked coins. The problem, I suggest, has now been solved in the main principle by the learned author, once and for all. I am convinced that a rigorous study of 'Indian heraldry' will soon enable us to identify one by one almost all the symbols on the punch-marked coins, and allow us to date them with a certain amount of accuracy. Certain symbols are punched *over* others. They must belong to *later* dynasties. A sequence can be established with no great difficulty, and what then remains to be done is to find the corresponding rulers for the consecutive list of symbols. This is, no doubt, a discovery of great importance, and it further establishes the truth of Mr E. H. C. WALSH's suggestion that the punch-marked coins are a public coinage issued by authority.[1] Even if not actually 'issued', it evidently was controlled by some government office; and it seems likely that after the death of a king the new ruler insisted on his punch-mark being added on to the old coins.

THE PUNCH-MARKS AND THE INDUS VALLEY SCRIPT

If the writer of these lines has entirely agreed with Father HERAS up to this point, he regrets that he is unable to accept the arguments contained in the last portion of this otherwise excellent paper. When Father HERAS recognizes that many if not all the symbols on the punch-marked coins are similar to Indus Valley pictographs of 2700 B.C., I shall certainly agree with him, having been one of the first to observe these remarkable similarities.[2] Unfortunately, the learned author goes a little farther than that. On p. 21 he asks, who was the king who first introduced a dynastic symbol (‘ un símbolo para representar la nobleza de su lineja ’, as he elegantly expresses it in that delightful language of his country). The author’s answer is, I am afraid to say, that it was King Rāma of Ayodhya. And the reason is, he explains, that Rāma belonged to the Solar dynasty, and a solar symbol (an orb with rays around it) is found on these punch-marked coins. Consequently, concludes Father HERAS, the punch-marked heraldic symbols have been introduced as early as the third millennium B.C., as, it must be understood, Rāma must have ruled at about that time (*sic* !).

---

[1] 'Indian Punch-marked Coins (A Public Coinage issued by Authority)', in *Centenary Supplement*, *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 175–189.

[2] *JRAS.*, April 1935, pp. 307–318: 'The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization'. That article was written in the summer of 1933, accepted in January 1934, and published a year and a half after its acceptance. Mr JAYASVAL pointed out in a letter to the *JRAS.* that there were others who have observed similar similarities. My answer is simply: 'Ignorance, nothing but ignorance' on my part. Yet I can say even now that no one took up the matter seriously before me, and I was the first to publish actual comparisons instead of vague allusions in general terms.

I am not discussing here the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, or the period when Rāma could have ruled ; although I do not know of any proof that would carry it back as far as the third millennium B.C. But taking the above argumentation of the author at its face value, there are two serious logical mistakes in it which I venture to point out with all respect for the eminent scholarship of Father HERAS.

The first is the impossibility of building a historical theory on such a slender foundation as a single sun-symbol. For one thing, the Sun cannot easily be symbolized by any other means but a circle and rays. (Can *you* think of another symbol ?) This symbol of the Sun was known to mankind *already in the palæolithic age*, to the cave-men ; it is known to occur *in every part of the globe*, in China, in Mexico, in Peru, in the Fiji Islands, in the darkest portions of Africa, in Central Europe, and among the Red Indians of Northern America. It would be slightly embarrassing, I suggest, to conclude for instance, that the Red Indians and the Danubians, the inhabitants of ancient Crete, and the Negroes of Central Africa were all ruled by the ancestors or descendants of the Indian Sūrya-vaṃśa.

‘ Here is a Sun-symbol : consequently this object is datable to Rāma of Ayodhya ’,—is this not somewhat meagre for a historical proof ?

Moreover,—and this is against any chronology of this sort,—when did the Sūrya-vaṃśa rule ? Did they not govern during the whole length of Indian history ? Were there not members of the Solar dynasty ruling in 500 B.C. as well as in 1900 A.D. ? The mere occurrence of a Sun-symbol could, in the best case, prove that *one* member, *any* member of the Solar dynasty had punch-marked a coin. *But which member* ? Why should it be the founder ? Is there any proof for, or any proof against it ? None whatever. We are entirely in the dark. *The mere occurrence of a Sun-symbol on a coin cannot possibly date it.* It is of all the punch-marks the least speaking, for it was the dynastic symbol of a family of which descendants are still ruling princes in present-day India. Any member of this dynasty might have used it, say in 500 B.C. as well as in 500 A.D. It will never be possible to find out anything about that symbol, however much one may find out about all the rest of the punch-marks.[1]

'The second logical mistake in this argumentation is the following. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that *all* the punch-marks could be traced back to Indus Valley signs, without fail. What does this mean? Does this prove that the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro belonged to the same *race* as the punch-marking people? that they talked the same language? adored the same gods? had the same colour of skin? the same shape of head? the same civilization? Not in the least. All these *may* have been so, but it is not scientifically proved. The similarity of a dozen or any number of signs simply means survival, borrowing, cultural inheritance. So have we all inherited the Latin script, though I am not a Roman, and the Romans were not Hungarians. If the identity of script and symbols would mean cultural *identity* and *racial* descendance, then the present-day Turks are descendants of the Romans, for they now use the Roman alphabet. If mere borrowing means racial and cultural identity, then the Chinese Buddhists are racially related to the Ceylonese and to the Indians. Why, now that I come to think of it, we are all Sumerians. Because all the world uses even up to the present day the same zodiacal symbols as the Sumerians did. Indeed, let's drive the matter to its absurd end: if the borrowing of a few symbols means cultural and racial identity, then the Indian Muslim emperors were racially descendant from the Hindu kings of old: for the author, Father HERAS, brilliantly demonstrated how the Muslim emperors copied the Hindu symbols on their coins, and the Sultans of Mysore used exactly the same elephants on their coins as the Hindu kings of ancient times of that country!

'The Mohenjo-darians used symbols which are very much like the punch-marks of the Aryan Hindus: consequently the Mohenjo-darians were Aryans', this is just as logical as to say: 'The Muslims in India used similar symbols on their coins as the Hindus: consequently the Muslims in India are Hindus'.

The fallacy and untenability of such conclusions will be especially evident from the last example. People came and went; new rulers followed; races changed and mixed; religions gave place to new ones; an old tongue was more or less forgotten and a new language rose in its place; the frontiers of states altered with the times: but does this everlasting racial and political change mean that there never are any elements that survive? Just as the Muslim kings took over many elements of their Hindu predecessors' culture, similarly, when the Āryans came to this country round the year 1850 B.C., they accepted many elements of the culture of the old inhabitants of this country. The Ṛgvedic religion changed in the first thousand years so thoroughly that hardly a single name of a Ṛgvedic god occurs when the Buddha preaches the Good Law, round 500 B.C. Tree-worship, unknown to the Ṛgvedic Āryans, was well known to the Mohenjo-darians. And a thousand years after the arrival of the Āryans we see that during a thousand years of mixing of races tree-worship has again been restored to its old rights, due solely to the influence of the old inhabitants of the place.

---

[1] Another such vague symbol will be the Moon which again can be the punch of any member of the vast Lunar dynasty.

In a similar manner, among the many elements of culture which the old inhabitants gave to the newcomers, were some symbols which were in use by the Mohenjo-darians a long time before the arrival of their new lords.

A DIGRESSION:

RACIAL IDENTITY AND BORROWED CULTURAL FEATURES

I feel that it is very important to point out the difference between these two. Lately there has been a tendency to confuse the two in an unscientific way. There are a considerable number of detached elements of culture in the Indus Valley civilization which can be found in later times in a more or less altered form in the civilization of India. I myself am convinced that the number of such elements will increase with excavation and research. *Yet the mere fact that a number of cultural elements are identical or almost identical between later Indian culture and prehistoric Mohenjo-daro,* or between any two given cultures, *is no proof whatever of racial connexion.*

Great inventions are heirlooms of mankind. Among these great inventions is the script. Whoever invented it (and there may have been several people in several places), it is a fact that by far the majority of the known inhabitants of the 'Fertile Belt' of Asia and Egypt knew one or the other form of writing round the year 3000 B.C., and no script is known to have existed before 4000 B.C. Between these two dates the few primitive symbols (a tree, a mountain, a man, a slave, a bull, the Sun, the Moon, a camel, a boat, a fish, a bird, and the like), *already used by the cave-men thousands of years earlier*, have developed into a more extensive use of painted or engraved symbols to represent complex ideas (and not only nouns). It is ridiculous to surmise that every nation invented every sign separately and independently, and no wonder that certain simple signs occur in many scripts. Many of the symbols were known to all of them : a *svastika*, a cross, a sun-symbol, a tree, a mountain, a river, a fish, a bull, and the like were understood by every 'illiterate' long before the discovery of pictographic connected texts in which the original nouns were made to do the work of verbs, *etc.* The survival of these extremely simple, cave-period symbols is worth mentioning here. It can be proved, with no difficulty, that the A of our alphabet is nothing but a development from an ox-head (alpha, aliph) ; and the C is nothing but a last survival of a simple picture of the camel (gamma, gaml). Who would try to prove on such a basis that we are all Semitic, or, worse, that all the ancient Semitic people were in reality nothing but Āryans, our ancestors ? Such theories might please the extreme nationalists of a certain 'Nordic' country obsessed with racial ideas ; but they are not scientific.[1]

All this goes to prove one thing: Similarities between the prehistoric script of the Indus and the punch-marked coins are a proof of *some* cultural contact, but no more. They do not prove that Mohenjo-daro was inhabited by the direct racial ancestors of the punch-marking people.

Racial identity can only be proved by two means : *first*, by an anthropological examination of the skeletal remains ; and *second*, by a study of the facial characteristics in sculptural and pictorial representations, if any. (Linguistic elements are no proof of racial identity ; they can be borrowed.)

The anthropological examination of the skeletal remains proves that the people who inhabited Mohenjo-daro in 2700 B.C. belonged to at least two, but perhaps four, distinctly different races ; one of them to the Australoid, the other to a Mediterranean type. They seem to have thoroughly mixed already at that time, and altogether four cranial types have been found. Only one of these shows any likeness to the present-day Sindhi skull. The rest are markedly different.

The few sculptures, remarkable for their individualistic portraiture, show at least two, or rather three, utterly different facial types. One is distinctly negroid (the dancing girl) ; the second has thin lips and protruding 'Mongoloid' cheekbones ; the third extremely thick lips, flat cheekbones, slanting eyes. *None of them*

---

[1] It is as well to say here that there is not, there never was, and there never will be, such a thing as 'the Cradle of Mankind' or 'of Civilization'. Man emerged so slowly from among his animal ancestors that the 'Cradle' rocked for some 50,000 years.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

bear any resemblance to present-day Indians, as has been well emphasized by the excavators. In facing these images which are before me, I cannot understand how anyone, on the strength of a few borrowed and simple symbols, can come to the conclusion that these strange-looking people were Āryans!

The conclusion of this digression is thus that scholars who are discovering similarities between prehistoric Indus Valley elements and those of the historic times, should not be misled into erroneous surmises, and postulate racial descendance where such cannot be proved by an overwhelming evidence of anthropometry. Survivals are just survivals, and not more.

CONCLUSIONS

Returning now to Father HERAS' article, I wish to emphasize again that he has done a distinct service to Indian research by discovering the first elements of heraldry in India. I have disagreed with him upon his last conclusions, and have hung on this peg, so to say, a discussion of a method of approach which I feel was very necessary although it does not concern him as much as some other researchers. Yet the first portion of his treatise is extremely valuable. It is a discovery of no mean importance as it settles at once the problem of punch-marks in the principle. The spade-work has been started, and other scholars will soon be able to prove its worth for archæological and historical research.

As to the importance of heraldry for iconographic purposes, Father HERAS does not mention it. It was M. FOUCHER who first explained a relief on the Sanchi *toraṇa* as the Visit of King Aśoka on the strength of a peacock prominently displayed in a corner. (Sanskrit *mayūra* for the *Maurya* dynasty.) This clever identification was not followed by any of a similar kind, I believe. Yet, I suggest, the method has a great future. If Indian heraldry is established, and we know the coats of arms of most kings, we may often identify historical (or semi-historical, legendary) scenes by the aid of this method. All praise then will have to go to the Father of Indian Heraldry, the Rev. HERAS, without whose work few if any would have thought of this study.

The paper is written in lucid and distinguished Spanish; there are few printer's errors; and the only unpleasant feature is that all the references to the plates are wrong. The printers in Madrid have evidently changed the numbering of the figures, as the paper appeared in the Bulletin of the *Academia de la Historia* of which Father HERAS is a corresponding member. It is to be hoped that the learned author will one day favour the world of Indologists with an English version of his important article.[1]

Mohenjo-daro, February 14th, 1936.

---

[1] I should like to mention here the highly entertaining but also most instructive experiment of a Dutch University professor who is much interested in Bible research, and, consequently, in the question of the origin of the alphabet. One day this scholar asked his daughter, then thirteen years old, to sit to a table and try and make a new alphabet, 'quite different from what you have learnt in the school'. The little lady produced an entirely original alphabet in twenty minutes, without anyone's aid. It contained a vast number of signs contained in well-known alphabets which she could never have seen : a cross, a circle, and the like. Indeed, there were over a dozen signs in her alphabet which were exact counterparts of Sumerian ideograms, a large number were identical with the oldest Chinese signs, *etc.* This curious experiment proves that a number of simple signs *must* be identical in every script ; and the simpler a sign is, the less importance should be attached to its occurrence in another script. An account of the above experiment has been published by the learned professor in a Dutch periodical which I have not at hand at present ; but the main facts are as I have related them above.

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK

By ISHWAR SAHAI

The existence of large bodies of men having no other means of subsistence than those afforded by plunder was in the beginning of the 19th century, in all the countries, too common to excite surprise. And India formed no exception to the general rule. Of the various organized fraternities of criminals in India, that of the Thags was the most dangerous and formidable one. A systematic attempt at their suppression was one of the most notable achievements of the Governor-Generalship of Lord W. C. Bentinck.

Before, however, dealing with the proceedings against them, it will be necessary to understand their origin, growth and organization, because some of the notions usually and generally entertained about them are not borne out by sober history.

The word 'Thag' originally meant a 'cheat' and it is still used to connote the same idea. But sometime in the Middle Ages it began to be used for a member of a criminal brotherhood which strangled men and then robbed them of their belongings. The system which they followed is known as 'Thagi'.

Beginning of Thagi.—If the traditions of the Thags, collected by Captain Reynolds, Dr. Sherwood and Colonel Sleeman were to be believed, it would appear that the institution of Thagi was cœval with the creation of the world[1] and that the Thags had a continuous history, broken, no doubt, by big gaps. The story of the beginning of Thagi, as related by some of them, was that once a demon named Ráktabíjdánava threatened creation with extinction. The goddess Kálí was foiled in her attempts to kill him, because from every drop of the blood of the demon sprang up another. She ultimately formed a project to get rid of him. She produced two men from her perspiration. With the help of a noose of a handkerchief they strangled him. The goddess commanded them to earn their livelihood with the use of the 'noose'. 'They, however, forbore . . . to exercise the privilege for a long time . . . . Several generations passed before Thagi became practised as a profession.' This story is a pure myth, probably adapted from another myth, according to which Kálí murdered the demon by licking up every drop of his blood.[1]

---

[1] JRAS., (1837), p. 202.

Another equally unfounded tradition of the Thags was that 'the operations of their trade were depicted in the carvings of the Ellora caves'. A noted Thag leader Feringeea spoke of them as follows :—

'Every one of the operations is to be seen there ; in one place you see men strangling ; in another burying the bodies ; in another carrying them to the graves ; whenever we passed near, we used to go and see these caves. Every man will there find his trade described and they were all made in one night.'[2]

Russell commented that he did not think 'there is anything to suppose that these carvings really have anything to do with the Thags'.[3] His anticipation has been confirmed by Vincent Smith who says that 'there is no Thag sculpture at all at Ellora'.[4]

Another tradition of theirs, believed by most of the Thags, was that they were originally Muslims who formed a special colony divided into seven tribes and located near Delhi in the seventh century.[5] It is not impossible to believe this tradition, for the first Muslim invasion of India occurred in 637 A.D. But as there is no evidence to show that the Muslims came to Delhi in the seventh century and that some Muslims following some form of Thagi accompanied them, this tradition is also unacceptable.

The first historical mention of the Thags is said to have been made by Ziá uddín Baraní, the author of Tárikh-i-Firoz Shahi, wherein he writes 'In his (Jalál uddín Khiljí's) reign some Thags were taken in the city (Delhi) and a man belonging to that fraternity was the means of about a thousand being captured. He gave orders for them to put into boats and to be conveyed into the Lower country to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautí, where they were to be set free. The Thags would thus have to dwell about Lakhnautí, and would not trouble the neighbourhood (of Delhi) any more.'[6] E. Balfour, in his Cyclopædia of India, writes that 'five hundred Thags were exiled in Etawah in the reign of Akbar'.[7] Meadows Taylor also writes to the same effect. The next reference to the Thags has been made by Thevenot, a European traveller of the 17th century (1766-67), in these words : 'The road (between Agra and Delhi) was infested with robbers. The most cunning robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain slip with a running noose, which they cast with so much slight about a man's neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail ; so that they strangle him in a trice.'[1]

---

[1] Thornton—History and Illustrations of the Practice of Thagi, p. 58.
[2] Ibid., pp. 109–11.
[3] Russell—Tribes and castes of Central India, p. 560.
[4] Sleeman—Rambles and Recollections, p. 653.
[5] Sleeman—Ramaseeana, pp. 10-11.
[6] Elliot, Vol. (iii), p. 142.
[7] E. Balfour—Cyclopædia of India, Vol. V.

On the basis of the above notices of the Thags by Ziá uddín Baraní, Balfour and Thevenot, Vincent Smith remarked that 'in all probability its (Thagi) origin was much more ancient than the 14th century, but records are lacking '.[2] His suggestion, however, is not free from serious doubts. Though the word 'Thags' occurs in Baranís' account, there is no strong reason to suppose that it has been used by him for the class of persons who strangled men. It might have been used merely for the 'cheats'. Had this big criminal fraternity been existing, it is difficult to believe that no reference should have been made about them for about 3 or 4 centuries. The authority of E. Balfour and Meadows Taylor is again open to serious doubts; for neither of them quotes any authority for their observations. It has been suggested by Vincent Smith that 'the memory of the event may have been preserved only by oral traditions. Etawah has always been notorious for Thagi and cognate crimes '.[3] But as it is not possible to find any reference to the Thags in the histories of Akbar's reign, Vincent Smith's suggestion cannot be accepted till some fresh evidence proves it.

It is doubtful if Thevenot wrote the account on his personal knowledge or hearsay, for he did not probably travel in the Northern India.[4] Be that as it may, we may draw two inferences from his account ; firstly, that the account unmistakably refers to the Thags ; and secondly that though they existed, the area of the Thag activities was in all probability limited to the road between Delhi and Agra and also perhaps that the number of the Thags was not very large.

After the account given by Thevenot, the curtain falls ; and it does not rise till 1799, when some Thags were captured at Seringapattam. But 'the crime of Thagi in the South was not of great antiquity ',[5] wrote Dr. Sherwood in 1816. Colonel Sleeman (1836) also endorses his view when he says that 'it could not be above 50 or 60 years ' that the Thags went to the South.[6]

---

[1] Thevenot—Travels, p. 40.
[2] Sleeman—Rambles and Recollections, p. 653.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Orme—History of Hindustan, pp. 172-73.
[5] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIII, Dr. Sherwood's paper.
[6] Ramaseeana, p. 4.

From the brief examination of the traditions of the Thags and of other references by travellers and historians, it appears that the beginning of the Thagi crime in India need not be pushed further back than the seventeenth century (or, if Barani's account be of the 'Thags', the 13th century), and that in 1665-66 it was a local pest in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Agra.

The method of the Thags.—A point of great importance and interest about them is their method of strangulation by noose. Thornton has described it very graphically in the following words :—

'It has been supposed that formerly a string with a running noose was used by the Thags for seizing travellers and that they robbed them on horseback. These practices do not at present, however, appear to be common. They sometimes use a short rope, with a loop at one end ; but a turban, or sash, are more usually employed, as these answer the atrocious purpose in view as well as regularly prepared noose, and have the additional recommendation of exciting no suspicions. When a waist-cloth or sash is used, it is previously doubled to the length of two feet and a half ; a knot is formed at the double extremity, and a slip knot tied about eighteen inches from it. In regulating the system of two knots, so that the intervening space, when tightly twisted, may be adapted to embrace the neck, the Thag who prepares the instrument tries it upon his own knee. The two knots give a firm hold of the cloth and prevent its slipping through the hands in the act of applying it. After the person attacked has been brought to the ground, the slip-knot is loosed by the Thag who has hold of that part of the cloth ; and he makes another fold of it round the neck ; upon which placing his foot he draws the cloth tight, in a manner similar to that of packing a bundle of straw.'[1]

Origin of Thagi.—Regarding the origin or source of Thagi, many surmises have been made. We may summarily reject the Thag belief in its divine origin and also the hypothesis that the Thags were originally a religious sect whose principal tenet was the prohibition of the shedding of blood.[2]

Some writers have suggested that it was of Hindu origin ; others, that it was of Muslim origin. In support of the former it is argued that the universal worship of the goddess Kálí and the pick-axe, the unshaken belief of the Thags that in following Thagi they were only following the commands of the goddess ; their philosophy of predestination, their adherence to, and firm faith in, omens and modes of divination—all these show that system was of Hindu origin.[1] Besides, the word Pásh occurs in the Hindu mythology and many gods such as Varuṇa and Yama are represented with Pásh (noose). It appears that the method of strangulation might be owing its source to Pásh. In accepting this hypothesis some difficulties arise. It has already been shown that the story of Kálí is a mere adaptation or fabrication. The worship of the pick-axe is the outcome of the common animistic belief, which was and is shared by all ignorant men. With respect to the Hindu beliefs and usages, 'adverting to the dispositions observable among the lower orders of both Hindus and Muslims to adopt the rites and customs of each other, they may have been introduced and eagerly received among ignorant and superstitious offenders, ever prone to embrace a scheme which serves the purpose of tranquillizing the mind without requiring the abandonment of criminal habits either by Hindu converts to Islam or lay such Hindu criminals as retaining their religion attached themselves to the bands of Phansigars (Thags)'.[2] Moreover, though it is true that the word 'Pásh' occurs in the Hindu mythology, yet it was never used to indicate 'a noose by which men are murdered'. Again, the practice of Thagi began in the sventeenth (or thirteenth) century, when the use of Pásh (noose) as a weapon, if it was ever known to Hindus, was unknown. The opinion of Colonel Sleeman also was that the system was not of Hindu origin.

---

[1] Thornton, p. 12.

[2] Russell, pp. 573-74, and pp. 580–584.

'There is every reason to believe', says he, 'that Thagi originated with some parties of vagrant Muslims who infested the roads about the ancient capital of India (Delhi)'. In support of this he quotes a passage from Herodotus's Polymnia: 'In Xerxes's army there was a body of horse from among the Sagartii, a pastoral people of Persian descent, and who spoke the Persian language; their only offensive weapons were a dagger and a cord made of twisted leather with a noose at one end'.[3] H. H. Wilson adds that the word Kamand occurs in Firdousi.[4] Though 'there is a vast interval between the Persian invasion of Greece and the travels of Thevenot, and of space between the seal of Sagartii and the ancient capital of India', Colonel Sleeman was inclined to think that 'the vagrant bands', who in the 17th century, 'infested the roads..... came from some wild tribe and country of the kind', and he further says that 'doubtlessly from these vagrant bands are descended the 7 clans of Muslim Thags..... why by the common consent of all Thags throughout India, whether Hindu or Musalman, are admitted to be the most ancient, and the great original trunk upon which all the others have at different times and in different places been grafted..... They all retain in some degree their pristine habits and usages'. The publication of a paper in the *Journal of Indian History* (1929) by Mr. A. S. Tritton on Muslim Thags shows that a form of crime similar to Thagi was prevalent in Persia in the 9th century A.D.[1] The only difficulty in admitting this theory of Muslim origin lies in the absence of any direct evidence telling us that the Indians learnt Thagi from the people of Persia. But then as the connection of Persia and India was almost unbroken from the 8th century onwards, it does not seem improbable.

---

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIII, Dr. Sherwood's paper.

[2] Russell, pp. 573–580.

[3] Ramaseeana, pp. 10-11.

[4] H. H. Wilson—History of British India, Vol. III, p. 274.

(*To be continued*)

---

[1] Journal of Indian History (1929)—Muslim Thags by A. S. Tritton.

THE VAIDYAKA LITERATURE OF BENGAL, IN THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

In the days of Hiuen Tsang, if he is correct in his statement, *Âyurvêda* or the Science of longevity ranked as the first of the four Vêdas studied by the Brahmins, the second, third and fourth being the *Sâma*, *Yajur* and *Atharvan* respectively.[1] The pilgrim further records that the curriculum of study of the young students (of India), of whose caste or religion no specification or discrimination has been made, included the *Cikitsâ-vidyâ* or the Medical science, too.[2] The Buddhist monks, we know, had, as a matter of course, to possess some knowledge of this science, and be acquainted with the medical properties of common drugs and herbs, since the four *pratyayas* (*paccayas*) or necessaries of a monk included the *bhaiṣajya* (medicine). Medicine, it is well known, formed one of the principal subjects of study in the University of Vikramaśîla, founded by Dharmapâla, as it did in the Nâlanda monastery, too.[3] The so-called Tāntrik Yôgis of India were also to a large extent conversant with the science, mainly with the object of doing good to the people at large, and more or less a number of chapters of a good many Tântrik works are exclusively devoted to Medicine. In Bengal, as in the rest of India in the Early Mediæval period, the cultivation of medical science was shared along with the Buddhists and Tântriks,—besides of course the members of the medical caste (Vaidyas)—by the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. Typical instances of this, so far as the Brahmins of Bengal are concerned, are furnished by the *praśasti* of Bhavadêva Bhaṭṭa, wherein this celebrated scholar is characterized as proficient in the science of medicine, too,[4] and also by the commentary of Śûlapâṇi Upâdhyâya on the *Yâjñavalkya Saṁhitâ*, wherein the commentator, in explaining the text, makes no trivial display of his knowledge in Medicine.[5]

An author of a medical *Nighaṇṭu* or glossary, Indu by name, is quoted not few times by Kṣîrasvâmî, attributed to the second half of the 11th century, in his reputed commentary on the *Amara-*

---

[1] *Records*, Beal, I, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[3] *Life*, p. 112.

[4] Ep. Ind., VI, p. 207, v. 23.

[5] Studies in Medicine in Ancient India, Part I, Osteology, A.F.R. Hoernle, Oxford, 1907, pp. 203-4.

kôṣa.[1] The *Nighaṇṭu* appears to have been lost, but the name Indu is found to have been borne by a commentator of the *Aṣṭâṅga-hṛdaya* of Vâgbhaṭa II. A MS. of Indu's commentary, entitled *Śaśi-lêkhâ,* and perhaps the only one preserved, is in the Madras Government's collection.[2] That both the books are medical, and that Indu is not a commonplace name amongst the Vaidyaka writers of ancient and early mediæval India, tend to suggest that Indu, the author of the *Nighaṇṭu*, is the same with the commentator of the *Aṣṭâṅga-hṛdaya*. But Indu is, after all, a familiar name to us as being that of the father of Mâdhava-Kara, the celebrated author of the *Nidâna-saṁgraha*, and it may not improbably be that the writer of the above two works was but Indu, the father of Mâdhava-Kara.

Mâdhava's Nidâna, alias Rug-viṁścaya or Gada-viṁścaya, is an exposition of pathology, exclusively devoted to the diagnosis of diseases, without any practical suggestions for remedies, and was written, as he declares in an introductory verse, for the neophytes and half-witted students. There is no room for doubt that the work is more or less a conspectus of the Caraka and Suśruta Saṁhitâs,[3] which amongst others are frequently cited, but it proved ever since to be a very useful work, no short of a *vade macum*, to the students of Âyurvêda, and one who has not mastered it thoroughly is hardly considered, particularly in Bengal, competent for the profession. Further it ranks, as his commentator Vijaya Rakṣita gives us to understand, as the first book of its kind produced,[4] and his method of treatment was followed by many later writers. It is supposed to have also been largely availed of by Dṛḍhavala of Kâśmîra in his Revision of the Caraka-Saṁhitâ,[5] but what is more essential to note is that it was one of the medical works that were translated into Arabic for the Califs of Baghdad, Mansûr (753–774 A.D.) and Harun (786–808 A.D.).[6]

The former half of the eighth century, therefore, forms the lower limit of Mâdhava-Kara's date, but we may conveniently place him in the seventh century. In any case, however, his father, Indu-Kara, cannot be assigned to a period later than the 7th century, and this necessitates that the date suggested, viz. eighth or ninth century, by Dr. Hoernle for Vâgbhaṭa II,[7] whose Aṣṭâṅga-hṛdaya-saṁhitâ appears to have been commented upon by Mâdhava-Kara's father, should be shifted to the seventh century at the latest.[1]

---

[1] Ed. K. G. Oka, App. I, sub voce 'Indu'.

[2] Triennial Catalogue of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B, p. 5142.

[3] History of Hindu Chemistry, P. C. Ray, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Intro. pp. xxix–xx.

[4] Vaṇauṣadhi-darpaṇa, Virajâ Charaṇa Gupta, Cal., 1908, Vol. I, p. 39.

[5] Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[6] J.R.A.S., VI (old Series), pp. 105–115.

[7] Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Mâdhava's Nidâna evoked a number of commentaries upon it,[2] testifying to the wide popularity it won. As a supplement to his Nidâna, he wrote his Cikitsâ, which is on the practice of Medicine. In the introduction of the book he states explicitly that it was written after the Nidâna.[3] The Cikitsâ also found favour with the physicians, and is quoted more than once in Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta's commentary on the Siddha-yôga.[4] His Kuṭa-mudgara[5] is a concise work on regimen and digestion, having had at least one commentary on it, which is anonymous. Two of his most valuable productions, however, appear to have been lost, and our knowledge of them is derived only from references to them in later works. One of these was the Dravyaguṇa, evidently on the medical properties of drugs, which is referred to by Śivadâsa-Sêna in his own commentary on the Cakradatta,[6] while the other was a gloss on the Suśruta-saṁhitâ.[7] The latter is alluded to by Vijayarakṣita in his commentary on the Nidâna,[8] and Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta in his commentary on the Siddhayôga, as also by Dalvaṇa (circa 12th century) of the Mathurâ region in the introduction of his commentary on the Suśruta.[9]

One more work, viz. the Paryyâya-ratnamâlâ,[10] is attributed to the authorship of Mōdhava-Kara, and this treats of 'foods, drinks, baths, habitation, diurnal duties and other subjects of hygiene' including also the names of a number of medicines arranged in classes. It is characteristic of this work that it contains a good many words from the then current popular speech as names of medicinal plants, herbs, and other substances, which for the most part are still known by those names in Bengal.[11]

---

[1] Cf. also History of Indian Medicine, Girindra Nath Mukherjee, Vol. III, 1929, Cal., p. 795.

[2] Cf. Eggeling's Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the India Office Library, Part V, pp. 933, 935-36 ; Mitra's Notices of Sans. MSS., IV, No. 1634 ; Mitra's Bikaneer Catalogue of MSS., p. 652 ; H. P. Sāstrî's Notices of Sans. MSS., Second Series, Vol. I, No. 320, etc.

[3] Bikaneer Catalogue, pp. 647-48, No. 1413 ; also Bühler's Gujrât Cat. of MSS., Fascicle IV, 1873, p. 230.

[4] Sâhitya, 1323 B.S., p. 223.

[5] Printed in Bombay ; Mitra's Notices, II, No. 792 ; Bühler's Gujrât Cat., p. 220.

[6] Ed. Dêvêndra Nath Sen, 1st ed., p. 128.

[7] Sâhitya, 1321 B.S., p. 817.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1323 B.S., p. 226.

[9] P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Intro., p. xxxi.

[10] Muktâvalî, ed. Kâli Prasanna Viṭ Sarkâr, Cal., 1298 B.S., p. 1, v. 2 ; also cf. Sâhitya, 1321 B.S., pp. 811-12.

[11] Sâhitya, 1321 B.S., pp. 816-17.

The cognomen 'Kara', the extensive use of his writings, specially his Nidâna, in Bengal, and the occurrence of the (Bengali) *dêśî* words in his Paryyâya-ratnamâlâ,—constitute together a cogent reason to surmise that Mâdhava-Kara was a Bengali.

The late Râjâ Râjêndra Lâl Mitra confused him with a much later physician bearing the same name and who wrote the Rasa-Kaumudî.[1] He should also be carefully distinguished from his namesakes who were the authors of the Âyurvêda-rasa-śâstraṁ, the Bhâva-svabhâva, the Mugdhabôdha, etc. and who all came long after him.

Since Vṛnda, the famous author of the Siddha-yôga, is known also as Vṛnda-Mâdhava, and his work follows closely the pathology and order of Mâdhava-Kara's Nidâna, it was suggested by Dr. Hoernle that Vṛnda and Mâdhava are identical and that the Nidâna is only the first part of a larger work, the second part of which is the Siddha-yôga.[2] But the proposed identity of Mâdhava-Kara with Vṛnda-Mādhava has already been ably and successfully controverted,[3] and, in fact, it may be added here, the word 'Mādhava' is as much a component part of Vṛnda's name as it is of the names of the poets Jaya-Mâdhava, Vibhuti-Mâdhava, Vijaya-Mâdhava, Vidyâ-Mâdhava, etc.[4]

Vṛnda's Siddha-yôga is rather a big work on the treatment of maladies with prescriptions of remedies, consisting of 82 chapters, and arranged on the plan of Mâdhava's Gada-Viṁścaya (Nidâna). Cakrapâṇi-Datta, about 1060 A.D., not only modelled his Cakradatta on the Siddha-yôga, but substantially incorporated it in his work. This perhaps explains why Vṛnda's book fell almost into disuse in Bengal. But, nevertheless it was in a Bengali, Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta, belonging to a later date, that it found its best commentator. Of personal history of Vṛnda, we know practically nothing, but the fact is that he follows in his work Mâdhava-Kara, a Bengali, and is followed by Cakrapâṇi-Datta, also a Bengali.

Cakrapâṇi-Datta's father was the physician Nârâyaṇa, a *kulin* of the Lôdhravalî family, who was a minister (*pātra*) as also the superintendent of the culinary department of Nayapâla.[5] Cakrapāṇi's elder brother, Bhânu, has been styled as an *antaraṅga*, a term explained by the commentator, Śivadâsa-Sêna, as the designation of a highly proficient physician of noble family.[1] No literary work of Bhânu is known to exist, but a Nârâyaṇa Kavirâja is quoted in the anthology, Saduktikarṇâmṛta, of Śrîdhara-Dâsa (1205 A.D.). There is, again, extant a medical vocabulary, entitled Ratnamâlâdhyâyâ, compiled by a Nârâyaṇa, also designated as *antaraṅga*,[2] whose identification, as is made, with Nârâyaṇa Khān, the father of the Vaiṣṇava Narahari-Dâsa, a companion and follower of Caitanya, is not supported by facts.

---

[1] Mitra's Notices, IV, p. 178 ; cf. P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, Intro., p. lxxviii.

[2] J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 283f.

[3] Sâhitya, 1323 B.S., pp. 221–28.

[4] Cf. Introduction to Vallabhadēva's Subhâṣitâvali, by P. Peterson, pp. 39, 122, 129 ; for Vidyâ Mâdhava, see Madras Catalogue, XX, p. 7777, No. 11606, and for Jaya-Mâdhava also see Śârṅgadhara-paddhati, No. 3653.

[5] Cf. the 1st of the two verses in the colophon of the Cakradatta.

Cakrapâṇi's preceptor was Nara-Datta, who appears to have been a paraphrast of the Caraka-saṁhitâ, and his work was consulted by Cakrapâṇi.[3]

Paramount of Cakrapâṇi's own achievements is a compilation on practice of Medicine, which is destined to bear his name, and in which, as noted above, he follows for the better part the Siddhayôga of Vṛnda-Mâdhava. But, notwithstanding, the Cakra-datta contains the names and preparations of several new medicinal compounds in it. Śivadâsa-Sêna of Mâlañci, in Pâbnâ, whose father was the court-physician of Barbek Shâh (16th century) of Bengal, wrote an excellent commentary, entitled Tattva-candrikâ, upon it, but he professed that it was based upon an older commentary, called Ratnaprabhâ.[4] To Cakrapâṇi is attributed the authorship of the Cikitsâ-sâra, on medicament and therapeutics, which is otherwise known as the Guḍha-vâkya-vôdhaka. Two other well-known productions of his are a glossary (nighaṇṭu) of various drugs with explanations of their properties, and a vocabulary bearing the title of Śabda-candrikâ,[5] of vegetables and mineral substances, with an elaborate list of compounds, both in medicine and diet. The Nighaṇṭu, which is known as Dravya-guṇa-saṁgraha, has a commentary upon it by the same Śivadâsa. Besides, he is credited with elucidations of the Suśruta-saṁhitâ, in his *Bhânumatî*, and of the *Caraka* in his *Âyurvêda-dîpikâ*, which is probably mentioned as *Caraka-tâtparyya-dîpikâ* in one MS.[6] There is a work called *Sarva-sâra-saṁgraha* by a Cakrapâṇi-Datta,[7] who may be he or a later name-sake of his.

The time in which Cakrapâṇi-Datta flourished may aptly be called a new era in the Âyurvêda world, in view of the great advancement it made in the direction of metallic preparations. The age in which a physician, not only in Bengal but in India, was in the main concerned with 'herbs and simples and a few readily available products of the mineral kingdom', had long gone by. 'Since the days of Vagbhaṭa', it has been truly observed, 'metallic preparations had begun slowly to creep into use, and at the time of Cakrapâṇi and his predecessor Vṛnda, they had so fully established their claims that they could no longer be ignored. Thus we find from the tenth century and downwards every medical work more or less recommending compounds of metals which can only be synthetically prepared.'[1]

---

[1] Cf. my note on 'Antaraṅga' in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 684, in this connection.

[2] Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1320 B.S., pp. 67-68.

[3] Vanauṣadhidarpaṇa, Intro., p. 24.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[5] Mitra's Notices, II, No. 562.

[6] Mitra's Notices, 2160.

[7] Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces, Part I, Benares, 1874, 586; also Catalogue of Sans. MSS., existing in Oudh, compiled by Paṇḍita Devi-Prasâda, Fasc. VI, 14.

Our next author is Surêśvara alias Sura-pâla, who wrote the *Śabdapradîpa*, a dictionary of medical botany.[2] He was the *bhiṣag=antaraṅga* (court-physician) of a king named Bhîma-pâla, and styled as 'lord of Pâdi' (*Pâdîśvara*), but whose identity is difficult to make out. Surêśvara's father, Bhadrêśvara, who is described as '*Kavi-kadambaka-cakravartî*', acted in a similar capacity to the last great Pâla monarch of Bengal, Râmapâla, whose representation in the work as 'Vaṅgêśvara', 'lord of Vaṅga', instead of as 'Gauḍêśvara' is rather curious, for although the contemporary king of Vaṅga (East Bengal), who was a scion of the Varma dynasty, paid homage to Râmapâla, the latter cannot, strictly speaking, be dubbed as 'Vaṅgêśvara'. Whether or not Kumârapâla, the son and successor of Râmapâla, is to be regarded as one with the Bhîma-pâla of the *Śabda-pradîpa*, Surêśvara must have lived in the first half of the twelfth century. His great-grandfather, Dêvagaṇa, we are further told, was the court-physician of King Gôvindacandra, doubtless the Gôvindacandra of Vaṅgâla-dêśa (country), as was worsted by the generals of Râjêndra-Côḷa.

But Surêśvara was the writer of another work, called *Lôha-paddhati* or *Lôha-sarvasva*, a MS. of which in Devanâgarî character has been discovered.[3] It is a treatise on the medical use of iron and its several preparations, and quotes Suśruta, Hârîta, Vyâḍi, Nâgârjuna, etc. He is further said to have been the author of the *Vṛkṣâyurvêda*, 'which was probably the work known to *Śârṅgadhara-paddhati*, A.D. 1363'. In the *Lôha-paddhati*, Surêśvara is styled as 'Kavîśvara', which is equivalent to 'Kavirâja', the general epithet of the modern physicians of Bengal, as also of other parts of India.

---

[1] P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. liv.

[2] Eggeling's Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the India Office Library, 1896, Part V, pp. 974-5.

[3] Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskṛta and Prâkṛta MSS., in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, compiled by H. D. Velankar, Vol. I, 1926, p. 65.

The next author, Vaṅga-Sêna, who is known to us as the writer of the *Akhyâta-vyâkaraṇa* (grammar), also figures as the writer of a medical treatise, called *Cikitsâ-sâra-saṁgraha*, alias *Vaṅgasêna*, on practice, therapeutics and pharmacy, and which according to the author's own statement towards the end of the work is a new recension of what was in former times known as the *Agasti-saṁhitâ*, but as Dr. Hoernle considers is a compilation from different medical works.[1] Although of uncertain date, Vaṅgasêna must not be mistaken, as is sometimes done, as a recent writer, for two of the manuscripts of his *Cikitsâ-sâra-saṁgraha*, found in the Deccan, are dated in 1376 Saṁvat or 1319-20 A.D.,[2] and he must, therefore, belong to the 13th century at the latest. His father was Gadâdhara, who may not improbably be identified with the Gadâdhara as referred to in the commentary of Mâdhava's *Nidâna* by Vijaya-Rakṣita,[3] who is placed about 1240 A.D.[4] A Gadâdhara is quoted as a commentator of the *Suśruta* also by Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta in his commentary on Vṛnda's *Siddha-yôga*, and we may only presume that he is not a different person from the former. If it be correct, the lower limit of Gadâdhara's date falls in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. But he may be taken to be a person of still higher antiquity if he is identical or be identifiable with the Vaidya Gadâdhara, whose verses are quoted in the *Saduktikarṇâmṛta* of Śrîdhara-Dâsa (1205 A.D.). Vaṅgasêna says that the original place of his residence was Kâñjikâ, which appears to be the same with Kâñjivillî, in Râḍha, from which Nârâyaṇa, the author of the *Chandôga-pariśiṣṭa-prakâśa* hailed. From internal evidence of his book it is also suggested that he was a Bengali, while the nature of the name he bears also points to the same conclusion.

Of the numerous Vaidya writers bearing the titles of Dhara, Kara, Datta, Nandî, Sêna, Dâsa, Rakṣita and so on, who are quoted in Śrîdhara-Dasa's anthology, none (except Vaidya Gadâdhara) seems to have left any medical work to us. Only one name, Paramêśvara, is found borne by the author of a treatise called *Gaṇâdhyâya*, on classification of medicine, but his title was Rakṣita, which is wanting in the anthology.

Probably to the early part of the thirteenth century belonged Aruṇa-Datta, son of Mṛgâṅka-Datta, and the author of a learned commentary on the *Aṣṭâṅga-hṛdaya* of Vâgbhaṭa II. A commentary on the *Suśruta-saṁhitâ* is also ascribed to him.[1] An Aruṇa-Datta is found quoted, as a lexicographer and grammarian, in Vṛhaspati Râya-mukuṭa's commentary on the *Amara-kôṣa* (1431 A.D.)[2], as also in the *Tîkâ-sarvasva* commentary on the same by Sarvânanda-Vandyaghaṭîya (1159 A.D.), but whether he is not different from the physician Aruṇa-Datta is very difficult to be divined at present. One of the theories of the latter, however, regarding the structure of the eye is controverted by Vijaya-Rakṣita (c. 1240 A.D.) whence Dr. Hoernle assigns him to about 1220 A.D.[3]

---

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, p. 150.

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sans. MSS.*, 1883-84, p. 86; S. R. Bhandarkar's Deccan College MSS. Catalogue, p. 144, No. 352.

[3] *Vanauṣadhi-darpaṇa*, p. 43.

[4] Hoernle, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, Part I, p. 17.

Vijaya-Rakṣita's comments on the Nidâna of Mâdhava, entitled *Madhukôṣa*, came to comprise the chapter on the *aśmarî* disease (gravel), when he died, and the task of working up the rest devolved upon his pupil, Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta. Vijaya-Rakṣita is designated as '*Ârôgya-śâlîya*', a term which is anything but easy to explain, but 'Arôgya-śâlî', we know, is an epithet of Śâkyamuṇi (Buddha) and of Avalôkitêśvara[4]. In order, however, to assert that he openly professed Buddhism in the age he lived, are required more cogent and direct proofs, of which we have none at present.

Śrîkaṇṭha-Datta wrote, independently of his preceptor, his valuable commentary on the *Siddha-yôga* of Vṛnda, known as the *Kusumâvalî*. Vijaya-Rakṣita had another worthy pupil in Niścala-Kara, whose name lies almost buried into oblivion, but who after the expiry of his teacher (*Âyurvêda-gurau svargaṁ gatê Vijaya-Rakṣitê . . . .*),[5] set himself to comment upon the *Cakradatta* according to the theories (ukti) of his teacher. Niścala's commentary was in course of time ousted from the field by that of Śivadâsa-Sêna, who refers in his own to Niścala as well as to Śrîkaṇṭha several times. As Vijaya-Rakṣita is assigned, it seems correctly, to about 1240 A.D., his pupils are to be placed in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and all of them are admittedly Bengalis.

It is both interesting and essential to note that whereas there is a perceptible dearth of Brahmanical literature of Bengal in the thirteenth century, the case is otherwise with the Vaidyaka literature.

---

[1] *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in Private Libraries of the N.W. Prov.*, Part I, Benares, 1874, 586.

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on Search for Sans. MSS.*, 1883-84, p. 467.

[3] Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[4] *Étude Sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique De L'Inde*, par A. Foucher, Paris, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 94 and 109, note 2.

[5] Bikaneer Catalogue, R. L. Mitra, 1880, p. 634.

ALPINES IN EASTERN INDIA

By K. L. Barua

Recent linguistic, cultural, anthropological and historical investigations have brought out certain facts which seem to be of great importance in tracing the early history of culture and civilization in Eastern India comprising the ancient countries of Magadha, Mithilā, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Pundra, Prāgjyotiṣa, Oḍra and Kaliṅga. In this article I shall try to marshal them and to deduce certain theories tentatively, but as the subject is a controversial one I would sincerely ask scholars, interested in it, to come forward and discuss it in a true spirit of research so that correct conclusions may be reached. I shall proceed first with the anthropological materials.

Vol. 1, Part I (Report) of the Census of India, 1931, by Dr. J. H. Hutton and Vol. 1, Part III (Ethnographical) of the Census of India, 1931, by Dr. B. S. Guha are the two monumental works on the racial origins and affinities of the peoples of India. From these two authoritative works we find that the earliest settlers in India were the Negrito people whose present day representatives are the Andamanese, the Kadars and the Uralis of Southern India. This race was displaced or supplanted very early by the Proto-Australoid, a dolichocephalic type. Whether they entered India through the north-west or through the north-east, via the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China and the Irawadi valley, is still a moot point. It is however recognized that it is this type which is primarily responsible for the platyrrhine and dark-skinned elements in India ‘which decrease generally in accordance with the increase in the social position of the subject examined but which are present to some extent in all castes though but rarely in the highest castes of Northern India’.

The Proto-Australoids were superseded in India long ages ago by a short-statured dolichocephalic strain with high cranial vault and medium lips. Dr. Hutton has given the name Mediterranean to this race. Dr. Guha however admits that this race and the Vedic Aryans of a much later period may have been evolved out of a common ancestral stock but were differentiated very early. It seems to me therefore that a name like the ‘Early Aryans’ may be properly applied to them instead of the term Mediterranean. Dr. Guha finds that the Pods of Bengal, the Telegu Brahmans, the Oriya Brahmans, the Kanarese Brahmans, the Saraswat Brahmans, the Chippavan Brahmans and the Deśastha Brahmans are basically of this race. Though the recent anthropometric measurements were not extended to Assam Dr. Hutton thinks that the Kalitas of Assam—a high caste—also belong probably to this stock which 'appears to have contributed most to the physical composition of the peoples of India and perhaps also to their culture'. The civilization disclosed in the Indus Valley is generally attributed to this race.

During the third millennium B.C. an Alpine immigration into India took place. It is believed that these Alpines, who were brachycephals with leptorrhine noses, had before their entry into India, lived in or near the Iranian table-land where they had met at least the Iranian Aryans if not the common ancestors of both the Vedic and the Avestic Aryans and had acquired an Aryan language of the Dardic or *Piśachi* type. One branch of this race pushed towards the western coast of India through the Indus Valley, for at least one Alpine skull has been found at Mohenjo-daro. The other branch moved towards Eastern India without, it seems, staying long in the central part of Northern India. They introduced the non-Mongoloid brachycephal type now to be found in Eastern India as well as the western coast. They also gave rise to Grierson's 'outer band' of the Indo-Aryan languages. The languages of this 'outer band' in Eastern India, at the present day, are Bihari, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya. According to Dr. Guha the purest forms of this type are the Nāgar-Brahmans of Guzerat, the Bengali Kayasthas and the Khos of Chitral. As I shall try to show later, the Nāgar-Brahmans as well as the Kayasthas of Bengal were, at one time, the priests of the Alpines and that perhaps accounts for their comparative pure state till now. The Bengali Brahmans are near cousins of the Bengali Kayasthas but in their case the head is slightly longer due perhaps to intermixture with either Vedic Aryans or the Early Aryans (Mediterraneans) very probably the latter. The Maithil and Kanaujia Brahmans have proved to be hybrid types either Mediterranean × Alpine or Mediterranean × Vedic Aryan.

During the second millennium B.C. the Vedic Aryans entered India through Afghanisthan. They introduced the Vedic religion and culture and the Vedic Sanskrit but in a pure form they can be found only in the North-West Himalayan tribes like the Kaffirs and Pathans and among the Sikhs of the Punjab and the U.P. Brahmans. Vedic Aryan physiognomy of the Nordic type is not to be seen anywhere in Eastern India or the western coast.

After the Vedic Aryans peoples of other races entered India both through the north-west and the north-east down to modern times, but they will be left out of account in this article as we are not concerned with them for our present purpose.

The materials available from linguistic enquiries are largely supplied by Dr. Grierson's monumental work on the Linguistic Survey of India. The chapter on Linguistic Pre-history in Dr. Hutton's Census Report, referred to above, is also most illuminating. It appears that the Austric languages once covered the whole of Northern India and that subsequently the Dravidian language entered India and practically supplanted the Austric. The few patches of Austric language still remaining in parts of the Himalayan region, the Khasi Hills of Assam and Chota Nagpur are the only remnants of this ancient speech. The Dravidian was the prevailing speech throughout Northern India when the Indo-European, imported by the Alpines, arrived. As already stated, this was a language of the Dardic type a descendant of which is still to be found in Khowari, the speech of the Khos of Chitral who are definitely Alpine in physical characteristics and who evidently mark the route taken by the Alpines for their entry into India through the Pamirs. Kashmiri and Kohisthani are also languages of this stock like all the other Indian languages of the outer band. I have already said that the branch of Alpines which pushed towards the East did not evidently stay long in the *Madhyadeśa* to acquire certain characteristics of the agglutinative Dravidian speech, nor to impose their own speech in that area. When the Rigvedic Aryans came into the Punjab and the *Madhyadeśa* they no doubt found the Dravidian speech there practically unmodified by the Alpine immigrants who had preceded them. In course of time Vedic Sanskrit acquired Dravidian characteristics, such as the cerebrals, which are still absent not only from the European languages of the Aryan family but also from the languages of the old Iranian and the Dardic groups. When, at a much later period, Vedic Sanskrit reached both Eastern India and the western coast the original Piśāchi languages of these tracts were more or less Sanskritized. In the case of some of these vernaculars like Guzerati, Eastern Hindi and Bengali the overlay of Sanskrit has been so great that it is now difficult to trace their ancient Piśāchi origin. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has thus been led to trace the origin of the Bengali language to Vedic Sanskrit, through Māgadhi Prākrit, rejecting Dr. Grierson's classification of the Indo-Aryan languages into inner and outer bands and the entire evidence adduced by the anthropologists based not only on cephalic indices but also on other somatic characters and blood-groups. Having rejected these scientific data he has been forced to postulate two sets of Aryans entering India, Vedic and Non-Vedic, the latter preceding the former and occupying Eastern India before the advent of the Vedic Aryans by whom they were designated as *Vrātyas*. It is hardly necessary to add that this theory, which is only an adaptation of Dr. Hoernle's speculation of a second Aryan intrusion through the Himalayas, is now discredited. Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda's theory of a tribe of the *Homo-Alpinus* entering India and pushing towards the east giving rise to the Piśāchi languages of Eastern India and non-Mongoloid brachycephaly, particularly in Bengal, has now been accepted by all competent scholars who have correctly postulated an earlier date for this invasion.

The overlay of Sanskrit has not been to the same extent on all the languages of the outer band. Take, for instance, the case of Assamese which is now spoken by only about two millions of people in the Assam Valley but which must have been in vogue over a wider area, including a part of Northern Bengal, some four or five centuries ago when it was known as Kāmarupi and which possesses a vast ancient literature of its own. The cerebrals are still absent from this language though present in Bengali. Further the pronunciation of ষ in Assamese like ch in German Loch and as in Khowari, Pustho and other Piśāchi dialects of the Dardic family is a remarkable phenomenon. Grierson, noticing the affinity between Assamese and Kashmiri, has remarked that it is a curious coincidence of the extreme east meeting the extreme west. There are words in Assamese which are still used in the same sense as in some of the existing Piśāchi languages. The Assamese word 'Khel' means a clan or group. It is to be found in 'Afridi Khel', 'Jakka Khel' and so forth where the word 'Khel' has the same meaning. In Bengali the use of this word seems to have been lost. Another peculiarity of Assamese is that being placed in an out-of-the-way corner and thus very much less overlaid by Sanskrit, its nearness to the original Piśāchi languages of the western coast is more marked. Take for instance the word 'Ubh' meaning to stand. It is still used in Assamese, Sylheti, Marathi and Sindhi. It was used in the old Bengali *charyāpadas* of perhaps the eleventh century A.D. but is now out of use. The Assamese words 'Āi' (mother), 'Bāi' (sister) are to be found in Kohisthani and the languages of the western coast but no longer in Bengali. The 'Diari' of the Sindhi dialect, meaning female offspring, has become the 'Jiari' in Assamese where the দ is softened into জ. In Assamese the word 'Bāru' means 'all right'. In Guzerati the word is 'Vāru' used in the same sense. It has ceased to be used in Bengali. I have given some instances of very common homely words but such instances can be multiplied. The derivation of Assamese from a Piśāchi origin rather than from Vedic Sanskrit is proved further by the occurrence therein of words and expressions found in European Aryan languages but long lost in Sanskrit. Take for instance the common Assamese word 'Batar' which has the same meaning and derivation as German 'wetter' and English 'weather'. The Assamese word 'Boga' (white) has its counterpart in Slavonic 'Bogu'. The Assamese word 'Selek' (lick) is equivalent to Icelandic 'sleikja' and English 'lick'. Now Assamese is not a language that dropped from above into the Assam Valley. It is a speech which must have originated from a common language that was once in vogue throughout Eastern India and this common speech was of Piśāchi origin introduced not by the Vedic Aryans nor by the so-called Non-Vedic Aryans but by the Alpines who were not racially of the Aryan stock. The sister languages Bihari and Bengali have been so much Sanskritized that it is now difficult to trace their true origin.

As regards evidence available from cultural traits it would be hardly necessary for my purpose to refer to cultural items still to be found in Eastern India but originally transmitted by the Austric people or their successors the so-called Mediterraneans. They are all very interesting but they are not quite germane to our present enquiry. I shall therefore confine myself to such cultural traits as we can reasonably trace to Alpine influence and concentrate on those particularly noticeable in the Assam Valley. The obvious reason for this is that, as in the case of language, it is difficult to distinguish original cultural traits after an overlay. Wherever Vedic Aryan culture thoroughly permeated indigenous culture the original has been lost. This is the case in Bengal and Bihar. I have therefore chosen the Assam Valley where Vedic Aryan influence has been comparatively less.

Among the Assamese Hindus although disposal of the dead by cremation is now almost general the custom of exposing the dead body in the open to be eaten up by vultures, jackals, etc. has not yet died out completely. Probably in the past this custom was more common. This cannot be a custom learnt from the aboriginals of Assam who, as a rule, either burn or bury the dead. The Austric people in the Assam Hills burn the dead body and deposit the ashes. The Assamese custom of exposing the dead body (now nearly extinct) is like the old Iranian custom which still persists in the Parsees who, it must be noted, are not of Aryan descent but are brachycephals, probably of Alpine origin, following the religion of Zoroaster.

In the Vendidad the dead body is considered unclean and impure as 'when a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the *Drug Nasu* or corpse *Drug* falls upon the dead from the regions of hell and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean and makes unclean whosoever he touches'. So the old Iranians used to take out the corpse as soon as the man died and cleansed the house by washing with *Gomez* (Sanskrit *Gomaya*) and by kindling a fire in the house and burning perfumes thereon. The Assamese custom is almost exactly similar with the difference that the fire is kindled outside the house. The Assamese corpse-bearers, when back in the village, first take a bath and coming near the fire dry themselves, particularly the hands and the feet. In this fire seeds of cotton and dry jute-leaves are usually burnt. After this process only they are allowed to touch others and enter their houses.

Then take the case of uncleanness of a woman during menses. According to the Zend-Avesta the menses are sent by Ahriman. Therefore a woman, as long as the menses last, is unclean and possessed of the demon. The general rule is that 'whoever has touched a *Dastin* (menstruous) woman must wash his body and clothes with *Gomez* and water. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand but is passed to her without touching her or going very near to her. The Assamese custom is exactly similar and is still observed rigidly.

These similarities in cultural items are striking. They can be explained only on the hypothesis that a class of people imbibing old Iranian customs had introduced them in Eastern India long long ago. In Bengal also traces of such customs may exist till this day but in the Assam Valley they retain their comparative purity due to isolation from the rest of Eastern India.

Now I come to the historical materials: These are furnished by semi-historical traditional literature like the epics and the Purāṇas and also epigraphic records like copperplate inscriptions.

The traditional literature depicts the countries of Eastern India as *Anupadeśa* or *Vrātya* land. Now who were the *Vrātyas* who by the *Vrātyāstoma* ceremony were converted into full-fledged Aryans? It is said that the *Vrātyas* were originally Aryans who had forgotten Aryan manners and customs and also perhaps the worship of Aryan gods. It would no doubt be easy to identify the *Vrātyas* with the Non-Vedic Aryans postulated by scholars like Hoernle or Dr. Chatterji, but where are now the representatives of these Non-Vedic Aryans? Certainly they cannot be the brachycephals who compose the highest castes in Bengal, for example. The latest philosopher in the field is Mr. Nagendranath Ghosh whose lecture on the 'Aryan trails in Iran and India' has just been reported in the newspapers and from the summary of which I find that he traces *Vrātya* culture in Eastern India to the Aryan-speaking Magians who entered India and reached the Gangetic valley centuries before the Vedic Aryans arrived in India. If by the Magians he means the Alpines in Iran I am in agreement with him. I differ from him if he takes these Magians to be Non-Vedic Aryans. The *Vrātyas* were no other than the Alpines who possessed a fairer complexion, a prominent nose and above all spoke an Aryan language, though of the Piśāchi variety. These characteristics clearly distinguished them from the Australoids or even the Mediterraneans who were not Aryan in speech. Further these *Vrātyas* (Alpines) may have had proto-Nordic military leaders as supposed by Hutton and others. They had large and prosperous kingdoms in the east such as Magadha, Videha, Kośala and Prāgjyotiṣa. They were in fact as much cultured as the Aryans themselves and their culture resembled the Vedic Aryan culture more than that of the Mediterraneans, for the Alpines had, before their entry into India, imbibed the same Aryan culture in the Iranian table-land. Above all, their Aryan speech called for sympathy and fraternity from the Vedic Aryans. It is for these reasons that the *Vrātyas* were quickly Aryanized. The Alpine priests became Brahmans and the ruling classes became Kshattriyas. The idea that the *Vrātyāstoma* was a mass-conversion of non-Aryans into the Aryan fold cannot be accepted. This conversion was perhaps confined only to the kindred in language and culture. The mass people remained outside the pale of Aryanism for a long time.

The affinity of the Alpines with the Iranian Aryans, in certain respects, were nevertheless noticed and hence perhaps *Vrātya* monarchs like Jarāsandha of Magadha and Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa were dubbed as Asūras as Asūra was the God of the Iranians. Afterwards however they and their descendants were looked upon as good Aryans and for Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa a descent from Vishnu himself was latterly invented. One important historical fact, which we find from the Purāṇas, is that Narakāsur, the father of Bhagadatta, is said to have conquered Prāgjyotiṣa from the Mongolian king with the help of the king of Videha another *Vrātya* monarch. This Mongolian dynasty was undoubtedly of Tibeto-Burman origin as the king subdued by Narakāsur and his soldiers had yellow or gold complexion and were addicted to meat and drink. It can be conjectured that these Mongolians had occupied Northern Bengal and the Assam Valley driving the Australoids to the hills and were, in their turn, conquered by a *Vrātya* confederacy headed by Narakāsur who was thus the founder of the dynasty which came to be known as ‘ Bhauma ’ in later times.

From traditional history I now come to more firmer ground and shall deal with the evidence furnished by old inscriptions the historical value of which is undeniable. For my purpose it would be sufficient if I refer to only three inscriptions found in the three provinces of Assam, Bengal and Orissa. The first is the well-known Nidhanpur inscription of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa recorded circa 610 A.D. We find from this inscription that the Brahmans in whose favour the king made grants of land bore the following surnames among others :—Adhya, Kirti, Kunda, Ghoṣa, Datta, Dāma, Dāsa, Deva, Dhara, Nandi, Nāga, Pātra, Pāla, Pālita, Prava, Bhuti, Mitra, Bardhana, Basu, Sena, Soma, and Bara. The second is the Tippera inscription of one Lokanatha Nṛpa who must have been a feudatory ruler but whose kingdom was in Eastern Bengal. The date of the inscription is circa 663 A.D. From this inscription we find the following surnames of the Brahman donees among others :—Deva, Dāsa, Datta, Nandi, Soma, Chandra, Dāma, Ghoṣa, Bhuti, Rudra, Mitra, Bhadra, Vappa, Gopa, and Basu. The third is the Neulpur copperplate inscription of king Śubhakara Deva of Orissa recorded towards the end of the eighth century A.D. From this record we find the following surnames, among others, of the Brahman donees :—Deva, Kara, Chandra, Pāla, Bhuti, Nāga, Bardhana, Ghoṣa, Datta, Kunda, Basu, and Dhara.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that these surnames or *padavis* now belong almost exclusively to the Bengali Kayasthas. Dr. Bhandarkar was the first to point out that these surnames were used by the Nāgar Brahmans of Guzerat also. Now as anthropometrically the Nāgar Brahmans and the Bengali Kayasthas have been found to be racially allied and as both of these classes are anthropometrically of Alpine origin it is clear that the Brahmans to whom king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, Lokanātha Nṛpa of Tippera and king Śubhakara of Orissa granted lands were all Alpine priests who had been raised to the status of Brahmans. Indeed, as pointed out by Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, in a contribution to the Journal of the Assam Research Society, the kings of Kāmarupa patronized these priests or Brahmans down to the eleventh century A.D.[1] Bhāskaravarman's charter belonged to the first decade of the seventh century but his was not the original grant. By his charter he simply confirmed the grant of his ancestor Mahābhutavarman who must have ruled in the fifth century A.D. We thus find, even from epigraphic evidence, that the Alpine priests were patronized by the rulers in Eastern India at least from the fifth down to the eleventh century. We need not pay much attention to the statement of the origin of the Nāgar-Brahmans given in the *Skanda-Puraṇa*. That they were Brahmans of Alpine origin admits of no doubt. That they were considered as Brahmans both in Eastern India and the western coast, places where till this day brachycephalic leptorrhines are to be found, is also evident from the inscriptions as well as the old texts like the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. One of the *Padavis* of the Guzerat Nāgar Brahmans was Varma. Prāchya Vidyārnava Nagendra Nath Basu is therefore led to suppose that perhaps the kings of the dynasty to which Bhāskaravarman belonged were also such Brahmans.[1] This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the Chinese scholar Yuan Chwang has left on record that Bhāskaravarman was a Brahman by caste and Yuan Chwang was a very close observer of men and things. The details of his account have been taken as accurate by all scholars. It is on record also that he spent more than a month in the capital of Kāmarupa and from there he, together with Bhāskaravarman, proceeded to meet Śri Harṣa at Raj-Mahal. He had therefore full opportunity to know the true caste of Bhāskaravarman.

---

[1] It appears that one Umāpati Dhar, a minister of the Sena kings of Bengal who lived till the time of Lakshman Sena in the twelfth century A.D. was also an Alpine Brahman as his surname was Dhar. It further appears that this Brahman received gifts from the Kāmarupa king Jayapāla probably during the same century. [Kāmarupa Śasanāvali, p. 37, Introduction].

Having briefly discussed the evidence available from the various sources I now proceed to put forward my own theories as to the early history of culture in Eastern India.

The Proto-Australoids who seem to have occupied the whole of Eastern India in the dim past introduced the Austric language and the Austric culture of a most rudimentary type. The Mon-Khmer and the Munda languages are the surviving Austric speeches in Eastern India. Culturally the shouldered neolithic hoe and the practice of terraced cultivation are associated with them as also with the Austric people of Malay Peninsula, Indo-China and the Irawadi Valley which was roughly the route taken by these people for their entry into India through the North-East. Another important cultural item was the use of megaliths for burials. The dead bodies were burnt but the ashes were collected and buried under a dolmen while menhirs were erected above. The Mon-Khmer-speaking Khasis of Assam and the Munda-speaking people of Chota-Nagpur are alike in this respect while some of their folk-tales bear close resemblance. We can therefore safely assert that the earliest culture in Eastern India is to be traced to these people of the Austro-Asiatic family whose religion was perhaps Totemism.

When the Mediterraneans, or the Early Aryans, as I have called them, gradually pushing eastwards occupied Bihar the Australoids were driven to the Chota-Nagpur hills. Lower Bengal was then perhaps under the sea but Western and Central Bengal may have been occupied by the Mediterraneans whose representatives are the Pods. Northern Bengal and Assam seem to have been occupied by a race of Mongolian invaders of the Tibeto-Burman stock who drove the Australoids to the hills of the Assam range. These Mongoloids bore the generic name Boḍo and they seem to have had a culture much superior to that of the Australoids whom they superseded. They perhaps knew not only the art of wet-rice cultivation but also the art of irrigation by means of damming streams known as the *Dong* system. That they occupied the plains of the Assam Valley and Northern Bengal for a considerably long period is testified to by the Boḍo names of the rivers of these areas. In the Boḍo languages Di, Ti, Doi or Toi means water and hence we find such river-names as Di-hing, Di-krang, Ti-hu, Ti-sta, Kar-ti-ya, Kal-di-ya, Doi-ang and so forth.[1] It is probable that they came under the cultural influence of the Mediterraneans and had even Mediterranean priests who introduced a religion similar to the crude Saivism of Mohenjo-daro—a mixture of Saivism and Animism.

---

[1] Social History of Kamarupa, Vol. III.

In Bihar and possibly also in Western and Central Bengal the Austric culture was superseded by the Mediterranean culture. This is testified to by the finds in Buxar of terra-cotta figurines of the Mother-Goddess, 52 ft. below the present surface and 13 ft. below the Mourya level. These finds indicate the extension of the Indus Valley civilization as far east as Buxar. Further revelations eastwards await the spade of the explorer.

When the Alpines reached Bihar they probably found the Mediterraneans in power. Dr. Hutton thinks that the Alpines were not a warlike race and that peaceful penetration was their *forte*. This no doubt agrees with the characteristics of the high-caste Bengalis and the Nāgar-Brahmans of Guzerat of the present day. As supposed by Dr. Hutton himself these Alpines may have however been led by Proto-Nordic leaders. In any case it seems fairly certain that whether as a result of military or cultural conquest the Alpines got the upper hand and a strong position of influence not only in Bihar but also in Bengal and Assam gradually. This is proved by the fact that in these localities the Austric or Dravidian speeches were entirely superseded by the Aryan speech of the Alpines who also introduced cultural traits—the traces of which are still to be found particularly in Assam as already referred to by me above. The Aryan-cum-Mediterranean culture of the Punjab and the *Madhyadeśa* met the Alpine-cum-Mediterranean culture of Eastern India in Bihar and the result was a synthesis. As remarked by Mr. Nagendranath Ghose, this synthetic product was Neo-Aryanism the important feature of which was the metaphysical theosophy of the Upaniṣads. Aryan Brahmans learnt this theosophy from *Vrātya* kings like Janaka of Videha in whose court was assembled a galaxy of metaphysicians with the famous Yājnavalkya at the head. Thenceforward the centre of Indian culture shifted to Eastern India. Two or three centuries after Janaka, Eastern India produced two great religious thinkers, Buddha and Mahāvira. The former founded Buddhism which constituted the noblest contribution of Eastern India to the culture of mankind. What part the Alpine priests played in connection with these two anti-sacrificial religious systems we do not know for certain. Epigraphic records, like the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman and traditional literature like the *Skanda-Purāṇa* however show that at least in the beginning of the medieval period they were Śaivites, but that they were nevertheless patronized by Buddhist rulers like Lokanātha of Tippera and Śubhakara Deva of Orissa. It is said that their sept-deity was Hātakeśwara Śiva and we find from the inscription of the Kāmarupa king Vanamālavarman, of the ninth century A.D., that he rebuilt a lofty temple of 'Hātaka Śulin' which one of his predecessors had constructed but which had fallen down. It was evidently from Śaivism that Tāntricism originated and it seems to me, though strong evidence is wanting, that these Alpine priests were the originators of this cult which spread from Eastern India, in medieval times, to other parts of India.

---

[1] The way these names have been subsequently Sanskritized is interesting. For instance Di-krang was transformed into Dikkaravāsini, Di-khow into Dikshū, Kal-di-yā into Kalindi, Ti-stā into Trịṣnā or Trisrotā and Kar-ti-yā into Karatoyā.

Whatever that may be, the contribution made by the Alpines to the culture and civilization of Eastern India from a very early period, prior to the advent of the Vedic Aryans, was not inconsiderable. Their impress on the language, customs, religion and other cultural traits of Eastern India was however very largely blurred by the subsequent Vedic Aryan impress with the result that, except in nooks and corners, the original characteristics have become now indistinguishable.

THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUŠTRA

YASNA HĀ 29

By MANILAL PATEL

Despite the fact that rapid strides have been made in the knowledge of Indo-Iranian philology and culture since the time when the *Avestā* first became the subject of scientific study and research on modern lines, the task of interpreting the *Gāthās*, the *dicta prophetae* of Zarathuštra, has still remained baffling to the Avestan scholar. Fresh attempts, therefore, are permissible. In the following, I have adhered, as far as possible, to the principles of Gāthic interpretation as enunciated by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala [1] in a paper read at the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, held at Lahore. Previous translations have been carefully studied and their results utilized, with due recognition, wherever necessary. Taking Geldner's text [2] as a basis, and bearing in mind the *Urtext* as fixed by Andreas-Wackernagel,[3] I have attempted to reconstruct the Gāthic verses so that the metrical requirements have been met and 'a tendency to introduce prothetic and other vowels, to amplify simple vowels into diphthongs and even introduce wholly needless and redundant vowels in the middle of words ' [4] has been detected and done away with. In point of interpretation, though the modern philological methods are adopted, I have always remembered that the Gāthās represent, in most parts, the inspired words of a *spiritual* teacher, of a Poet-Prophet. No prejudice, moreover, is entertained against the traditional *Pahlavi* interpretations [5] whose value, so far as the Gāthās are concerned, is, however, considerably limited.[6] Both in the transliteration and the translation, hypermetrical and otherwise unnecessary letters or words have been indicated by [ ], and those claiming insertion on grammatical or other grounds are bracketed ( ). Numbers and punctuations are used in the transliterated text so as to facilitate the understanding of the translation. All the alterations have been fully explained in the notes.

* * * * * * *

To come to *Yasna Hā* [7] 29, the subject-matter of the present study.

The Gāthās are said to be five and each one of these has its own name derived from the opening word.[8] The first one is called *Ahunavaitī* because, in its *original form*, the *Ahuna-Vairya* [9] prayer formed its opening verse. The present arrangement, based on tradition, is, therefore, slightly incongruous. Another incongruity

---

[1] *Proceedings*, The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 199ff.

[2] *Avestā, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, edited by Karl F. Geldner, Stuttgart, 1896, Part I.

[3] *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Abbr. *NGWG.*), Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1913, pp. 363–385. These pages cover Ys. 28, 29, and 32. For a brief enunciation of the method of Andreas-Wackernagel, see Taraporewala, *ibid.*, pp. 200f.

[4] Taraporewala, *ibid.*, p. 203.

[5] For these, I have solely depended on Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (*AW.*), Strassburg, 1904, and Mill's *Gāthās*, Leipsic, 1894.

[6] For a correct appreciation of the value of the Pahlavi interpretations, see Geldner, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (*GIP.*), II, §§ 42ff., pp. 46ff.

[7] *Hā, Hāiti*—' Chapter '.

[8] For details, see Poure Davoud, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra*, Bombay, 1927, Introduction (Eng. translation by D. J. Irani), pp. 41f.

[9] According to the traditional arrangement, Y. 27, 13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the present order of the Ahunavaitī[1] is, as already pointed out by Mills,[2] that Yasna Hā 29, usually put second, ought, in the fitness of things, to occupy the first place, while Hā 28 should come second. This is clearly borne out by the contents of both the Hās. In Hā 29 it is allegorically reported that the 'soul of the Cow', personifying 'Mother-Earth', approaches Ahura Mazda and complains of the terrible outrages committed on her by the evil-doers and the unbelievers. Thereupon, on the suggestion of Vohu Manah, Zarathuštra is appointed as the Protector by the Wise Lord. As, therefore, Hā 29 deals symbolically with the preparations in heaven for Zarathuštra's mission before he attained the full status of Prophet, it should naturally precede Hā 28 in which Zarathuštra already appears upon earth and begins his work as Saviour.

Every stanza (*vacastašti-*) of the Gāthā Ahunavaitī consists of three lines (*afsman-*), each having two *pādas* and 16 syllables. The *caesura* occurs at the end of the seventh syllable ; e.g. :

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
aṯ-cā gə̄uš urvā raostā | *yə̄ anaēšam xsąnmə̄nē rādəm* ‖ Y. 29, 9*ab*.

This scheme of versification reminds one of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre of the Vedas. The only difference is that the latter has two lines, each of the two *pādas* regularly consisting of 8 syllables. That is to say, each verse of the Ahunavaitī is in length equal to one *anuṣṭubh* verse and a half, or to two *gāyatrī* verses. It is safe to contend, therefore, that both the Gāthic and the Vedic metres are of the same Indo-Iranian type and have their origin in an earlier Indo-European tradition.[3]

Stanza 1 :—

(*a*) *xšmaibyā*^{1} *gə̄uš*^{2} *urvā*^{3} *gərəzdā*^{4} :
(*b*) '*kahmāi*^{5} *mā*^{6} *ϑwar[ō]zdūm*^{7} ? *kə̄*^{8} *mā*^{9} *tašaṯ*^{10} ?
(c) *ā*^{11} *mā*^{12} *aēš[ə]mō*^{13} *hazas*^{14}*.cā*^{15}
(*d*) *rəmō*^{16} *[ā]*^{17} *hišāyā*^{18} *dərəš*^{19}*[cā]*^{20} *təviš*^{21}*.cā.*^{22}
(e) *nōiṯ*^{23} *mōi*^{24} *vāstā*^{25} *xšmaṯ*^{26} *anyō.*^{27}
(*f*) *aϑā*^{28} *[mōi]*^{29} *sąstā*^{30} *vohū*^{31} *vāstr(i)yā*^{32}.'

Translation :—

To-you^{1} the Soul^{3} of-the-Cow^{2} complained^{4} : 'For-whom^{5} did-you-fashion^{7} me^{6} ? Who^{8} created^{10} me^{9} ? Passion^{13} and^{15} violence^{14}, blood-thirstiness^{16}, outrage^{19} and^{22} force^{21} oppress$^{11, 18}$ me^{12}. Not^{23} for-me^{24} (is there) a shepherd^{25} other^{27} than-you^{26}. Procure^{30}, therefore^{28}, good^{31} things-of-pasturage^{32}.'

Notes[4] :—

The Hā seems to open rather abruptly, which strengthens the theory that the Gāthās were originally interspersed by sections of prose pieces. So also

---

[1] Ys. 28–34.

[2] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, p. 4.

[3] Cf. Meillet, *Les origines indo-européens des metres grecques* ; cf. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, §65 ; Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 5.

[4] The main abbreviations used in the notes are explained below :—

Bartholomae, Chr.	..	*Arische Forschungen*, 1–3 ; Halle, 1879 (*AF.*). *Die Gāthā's des Avesta*, Strassburg, 1905 (*GA.*).
Bharucha, E. S. D.	..	*A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs*, 2nd Edition, Bombay, 1903 (*SZRC.*).
Smith, Maria W.	..	*Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas*, etc., Philadel., 1929 (*Studies*).
Dhalla, M. N.	..	*Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914 (*ZT.*).

Smith, *Studies*, p. 66. Cf. the beginning of the Hā 28. For the discussion of the theory, see Geldner *GIP.*, II, p. 29 ; Bartholomae, *GA.*, IV-V ; Meillet, *Troi Conf.*, pp. 39–52.

(*a*) *xšmaibyā*—Ved. *yuṣmábhyam.* The use of pl. here is enigmatic. Smith's suggestion (*Studies*, § 52) that the 'aspects' may have been mentioned in a preceding prose passage, now lost, may be accepted. Cf. Y. 29, 10*ab* ; 32, 2 and 3 ; 34, 7 ; 43, 11*cde* ; 43, 13*cde* ; and 44, 17*bc*.

gəuš urvā—lit. 'soul of cow'. For various interpretations, see Dhalla, *ZT.*, p. 44 and footnotes thereto. Taraporewala (*MMV.*, p. 294), 'in accord with the idea that the Gāthās are spiritual, not agricultural', translates this as 'Soul of Mother-Earth'. Bharucha (*SZRC.*, p. 48) sees in *gəuš urvā* the personification of the whole living world. Compare with this the Hindu belief that the cow represents the earth : ŚB. II, 2, 1, 21 ; XII, 9, 2, 11. Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50) : 'Lebenslicht'. For the details of the part played by Gəuš Urvan, see Gray : *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, pp. 79–82.

gəuš—Ved. *gós*, gen. sg. of *go-*'cow'. The etymology of *urvā* is not clear ; it may be from Ār. * (*s*)*ruuan-*. Jackson (*GIP.*, II, p. 674) derives *urvā* from √*var-* 'to choose' : this is, in Bartholomae's opinion (*AW.* col. 1451), wrong ; so also *WZKM.* 9, 382. However, Casartelli accepts Jackson's derivation (see his paper in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (pp. 127f.) presented to E. G. Brown, Cambridge, 1922). Phl. *ruvān*, MP. *ravān*, Skt. Tr. *ātmā*.

gərəzdā—impf. mid. 3 sg., √*garəz-* 'to complain', Ved. √*garh-* 'to complain, to rebuke' ; West Osset. *γärzun* 'to groan'. Cf. MP. *gila* 'complain'.

(*b*) *ϑwarzdūm*—Geldner's text has *ϑwarōzdūm* which reading has been respected by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt ; the last-named scholar has, however, recognised -*ō*- to be anaptytic (*AE.*, §151). That this -*ō*- is hypermetrical will be easily admitted ; see MS. K 37. Further, cf. Andreas-Wackernagel's reconstruction *ϑvurzδvom* : *NGWG.* 1913, pp. 370-371. The form is *s*-aor. mid. 2 pl. of √*ϑwarəs-* 'to cut, carve, fashion, give a shape to'. Etymology of this root is hardly traceable. Phl. Tr. *brītan* (of Y. 29 ; 57 ; V. 3, 7). Cf. Ved. √*tvakṣ-* 'to fashion, to carve'.

kə mā tašat̰ (impf. 3 sg. √*taś-* 'to hew, chop, fashion, shape, form,' Ved. √*takṣ-*)—'who created me ?'—the question induces *tašā gəuš* (stanza 2*a*), 'the Creator of Cow', to reply the first question : *kahmāi mā ϑwarzdūm*, cf. Bartholomae, *AF.* 3, 23 ; Andreas-Wackernagel : *NGWG.* 1931, p. 319.

(*c*) *aēšmō*—(Pd. H_1. J_7. K_{11}). The reading adopted in Geldner's text and followed by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt in their respective treatments is *aēšəmō*. The hypermetrical -*ə*- needs hardly any comment. The form is nom. sg. meaning 'anger, passion, wrath, fury', from √*aēš*—'to move oneself quickly', Ved. √*īṣ-*. MP. *xišm*, *xašm* (cf. Hübschmann : *PS.* 142) 'anger' ; cf. Gk. οἶμα (*BB.* 4, 334 ; *KZ.* 29, 83 ; 30, 296) ; Lat. *īra*, Gk. *οἶστρος* 'mad desire, frenzy' and Lith. *aistra* 'passion, ardour' are also quoted as cognates (Boisacq. *Dictionnaire*, p. 693 ; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 392-3 ; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 162 ; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 106-7. Phl. Tr. *ēšm* (cf. Hübschmann, *PS.* 142) ; Skt. Tr. *krodha-* m., *kopa-* m., *āmarṣa-* m., *kopālu-* adj.

Geldner	..	*Vedische Studien* (*Vst.*). *Glossar-Rigveda* (*Gloss.*).
Grassmann	..	*Wörterbuch des Rigveda* (*WR.*).
Neisser	..	" *zum* " "
Moultan	..	*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913 (*EZ.*).
Meillet	..	*Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta* ; Paris, 1925 (*Troi Conf.*).

Other abbreviations are those commonly known, and given in Bartholomae's *AW.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

hazas. čā—neu. nom. sg. ‘ violence, force ’ : Ved. *sáhas-* neu. The substantive is formed from √*haz-* ‘ to lay hold of, to get possession of ’ ; Ved. √*sah-*, Gk. σχὲς, ἴσχω-.

(*d*) Nos. *17* and *20* are superfluous on metrical grounds ; that *ā* (17) before *hišāyā* is unnecessary is further clear from the fact that the verbal preposition *ā* (No. 11) stands already at the beginning of the sentence—which is its proper place ; see, for instance Y. 31, 8*d* ; 31, 13*f* ; cf. Andreas-Wackernagel *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 317–318 ; and Geldner's Footnote to his text : ‘ according to metre *hišāyā* should be restored ’. It would therefore be more appropriate to dispense with *ā* (No. 17) and *cā* (No. 20) than to propose the elimination of *rəmō*, declaring it to be an old gloss (Bartholomae, *AW.*, col. 1528 ; Reichelt, *AR.*, p. 186 ; Smith, *Studies*, p. 66).

rəmō—mas. nom. sg. ‘ cruelty, blood-thirstiness ’, occurs only twice in the Gāthās : here and in Y. 48, 7. Phl. Tr. *arašk* (cf. Y. 48, 7) ‘ envy ’ ; Skt. Tr. *īrṣyālu manuṣyaḥ ; īrṣyāluḥ.* Bartholomae (*AW.*, col. 1528) is not certain about the etymology of the word (cf. Geldner, *KZ.* 30, 531). Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50), however, asserts that *rāma-*, *rəma-* belongs to *rāna-* ‘ fighter ’, cf. Ved. *ráṇa-* ‘ battle ’.

hišāyā—perf. act. 3 sg. √*hāy-*, √*hā*(*y*)- ‘ to chain up, bind, fetter ’ ; with *ā* : ‘ to oppress, to harass ’: Ved. √*so-* (*syáti ; siṣāya ; sitáḥ*). On the Avestan base *haya-* and the Vedic base *sya-*, see Bartholomae, *IF.*, 10, 197. Cf. MP. *gušāyad* ‘ he opens ’.

dərəš—fem. nom. sg. ‘ assault, outrage ’, from √*darš-* ‘ to dare ’, Ved. √*dhṛṣ-*, cf. Ved. inf. *ādhṛ́ṣe.* Phl. Tr. *darrītār* ; Skt. Tr. *dārayitā* and explanation : *yo me jīvavighātakaṃ kurute.*

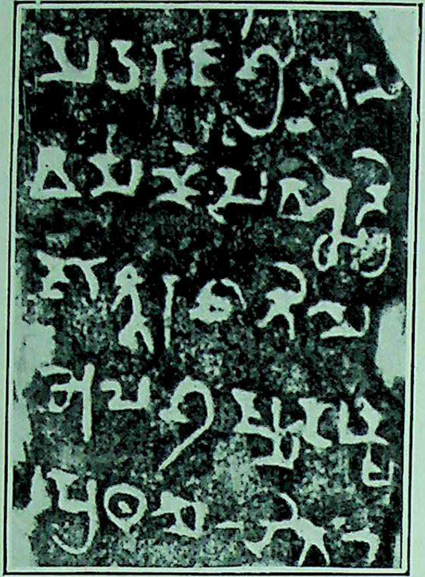
təviš—(used only here) fem. nom. sg. ‘ force, brutality ’, cf. *təvīšī* ‘ physical strength ’. Phl. Tr. *tirftār-*, Skt. Tr. *stenaḥ.* Meillet (*Journ. des Sav.* 1902, 388) sees in *təviščā* a graphic mutilation of **tayuščā* (from *tāyu-* ‘ thief ’). But Bartholomae differs (*AW.*, col. 649).

It is proposed—first by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1913, p. 371), then followed by Smith (*Studies*, p. 67)—that to suit the metrical requirements *aϑā* be emended as *aṯ.* This is, however, unnecessary. On the other hand we have to eliminate *mōi* (No. 29) which has been mistakenly inserted under the influence of the Pāda (*e*).

Cf. Vr. 15, 1 : +*vərəzyatąm. cā iδa vohu vāstrya.*

sąstā—*s*-aor. act. 2 pl. of √*sand-* ‘ to create, procure ’. Geldner (*BB.* 14, 28) : √*sand-* ‘ to make ’ ; Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50) : ‘ to radiate ’, ‘ beam ’ (‘ strahlen ’).

PLATE IV



Kosam Inscription of
Mahārāja Bhīmavarman

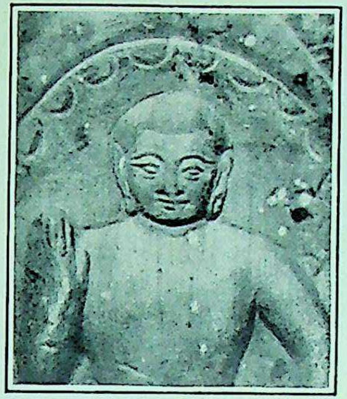


Image bearing the
inscription

MISCELLANEA

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀRĀJA BHĪMAVARMAN. THE YEAR 130

The image bearing this inscription was discovered at Kosam (the site of ancient Kauśāmbī) by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipal Board, and is now housed in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The image, of which the upper portion has been recovered, is carved in low relief on a piece of stone with a square base, five inches each way, the height of the remaining portion being seven inches. It is the figure of Buddha with the right hand raised in *abhayamudrā*, a scalloped halo indicated on the surface round the head and no trace of drapery.

The inscription is found engraved on the proper left side of the image. Only five upper lines remain, an indefinite number having broken away at the bottom. The object of the inscription was, in all probability, to record the erection of the image in the time of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bh[ī]mavarman,[1] in the year 130 (written both in words and figures) of an unspecified era. The letters are clearly incised, their size averaging three quarters of an inch in length. The language is Sanskrit, and the orthography regular, except the use of *ṛ* in *gṛṣma* (line 4).

An inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (hereafter mentioned as Cunningham's inscription), dated 139, was discovered at the same place by Cunningham[2] and finally edited by Fleet.[3] On palæographical grounds Fleet referred the inscription to the Gupta era and concluded that this Bhīmavarman must have been a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Skanda-Gupta. Judging from the identity of the names of the rulers and the proximity of the dates in the two inscriptions, we are at once tempted to conclude that they belong to one and the same individual and that the present inscription too is to be referred to the Gupta era.

But palæographical considerations stand in the way of any such conclusion. The present inscription contains some forms which are undoubtedly Kuṣāṇa : for example, the form of *śa* occurring once in line 1 and twice in line 3 is not found in the Gupta period. The

---

[1] The inscription has *Bhamavarman*, evidently to be corrected to *Bhūmavarman* or *Bhīmavarman*, preferably the latter, which is a common name.

[2] *A.S.R.*, Vol. X, p. 3, pl. ii (3).

[3] Fleet, *Corpus*, No. 65, pl. xxxix(*c*).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

śa of the Gupta period has usually the right leg prolonged downwards; even where there is no such prolongation, as in line 1 of the Gadhwa inscription of the Gupta year 148,[1] the head is broad and flat and not round as in our inscription. Unlooped *ṣa* occurs twice in line 4 and unlooped *sa* once in line 2. These two forms occur regularly in the western inscriptions of the Gupta period, e.g. the Mathura inscription of the year 135 [2] and the Indor (Bulandshahr, U.P.) inscription of Skanda-Gupta.[3] Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has no doubt rightly shown [4] that there was no hard and fast distinction between the western and eastern varieties of the Gupta alphabet, as Hörnle wanted to make out.[5] The discovery of the so-called eastern variety of *ma* on the Mehrauli inscription of Candra and of *sa* on a Mathura inscription of Kaniṣka [6] is decisive. But this is not to deny that looped *ṣa* and *sa* are invariably found in eastern Gupta records. As the looped forms of these letters are later developments, inasmuch as they show greater divergence from the original Brāhmī form, we have to admit that our inscription which retains the unlooped forms has the stamp of earliness on it.[7]

The form of *ṇa* occurring in line 2 here is again rare in Gupta inscriptions. It is a development of the two types we come across in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, the first of which may be called the *x*-type (e.g. in Bühler's Mathura Inscription No. 18),[8] and the other, much more common, consisting of two horizontal lines with a third line joining them in the middle.

Coming to the vowel-signs, we find that the representations of the super-script *i* only by an arc (lines 2, 3 and 5), of *e* by a small stroke on the left (lines 3 and 5), and of *o* by a concave line at the top of the consonant (line 3) are seldom met with in Gupta records but are regular features of Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. The super-script *ī* of the Gupta period is drawn to the right-hand side below the top of the letter over which it is placed, and is entirely different from what we find here. In view of these archaisms, it would be the height of indiscretion to ascribe the inscription to the fifth century A.D.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has doubted whether Cunningham's inscription itself is to be referred to the Gupta era. Says he: 'From the form of its letters it seems to belong to the second half of the fourth century A.D. In that case the date has to be referred to the Kalachuri era and the King Bhīmavarman may be identified with Bhīmasena of No. 1774',[1] i.e. a Bhita seal of Rājan Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasena.[2] A close examination, however, convinces us that Cunningham's inscription has fully developed Gupta forms and its characters are identical with those of Gupta inscriptions of the locality, e.g. the Mankuwar (Allahabad District) image inscription of Kumāra-Gupta I.[3] The Bhita seal on the other hand has undoubted Kuṣāṇa characteristics, e.g. *śa* with pointed top and *ma* with a joined middle. The seal seems to belong to the third century A.D. and must as such be regarded as much earlier than Cunningham's inscription. Moreover, while Bhīmasena of the seal has only the title of *rājan*, Bhīmavarman is called *mahārāja* in Cunningham's inscription. Fleet was therefore right in ascribing the latter to the fifth century.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 66, pl. xxxix(*d*).

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 63, pl. xxxix(*a*).

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 16, *pl.* ix(*b*).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1f.

[5] *Bower Manuscript*, pp. xxviif.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 30f.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 97.

[7] It must, however, be noted that an instance of looped *sa* occurs in the present inscription in the imperfectly engraved ligature *tsa* (line 2).

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pl. facing p. 204, No. 18, l. 4.

The above discussion shows that if the science of palæography means anything, we must separate Cunningham's inscription and the present inscription by about a century, notwithstanding the fact that both refer to Bhīmavarman and have the same provenance. I propose therefore to refer our inscription to the Cedi era of A.D. 248, so that its date would be A.D. 378. Thus we have to postulate the existence of two Bhīmavarmans in the Kauśāmbī area within a century, which is by no means impossible, as we have two Candra-Guptas in the Gupta line within a shorter time.

We have already referred to Rājan Bhīmasena of the Bhita seal and have stated our reasons for rejecting his identification with Mahārāja Bhīmavarman of Cunningham's inscription. For the same reasons we must reject the possibility of identifying him with Mahārāja Bhīmavarman of our inscription.

There is an inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmasena at Ginja (forty miles south of Allahabad),[4] the opening portion of which reads: *Mahārājasya śrī-Bhīmasenasya saṁvatsare 50 2 grīṣmapakṣe 4 divase 10 2*. On palæographical grounds we may safely hold that the dates of the Ginja inscription and of the present inscription refer to the same era. The former has in all probability to be referred to the Cedi era, as has been done by Mr. Jayaswal,[5] who, however, identifies this Mahārāja Bhīmasena with Rājan Bhīmasena of the Bhita seal, an identity which does not seem possible, as the titles of the two rulers are different.

Let us now consider the details of the image bearing the inscription. We find that the scalloped halo, which we have here,

---

[1] *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 173, n. 3.

[2] *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1911-2, p. 51 and pl.

[3] Fleet, No. 11, pl. vi(*a*).

[4] Lüders' *List*, No. 906.

[5] *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, pp. 108, 229, 230.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

is a regular feature of the Kuṣāṇa images of Mathura, whereas the fully developed Gupta products of Sarnath have elaborately carved haloes.[1] It has also been pointed out that in Kuṣāṇa images in the *abhaya-mudrā* the right hand is placed directly against the shoulder, while in the Gupta ones the lower portion of the arm is detached from the upper one and is nearly at right angles to it, a more natural pose.[2] Again, the head of the present image appears to be shaved, the schematic curls of the Gupta period being absent. These facts, as well as the crude features of the image, indicate that it was carved in an age when the school of the classical Gupta artists had not yet come into existence and the influence of the Kuṣāṇa school was still reigning supreme.

By referring our inscription to the Cedi era we get A.D. 378 as the date of Bhīmavarman (I), a year within the reign of either Samudra-Gupta or Candra-Gupta II. Now, the Allahabad area was one of the earliest possessions of the Guptas, as is evinced by the following verse of the Purāṇas :—

anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ ca Sāketaṁ Magadhāṁs tathā |
etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Gupta-vaṁśa-jāḥ ||[3]

Is it likely that the Guptas allowed the use of the Cedi era by their governors in the heart of their empire ? But from the extant portion of the inscription it appears that the image was erected by a private individual and that therefore it is a private record and not a state document. It is not difficult to imagine that the ordinary people had not yet grown accustomed to the use of the new era, in spite of the fact that their local governors now owed allegiance to new emperors. It is not necessary to believe that the Gupta era was promulgated by the Guptas as if by a public proclamation. Like most other eras, it became current out of the popular habit of dating events from a particular epoch.[4] It stands to reason therefore that the era should have come into vogue in different localities in different periods. In the Mandasor area it was not able to oust the Mālava era, as all the inscriptions of the place, official or otherwise, are dated in the latter.

From the above considerations as well as from the facts already known to us, we get the names of the following rulers of the Kauśāmbī region :—

(1) Rājan Bhīmasena (I) of the Bhita seal ;

---

[1] *Cf.* Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*, p. 38.
[2] *Cf.* Sahni, *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Sārnāth*, p. 40, n. 4.
[3] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53.
[4] *Cf.* Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. xx.

(2) Mahārāja Bhīmasena (II) of the Ginja inscription,[1] A.D. 300;
(3-4) Mahārājas Śivamagha and Bhadramagha, *c.* A.D. 335;[2]
(5) Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (I) of the present inscription, A.D. 378; and
(6) Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (II) of Cunningham's inscription, A.D. 458.

Our inscription, as also that of Cunningham, has some bearing on the administrative institutions of the Guptas. From these we find that Kauśāmbī was placed under Mahārāja-governors (probably of the nature of feudatories), who do not refer to the overlordship of the Guptas, a formality observed even by the more distant Parivrājaka Mahārājas and Mahārājas Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa of Indor, who in their inscriptions of the Gupta years 67 and 107 call themselves *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta.*[3] Again, the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription of the Gupta year 31 [4] and the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the Gupta year 64 [5] refer only to governors and not to their Gupta overlords. On the other hand, the Mathura inscriptions [6] and the Gadhwa inscription [7] of Candra-Gupta II, the Gadhwa inscriptions [8] and the Mankuwar inscription [9] of Kumāra-Gupta I mention the emperors and no governors. We cannot properly ascertain therefore which parts, if any, of the empire were directly ruled by the emperors and which were entrusted to governors.

Our inscription is dated in the first fortnight of the summer season of the year 130. From the available data it has been held that this mode of dating fell out of use in the third century A.D. But the fact has not been noted that the method has been used as late as the fifth century A.D. in Cunningham's inscription, the date-portion of which has been thus read by Fleet: *saṁva[t*] 130 9 . . . . [2 ?] diva 7.* Before *diva* there is the clear symbol for 2, and the natural meaning of the passage would be: 'In the year 139, in the second (fortnight of the . . . . season), on the seventh day'. But Fleet hesitated to read it as such, for 'we know of no other

---

[1] It is of course not certain that he held the Kauśāmbī locality.

[2] See my note, 'The Maghas of Kauśāmbī', *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 715f.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 289f.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 21f.

[5] *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1922-3, p. 169. Of this inscription Professor Bhandarkar says: 'The characters seem to be of the Gupta period, but the dating and language are in the Kushāṇa style. Does the date refer to the Kalachuri era?' (*List.*, p. 170, n. 4.) As we shall see below, the mode of dating such as is found here is not characteristically Kuṣāṇa, but is met with in the Gupta period as well.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1f.; Fleet, No. 4.

[7] Fleet, No. 7.

[8] Fleet, Nos. 8 and 9.

[9] Fleet, No. 11.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

instance of these ancient methods being continued till as late as the period of the present inscription '. But from Fleet's estampage of the inscription, and more clearly from a photograph of the same published by R. D. Banerji,[1] I am convinced that the sign cannot stand for anything but 2 and that therefore we have to admit that this mode of reckoning the date by dividing the year into seasons, fortnights and days continued in some localities till a later date than has been usually supposed.

In this connexion, I draw attention to the date-portion of the Mathura inscription of Candra-Gupta II of the Gupta year 61[2]: *saṁvatsare eka-ṣaṣṭhe 60 1 .... prathame śukladivase paṁcamyāṁ.* Professor Bhandarkar thinks that the word *prathame* shows that the month referred to was an intercalary month, and as about this time there was only one such month, *viz.* Āṣāḍha in A.D. 380, the lacuna should be filled up as *āṣāḍhamāse*, and that the year must be taken as the current one. But the possibility of the season and the fortnight having been given in the lost portion may not be ruled out altogether.

There is another Mathura inscription of the year 57,[3] which Bühler ascribes to the Gupta era, because ' the shape of the letters and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i* by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left makes it impossible to assign No. XXXVIII (i.e. the inscription in question) to an earlier period '.[4] The date-portion of the inscription reads: *saṁvatsare saptapañcāśa 50 7 hemandha(ta) tri(tṛ)tīye divase trayodaśe.* If the inscription is really to be referred to the Gupta era, then we have here another instance of the survival of this method of dating till the Gupta period.

For permission to publish the photograph of the image and the estampage of the inscription, I am indebted to Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas.

TEXT

Line 1. Mah[ā*]rāja-śrī-Bh[ī]ma-
Line 2. varmaṇāṁ saṁvatsa[re*] tri[ṁ]-
Line 3. śottaraśatime [5]
Line 4. 100 30 gṛṣmapakṣe [6]
Line 5. prathame 1 di[vase]

---

[1] *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1913-4, pl. lxx(*b*).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1f.

[3] Lüders' *List*, No. 55.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 198; Vogel, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

[5] Read *śatame* or *śatatame*. The mistake may be due to the scribe having in his mind some such form as *divase ekaviṁśatime* occurring in Fleet No. 66.

[6] Read *grīṣmapakṣe*.

TRANSLATION

In the year one hundred and thirty, 130, of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhīmavarman, in the first, 1, summer season, on the day . . . . on the . . . .

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

Those who attack the caste system to-day very often do so without understanding fully the implications of the present-day practices that go to make up the system. As often even its defenders seem to defend theories rather than actual practices. It is intended to draw attention here to some of its neglected aspects which would correct our present notions about it.

Nothing is repeated oftener than the trite statement that the caste barriers to-day are impassable. Whatever the injunctions of the old law-givers on the subject, we are assured on many a platform, at present the caste system has become a cast iron mould which would rather break than bend. A Brahman born, we are told, is a Brahman for ever and so is a Kshatriya. The barriers placed between different castes cannot be crossed over. Here are some facts that prove that those who make this claim do it without fully knowing even their own side of the case.

The most remarkable case of the transformation of a family's caste comes from Raipur, a small hill chieftainship in the Punjab. The present holder of the title is Raja Brij Mohan Pall. The family is said to have settled in the Punjab about a century and a half ago. My father once visited the place several years ago in order to arbitrate a civil suit in which a member of the family was involved. In order to settle the claim a genealogy was put in the genuineness of which was agreed upon by all the parties. Curiously enough this genealogy proved that the founder of this chieftainship founded so recently was a *Brahman* from Maharashtra. Soon however the family came to be considered—we know not how—Rajputs and to-day the chief is the head of one of the most respectful subcastes of the Rajputs in the district of Kangra. The Brahman origin is admitted even to-day by those who are interested in this question.

Another example comes from a princely house in the Punjab. The house of Kapurthala was, till not long ago considered to belong to either a Shudra or a Vaishya caste. The Kalals—hereditary sellers of wines—were not considered clean enough and the Rajas of Kapurthala were considered to belong to this subcaste though they were known as Ahluwalias. I remember the time when a Kalal came to live in our Mohalla while I was a school-boy. He was a clerk in the Tahsil. He never claimed any status higher than of our agriculturists. I vividly remember how our women folk would not use any cooked articles from their house when such were sent as a matter of neighbourly courtesy on festive occasions. And now the Raja of Kapurthala claims to be a Rajput, a princess of his house was not many years ago married to the present Rajput Raja of Mandi and the issue of the union is the heir apparent to-day.

The Maharaja of Patiala has not lagged behind. He is maintaining a Historical Department under a *Charan* from Rajputana, expressly to prove that he comes of Rajput stock. Till recently he was known to be a Jat Sikh, and as such a Shudra. A Sikh he remains by religion, but he has ceased to be a Jat. Certain princely unions that have taken place in the Patiala house recently have been expressly based on the assumption that the members of his house are Rajputs. Within a lifetime the leopard of the caste system has changed his spots. An erstwhile Jat has budded into a full-fledged Rajput.

These three examples involve a change of the *Varuna* ; we have Brahmans, Shudras and Vaishyas becoming Rajputs. I do not want to express an opinion as to the legality or the justice of the changes indicated. I am simply stating that a large class of people who were considered to belong to a certain caste not very long ago, are claiming to be the members of a different caste to-day and in some cases and to a certain extent these claims have been acknowledged by the Hindu Society.

The changes within the same castes are also numerous. Take another princely house, the Dogras of Jammun, to which the ruling family of Kashmir belongs. Now the tradition divides the Rajputs into 36 royal clans. These however are met with mostly in Rajputana and Gujerat. But there are Rajputs with different subcastes in other parts of India as well. The Rajputs of Rajputana till recently maintained that such Rajputs as did not come within the categories of the traditional royal clans were so only by courtesy. This naturally was resented by the Rajputs of the Punjab some of whom boasted of high Rajput descent. But there did not seem to be any way out of the difficulty. Again historical research (?) was called in requisition. All that it could do was to state equivalents. The Dogras—at least the ruling family—were then discovered to be long lost Kachchwahas. This was followed by the marriage of the present ruler of Kashmir into a Rajput family in Gujerat and later on into a decidedly higher Rajput family in the district of Kangra. I understand on the occasion of marriages and other ceremonial occasions the representatives of the ruling Dogra house have been visiting the Kachchwahas of Jaipur who thus appear to have accepted them—for certain purposes at least—to be their kinsmen.

Rather doubtful cases of change of caste in recent times have occurred among the goldsmiths and barbers. Most serious student of the caste system know that the Hindus are at present divided not into four major castes but into a multitude of subcastes. Some of these subcastes are unattached. If asked to which of the four Varunas they belong, it is difficult for them to return an answer which would at once satisfy their sense of their own importance and be acceptable to the rest of the Hindu community. Goldsmiths and barbers formed two such unattached subcastes in the Punjab. Some adventurous soul among the goldsmiths raised the question in an acute form and after a good deal of agitation succeeded in convincing a large number of his caste-fellows that they were Rajputs. For several years past some of them therefore have been claiming to be Rajputs, describing themselves as such and running a monthly organ of their own which is mainly devoted to the task of propagating this 'truth'. Of course the Rajputs are not yet prepared to accept them as their caste-fellows, though they are now wearing the sacred thread as the visible sign of their higher status.

Among the barbers, I understand, there has been a lift. A class-fellow of mine who came from a barber family described himself in his university admission form one year a 'Varma'—a Rajput—and the next year he blossomed out into a Sharma and a Pundit. I do not know for certain where the question rests at present. But I would hazard a guess that at present there are three types of barbers, Nais (barbers) pure and simple, and a third group consisting of the waverers who though dazzled by the high claim made by some of their fellow subcaste men are not still satisfied with the old status they have been occupying.

Another change that had been coming over the Hindu Punjab for more than the last quarter of a century concerns the question of untouchability. I do not wish to elude to the raising of the status of the untouchables among the Hindus due to the laudable efforts of the Arya Samaj. I have in mind only the changes that have come independently of any reforming zeal. The first thing one notices is that at least in the Punjab the number of these depressed classes has gone down. To take one example, some thirty years ago, the Dhobis (washerman) were considered untouchables at least in the districts of Hoshiarpur and Kangra. To touch them was to defile oneself, a sprinkling of water was necessary for purification. Now all that has changed, they have ceased to be untouchable, no one among them claimed to be included in the list of the scheduled castes in the Punjab.

I have brought these examples here together in order to draw the attention of those defenders of the caste system who seem to sense in—what they consider to be—the present dispensation a divine ordaining of things. Let them consider these facts before they formulate their schemes for the defence of the caste system.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

ON THE AFFINITY BETWEEN ONE MOHENJO-DARO AND ONE KISH TERRACOTTA FIGURINE

It has been shown by many scholars that there is a similarity between many antiquities of the time of the Indus Valley and the Sumerian civilization. The object of this short note is to show the fundamental similarity, hitherto unnoticed, between one Mohenjo-daro and one Kish terracotta figurine.

The terracotta specimen discovered at Mohenjo-daro is a human fragment.[1] Mackay describes it in the following way, 'The hair, which is parted in the middle, is brought round the back into a long rope that is twisted over the top of the head. Two flat round pellets on the sides of the head probably represent ears ; they are partially hidden by the hair. It is impossible to say whether this is a male or female head. Level, 4 feet below surface. East of Building XLVIII, Block 6, HR Area.'[2] But regarding the alleged hāir of this specimen he adds in another place, 'The same may be the case with the preceding figure, No. 2, on the same plate. This male figure either wears a puggaree, or his long hair is coiled around the top of his head.'[3] It should be added that this specimen has the pinched nose, two flat round pellets for eyes and the mouth just indicated.

There is one terracotta figurine discovered in the 'A' Cemetery at Kish by Mackay.[4] He describes it in the following manner,

---

[1] Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. III, pl. XCIV, 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 345.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[4] A Sumerian palace and the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, pt. II, pl. XLVII, 1.

'A primitive pottery figure appears in Plate XLVII, Fig. 1, with pinched nose and flat round pellets for eyes. The mouth is just indicated. It is wearing a rolled turban over what appears to be a wig. The arms are roughly made, and were never complete; the lower portion of the body is wanting. This figure is 8·10 cm. high and 7·40 cm. wide. It was found ·50 m. below the surface of filling of Chamber 52 of the palace (Reg. No. 1622; Field).'[1]

There is a fundamental similarity between these two specimens. Firstly, they are very much alike in modelling and facial appearance. Secondly, both have the pinched nose, the flat round pellets for eyes[2] and the mouth just indicated. Thirdly, both wear turban.[3] The most important point of difference which relates to modelling is that whereas in the Mohenjo-daro specimen the shoulders appear to have the curved bend, the Kish figurine seems to have the shoulders treated in a horizontal manner. Unlike the Mohenjo-daro specimen the Kish figurine seems to have a wig which, in this connection, is of minor importance.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

CONQUEST OF DAKṢIṆA RĀḌHA BY VIJAYASENA

The division of Rāḍha into two, viz. Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha (Takkaṇa Lāḍa) and Uttara Rāḍha (Uttira Lāḍa) is found mentioned as early as 1025 A.D. in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (*E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 220–233). There is no doubt that both these provinces were under the sway of the Senas, but it is very strange that Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha does not occur in the Sena inscriptions, hitherto discovered, although Uttara Rāḍha is found mentioned in the Naihati copperplate of Vallālasena (*Bengal Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 178), and the Saktipur copperplate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 216). In this note, we shall try to see if Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha occurs in any of these inscriptions, under any other name, and when it was conquered.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[2] In this connection Mackay's remark, regarding the use of pellets for eyes, which runs, 'I have not been able to find this particular technique elsewhere than in early India and Mesopotamia. It does not occur, as far as I can trace, in the early figurines of Egypt. The use of beads and pieces of shell for this purpose is fairly common in most countries' (Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 340, footnote 2) is highly instructive.

[3] It should be added that the identification of the thing, over the head of the Mohenjo-daro specimen, with the turban seems to be better.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

The donated village of Viḍḍaraśāsana of the Govindapur copperplate of Lakṣmaṇasena is described as follows :—

> '*Srî-Vardhamāna-bhuktyantaḥpāti-Paścimakhāṭikāyāṃ Vetaḍ-ḍacaturake pūrvve Jāhnavî srvantî arddha-sîmā* ǀ *Dakṣiṇe Leṅghadeva-maṇḍapî-sîmā* ǀ *Paścime Dālimvakṣetrasîmā* ǀ *Uttare Dharmanagara-sîmā* ǀ (*Bengal Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 96.)'

This shows that the donated village of Viḍḍaraśāsana lay in Vetaḍḍa-caturaka in Paścimakhāṭikā, belonging to Vardhamāna-bhukti, having for its four boundaries as following : to the east, the half of the flowing Ganges ; to the south, the temple (*maṇḍapa*) of Leṅghadeva ; to the west, the orchard of pomegranates ; to the north, Dharmanagara. R. D. Banerji identifies this Vetaḍḍa with Betaḍ near Sibpur in Howrah district. (*Bāṅglār Itihās*, 2nd edition, p. 335.) Mr. Kalidas Datta again identifies Viḍḍaraśāsana with a village named Śāsana, lying three miles south to Govindapur, the find spot of the plate. It is on the west bank of the Ādi-Gaṅgā or the old course of the Ganges, and is within the Baruipur police station. He also thinks that Dharmanagara is the present village of Dhāmnagara, to the north of the village Śāsana. (*Pañcapuṣpa*, V.S., 1339, pp. 240-241.)

It is clear from the above identifications that the donated land lay in what is known as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. But in place of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, we find Paścimakhāṭikā. What is meant by Khāṭikā ? It appears to us to be the another form of the word Khāḍikā or Khādî (estuary). We find mention of Khāḍi-viṣaya in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena (*Beng. Inscrips.*, Vol. III, p. 66), and also Khāḍî-maṇḍala in the Sundarban plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Ibid.*, p. 170). Both are in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and on the eastern bank of the old course of the Ganges. From this, we are of opinion that the coastal region about the Khādî or estuary of the Ganges was named after this, Khādî, and divided it into two for fiscal purposes. The portion lying on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and consequently in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, was called the Eastern Khādî-maṇḍala or simply the Khādî-maṇḍala, while the other portion lying on the western bank, and in the Vardhamāna-bhukti, was called the Western Khādî-maṇḍala or Paścimakhātikā. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has shown that the Bhāgîrathî or the Ganges formed the boundary between the Puṇḍravardhana and the Vardhamāna bhuktis (*Sāhitya-pariṣat-patrikā*, V.S., 1339, p. 81).

It thus appears that the Sena kings named Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha or a portion of it in their possession, as Paścimakhāṭikā. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to say why they gave up a well-known name and coined a new one. How can it be that they conquered the eastern fringe of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha bordering on the Bhāgîrathî, while the western portion was still held by the Śūra kings ?

We shall now try to see when this Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha or Paścima-khāṭikā was conquered by the Senas. The verse 22 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena runs :—

> '*Pāścātya-cakra-jayakeliṣu yasya yāvad-Gaṅgā-pravāha-manudhāvati nau-vitāne* ।
> *Bharggasya mauli-sarid-ambhasi bhasma-paṅka-lagnojjhit-eva tarir-indukalā cakāsti* ॥ (*Beng. Inscrips.*, Vol. III, p. 48),'

i.e. When Vijayasena's naval fleet in its play of conquest of the dominions in the west (pāścātya-cakra) advanced following (*anudhāvati*) the course of the Ganges, his boat shone like the crescent-moon up-on the water of the river on Śiva's head, often stuck in the mud of ashes and often released.

This Pāścātya-cakra or the western circle may be the same as the Paścitmakhāṭikā mentioned above. Let us see. The Ganges after entering Bengal bifurcates near Suti in Murshidabad District into two main streams. One running to the east and is known as the Padmā, the other running to the south is called the Bhāgîrathî. If Vijayasena had followed the former, it would have taken him to the eastern regions of Varendra and Vaṅga, which on no account can be called Pāścātya-cakra. Then his fleet must have proceeded by the Bhāgîrathî, on the western bank of which lay Rāḍha, which may properly be called Pāścātya-cakra. But Rāḍha includes both Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. According to the third verse of the Naihati Charter of Vallālasena, the first settlement of the Senas, in Bengal, was in Rāḍha, but it does not say in which part of Rāḍha. Sāmantasena, the first king of this dynasty, most probably had risen into power in about their first settlement. It cannot be Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, as we find that the Śūra kings were ruling this country in the time of Rājendra Cola and also in the time of Rāmapāla. So this must be Uttara Rāḍha. As Vijayasena had already been well established in Uttara Rāḍha, there was no necessity for him to reconquer it. It must, therefore, be Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, against which he led his conquering expedition. So, we think, Pāścātya-cakra refers to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha.

It may not be unlikely that this expedition won for Vijayasena the hands of the Śūra princess Vilāsadevî for his chief queen. This may also account for his refraining from calling the conquered region as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, which was being ruled by his father-in-law, probably Lakṣmîśūra, who had his capital at Apara-Mandāra, in the western part of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. (*Rāmacarita-ṭīkā.*) Even Dhoyî, the court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena calls the country by its older name of Suhma, in his *Pavanadūta*, and not as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

BHELA-SAṀHITĀ

Its antiquity and importance as a medical treatise

Āyurveda, or the Science of Medicine, developed in India along two different lines, namely: (1) general treatment of diseases by means of drugs (agada-tantra), and (2) special treatment in which manual surgery plays an important part (śalya-tantra). The literary tradition of Āyurveda clearly suggests these two lines of its development, and refers to two personalities, one Ātreya, the founder of the school of physicians, and the other Dhanvantarī, the founder of the school of surgeons. Other personalities referred to may be left out of consideration as unimportant in the present discussion.

The said tradition associates with Ātreya six persons as his pupils, Agniveśa, Bhela, Jatukarṇa, Parāśara, Hārita and Kṣārapāṇi, each of whom is credited with the preparation of a Saṁhitā or Compendium. The six compendia representing the tradition of Ātreya, each named after its compiler, are the Agniveśa-saṁhitā, the Bhela-saṁhitā, the Jatukarṇa-saṁhitā, the Parāśara-saṁhitā, the Hārita-saṁhitā, and the Kṣārapāṇi-saṁhitā. The extant Caraka-saṁhitā claims to have developed and reached its present form and magnitude by two stages of revision and recast of the Saṁhitā ascribed to Agniveśa. Thus the existing text of the Caraka-saṁhitā, as finally revised and supplemented by Dṛḍhabala, presupposes six earlier saṁhitās, all of which were given up for lost, and would have been done so even now but for the discovery of a manuscript of the Bhela-saṁhitā in the Tanjore State Library. With reference to this manuscript, M.M. Dr. Gananath Sen writing in December, 1913, observed: '. . . the copy of the manuscript . . . shows the work as a meagre collection of fragments which appear to be of little importance'. This manuscript in the Palace Library in Tanjore, noticed in Burnell's Catalogue under No. 10773, may be supposed to have been written about 1650 A.D. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee did a distinct service to the cause of the study of ancient medical literature of India by publishing an edition of the Bhela-saṁhitā in 1921, based, of course, on the said manuscript.

The printed edition of the Bhela-saṁhitā shows that only the first three chapters of the Sūtra-sthāna and a few sections of the concluding chapter of the Siddhisthāna are missing, and but for these chapters and sections the text is preserved in its complete form. It may be hoped that the other manuscript noticed by Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalagorum, No. 416) will be found out some day to enable us to restore the missing portions.

The text, as we now have it, embodies the words of Ātreya, the phrase ' Ityāha bhagavān Ātreyaḥ ', ' Thus said Master Ātreya ', occurring throughout. The Bhela-saṁhitā in its present form is, upon the whole, a metrical composition. But it would be a mistake to suppose that it was so also in its earlier, original form. Five chapters of the Śarīra-sthāna, Chs. 4–8, are still in prose, interspersed here and there with verses. These chapters in prose stand as an island in a river of verse, and no less as a relic of the text as compiled by Bhela. I may mention in this connection that there are similar prose relics in such other metrical texts as the Śaṅkha-saṁhitā and the Likhita-saṁhitā, pointing to the same conclusion, namely, that these manuals were all originally in prose, and that it is the thoughtless tendency of versification which has destroyed their earlier form.

The whole text of the Bhela-saṁhitā may be of no practical use to a student of Āyurveda, there being virtually nothing which is not to be found either in the Caraka-saṁhitā or in the Suśruta. But it is historically of much importance as representing an earlier stage out of which evolved the later and more advanced stage, I mean, the one reached in the Caraka and the Suśruta. Even when Vāgbhaṭa wrote his Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya, he knew that the compendia of Bheḍa and others were in existence, and that these constituted a far earlier authority on Āyurveda than the Caraka and Suśruta. It is evident from the powerful argument employed by him in establishing his own superior authority as against Caraka and Suśruta that the students hardly cared to read those earlier *saṁhitās*, as they were considered to be a far lesser authority as compared with the Caraka and Suśruta, in spite of their high antiquity. The instance of the Bheḍa and other older *saṁhitās* is cited only in illustration of the main point in the argument employed : ' A work is not a greater authority simply because it is earlier, nor is it a lesser authority simply because it is later in date '.[1]

---

[1] Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya, Uttarasthāna, Ch. 40, v. 25 :
Ṛṣi-praṇīte prītiścen mukttvā Caraka-Suśrutam ।
Bheḍādyāḥ kiṁ na paṭhyante, tasmād grāhyaṁ subhāṣitam ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Now the question arises: What is the probable date of composition of the Bhela-saṁhitā and how can it be fixed? As to the terminus a quo or upper limit, let us see if the prose chapters that still survive can furnish any data of chronology.

In reading through those prose portions, the first thing that strikes us is their archaic style of presentation and discussion of the subject-matter. The style is one of an earlier form of Indian dialectics, which is met with in the Arthaśāstra, the Kāmasūtra, the older Dharmasūtras, and some of the Pali Abhidhamma texts, and even some of Asoka's inscriptions (e.g., R.E., IX, Kalsi version).

Tatrāha: Kathaṁ garbho mātur udare tiṣṭhatîti? Ūrdhvam iti Śaunakaḥ, avākchirā iti Bharadvājaḥ. Netyâha Bhagavān Punarvasur Ātreyaḥ. Yady ūrdhvaṁ tiṣṭhet tarhi mātṛmāti(araḥ) syāt. Yadyavākchirāḥ tadā svamāti(araḥ) syāt.[1]

Secondly, in connection with the discussion of the possible mode of transmigration of soul (dehāntara-upakrama), the Saṁhitā seeks to refute an opinion, which is attributed to Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (IV, 4, 3):

Tad yathā tṛṇa-jalāyukā tṛṇasyāntaṃ gatvā'nyam ākramam ākramyātmānam upasaṁharatyevamevāyam ātmedaṁ śarīraṁ nihatyāvidyāṁ gamayitnānyam ākramam ākramyātmānam upasaṁharati.

'As a grass-leech after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach (to another blade), draws itself together towards it, thus does this self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled ignorance, and after making another approach (to another body), draws itself together towards it.'[2]

The Bhela-saṁhitā introduces the discussion thus:—

Atha praśno bhavati: Katham ayaṁ de(ho) dehāntaram upakramata iti? Atrôvāca Bhagavān Ātreyaḥ: Jalūkāyā ivāsya kecid gatiṁ brūvate, tan na yuktam, ihānîtinyatyantâ-mūrtatvaṁ yugupat syād eva.[3]

'Now the question arises: How does this embodied (soul) transmigrate to another embodiment? Here thus said Master Ātreya: Some teacher speaks of the course of transmigration in terms of the simile of the leech, but that is not tenable because, in the first place, the analogy suggested is one between something that is too gross and something that is too subtle, and secondly, a rigorous application of the analogy will compel us to imagine that the death here and the rebirth there take place simultaneously.'

---

[1] Bhela-saṁhitā, p. 85.

[2] Barua, A History of pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 175, exp. f.n. 3.

[3] Bhela-saṁhitā, p. 93.

Thirdly, a certain terminology, which has been adopted in the Bhela-saṁhitā and which is not met with in the Caraka and Suśruta connects it with that age which is represented by the oldest known portions of the Pali Canon and the Jaina Āgama. The Bhela terminology for the three portions of time, namely, *atīta*, *pratyutpanna* and *anāgata*,[1] is precisely the one consistently adopted for the first time in the Pali texts, the Pali equivalents of the three words being *atīta*, *paccuppanna* and *anāgata*.

The term *kāya* in the sense of *nikāya*, *jāti* or *varṇa* (species) and *samūha* (aggregate) came into use at the time of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, and is frequently met with in the Jaina and Buddhist texts, particularly in the latter. Corresponding to *pṛthivī-kāya*, *ap-kāya* (also jala-kāya), *vāyu-kāya*, and *tejaḥ-kāya*,[2] we have in the terminology of Pakudha Kaccāyana, an elder contemporary of the Buddha, *paṭhavi-kāye*, *āpokāye*, *tejo-kāye*[3] and *vāyo-kāye*. But how close is the correspondence between these two statements, one occurring in the Bhela-saṁhiṭā, and the other in the doctrine of Ajita Kesakambalī, another elder contemporary of the Buddha :—

(*a*) Bhela-saṁhita, p. 89 : *Sa yadā bhedaṁ gacchati tadāpaḥ ap-kāyaṁ eva yānti, vāyur vāyu-kāyaṁ, tejaḥ tejaḥ-kāyaṁ, pṛthivī pṛthivī-kāyaṁ, ākāśaṁ ākāśa-kāyam iti. Tadā raso rasa-kāyam indriyam indriya-kāyaṁ bhajate. Bhavati câtra : Bhidyamāne sarīre vai dhātur dhātuṁ niyacchati.*

(*b*) Ajita Kesakambalī's doctrine : *Ayaṁ puriso yadā kālaṁ karoti paṭhavī paṭhavi-kāyaṁ anupeti anupagacchati, āpo apokāyaṁ, tejo tejo-kāyaṁ, vāyo vāyo-kāyaṁ anupeti anupagacchati, ākāsaṁ indriyāni saṅkamanti.*[4]

The word *kāya* forms the second member of such other compounds as *brahma-kāyaṁ*, *deva-kāyaṁ*, *varuṇa-kāyaṁ*, *gandharva-kāyaṁ*, *piśāca-kāyaṁ*, *asura-kāyaṁ*, and *mahārāja-kāyaṁ*.

According to the Pali Mahāsamaya-Suttanta, *brahma*, *gandharva*, and the rest are nothing but names of different classes of deities (devakāyānaṁ nāmāni).[5] Such terms as *viññāṇa-kāyā*, *vedanā-kāyā*, *taṇhā-kāyā* are met with as purely Buddhist expressions in the Cha-chakka-Sutta (Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. III). On this analogy came to be coined such terms as *nāma-kāyo* and *rūpa-kāyo* in the Netti-pakaraṇa, and *dhamma-kāyo* in the Milinda.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 81 : *Atītaṁ smarati, pratyutpannuṁ kṛtvānāgataṁ prārthayati.*

[2] Bhela-saṁhitā, pp. 87, 89.

[3] Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 55.

[4] Dīgha, I, p. 55.

[5] Dīgha, II, pp. 253 foll.

The instances need not be multiplied. Those cited above are not to be dismissed as mere chance coincidences. The terminology used in the Bhela-saṁhitā and the philosophical views cited and discussed are clearly reminiscent of an age that produced them. The versifier has served only to destroy the original text in prose, and a few chapters that he has left intact are of paramount importance as pointing back to an age, which is synchronous with that of early Buddhism. It may, I think, be safely established that when Master Ātreya to propound a system of medicine to deal adequately with the health and disease of the body, Master Gautama came into the field to propound a system of *dharma* to deal adequately with the health and disease of the mind. And there was Master Pāṇini, whose advent must have taken place at the same time, to propound a system of grammar to deal adequately with the health and disease of the human speech.

B. M. BARUA.

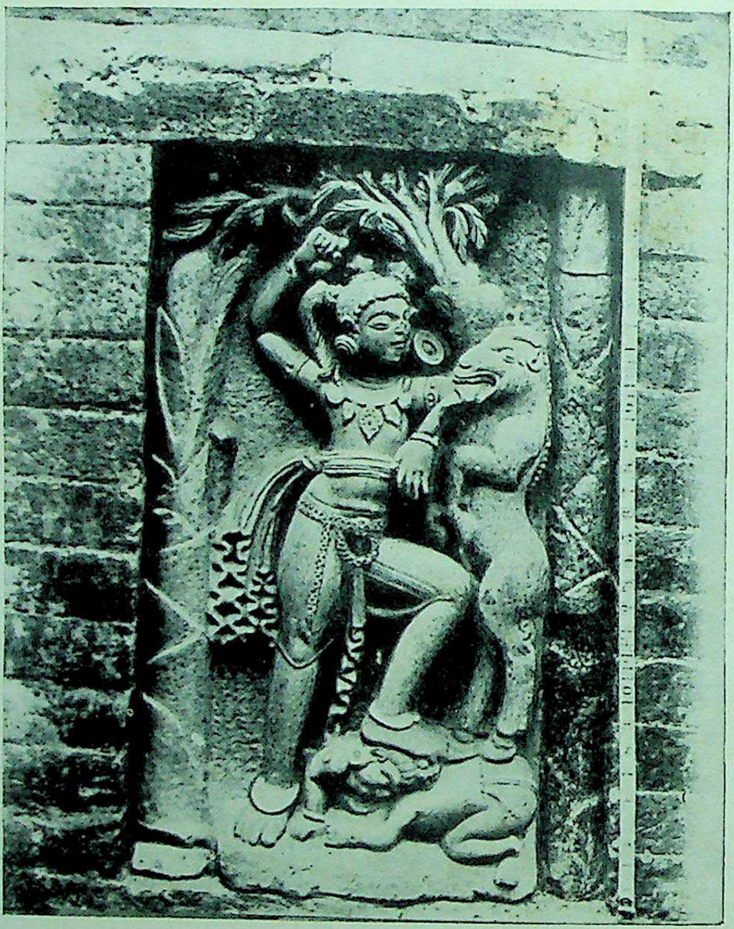
THE SAIVÂMṚTAṀ OF SÔḌHADÊVA

In the twelfth century, Halâyudha who held the post of *dharmâdhikâra* (judge) under Lakṣmaṇasêna of Bengal, wrote, as the introduction of his *Brâhmaṇa-Sarvasva* records, the *Śaiva-Sarvasva*, which is evidently a manual on the Śaiva ritual and worship. But no MS. of this work is still known to have been discovered even in fragments. But a MS. of another work of this kind, belonging to Bengal, has come to light from Mithilâ,[1] and it is the *Śaivâmṛtaṁ* of one Sôḍhadêva. The MS. (fol. 19) is complete, but bears no date. As to its subject-matter, a description of Śiva is, as we are told, followed by the account of the *pûjâ*, worship, *vrata*, fasts and feasts, etc. in connection with the deity, and this 'essence of the *mâhâtmya* (glory) of Śiva' is compiled with materials drawn from the Mahâbhârata, the Purâṇas, the Râmâyaṇa and the Tantras belonging to the Pâśupatas, etc. : *Bhârata-Purâṇa-Râmâyâṇa-Pâśupatâdi-Tantra-vacanâni* । *âkṛṣya yêna racitaḥ Śiva-mâhâtmy=aika-sârôhyam* ॥

In the colophon of the work, Sôḍhadêva is described as '*Śrî-Gauḍ-êndra-pâtra-dûta-nivandhakaḥ paṇḍita-cûḍâmaṇi*', but the name

---

[1] Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Mithila, Vol. I, Patna, 1927, No. 389, pp. 456-57.



A Kṛṣṇa panel at Paharpur

of the lord of Gauḍa, whose *pâtra* (minister) and *dûta* (ambassador) this crest-jewel of the learned had been, are not disclosed.

The introduction, however, contains the names of the father and grandfather of the author in the following verse :—

Râjyê Gauḍa-mahîbhujâṁ Samabhavat Kôṣṭh=âdhikârî paraḥ
pâtrâṇâṁ Budha-dêva ity=upacitô bhûloka-kalpadrumaḥ ॥
tasmâd Gautama-devanâtha tanayô lêbhê namat paitṛkaṁ (?)
bhûtô dûta-nivandhakaḥ Śiva-paraḥ Śrî-Śôḍha-dêvas-tataḥ ॥

So Sôḍhadêva's father was Gautama-devanâtha, and his grandfather Budhadêva, who, again, was a *pâtra* and *kôṣṭhâdhikârî* (fort-keeper or Superintendent of the inner apartment) of a certain king of Gauḍa. We know of two Budhadêvas from inscriptions, one (Budha-sphurita) the great-grandfather of the celebrated Bhavadêva-Bhaṭṭa, the minister of Harivarma-dêva of East Bengal (cf. the Ananta-Vâsudêva temple *praśasti* of Bhavadêva-Bhaṭṭa), and the other the brother of Vaidyadêva, who was originally a minister of Kumârpâla of Bengal and subsequently became the king of Kâmarûpa (see the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadêva). Sôḍhadêva might or might not have been the grandson of any of these two Buddhadêvas, but in any case, he appears, from the nature of his name, to be of high age, probably of the pre-Muhammadan period.

N. N. Das Gupta.

A KṚṢṆA PANEL AT PAHARPUR

Among the stone sculptures stuck to the basement wall of the Paharpur shrine there are several panels connected with the Kṛṣṇa cult. Of these may be mentioned the panels depicting the fight of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with Cānura and Mushṭika, the two wrestlers of Kaṁsa, and Kṛṣṇa uprooting the twin Arjuna trees. Another panel, and this happens to be the most beautiful, has not, I am afraid, been properly interpreted by Mr. Dikshit, and hence necessitates a rather detailed discussion. This particular sculpture, fixed to the south-east side of the main temple, depicts a male figure, standing in three quarter profile, with his left foot over the head of a grotesque figure, left elbow within the jaws of a quadruped—a horse or an ass—and the right hand turned up to deal it a blow. On two sides there are represented two trees; that to the proper right with its bare and shaft like trunk topped by long rectangular leaves represents most probably a plantain tree, to be found also in several other sculptures at Paharpur. On the background may be seen another tree with branches and heart shaped foliage, but it is difficult to ascertain which tree it stands for. The figure is dressed in a lower garment reaching down to the knees, fastened to the waist by a chain girdle, and a scarf is tied round his belly (*udarabandha*) with its frill artistically shown to his right. The ornaments on his person, especially the torque with medallions and tiger nails and hair arranged in tufts (known as *kākapaksha* or 'crows' wings' in literature),[1] both peculiar to young boys, signify that the hero of the incident is a boy. The peculiar arrangement of the hair, a speciality with young Kṛṣṇa,[2] connects the incident with his early life and it is not at all improbable that the panel illustrates one of the many exploits of Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Balarāma.

According to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A.,[3] the sculpture represents Balarāma attacking the donkey demon, Dhenuka, the guardian of the palm grove to the north of Govardhana. The story of *Dhenukavadha* (the killing of Dhenuka) has been in the *Harivaṁśa* and almost all other *Purāṇas* professing to describe the early life of Kṛṣṇa. The story given in all these texts is almost the same with the only difference in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[4] that there the exploit is attributed to Kṛṣṇa and not to Balarāma, who, according to other authorities, is the main actor in this theme. It runs as follows :— 'On the banks of the Yamunā to the north of Govardhana there was a forest of *tāla* or palm trees. One day as Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were taking a stroll there with the cowherd boys they caught sight of the tempting clusters of *tāla* fruit, whose fragrance had permeated the whole sylvan atmosphere. They had a strong desire of tasting the ripe fruit of which the fragrance was so sweet and Balarāma commenced shaking the fruits from the trees. The forest was jealously guarded by a demon named Dhenuka and his host—all of asinine form. As soon as the sound of fruit-falling reached his ears he made for the culprits, bit Balarāma, and struck him with his hind legs. Balarāma forthwith seized him by those legs, flourished him in the air, and threw him against a palm tree with the result that the ass demon fell dead with his breast, waist, and neck all shattered. After thus killing him he (Balarāma) destroyed his host and opened out the whole forest to the cowherds.'

---

[1] Cf. Halāyudha, *Abhidhāna Ratnamalā: bālānām tu śikhā proktā kākapakshaḥ śikhaṇḍikā* ı
Also Hemachandra, *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 572: *Sā bālānām kākapakshaḥ śikhaṇḍaka-śikhaṇḍakau* ı

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, Chap. 67.

[3] *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 144.

[4] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Pt. V, Chap. 8.

I quote here the story as given in the *Harivaṁśa*, Chap. 69, rather in detail to show the wide divergence which the sculpture under notice presents to the story, even in its material facts. The description of the sculpture and the story given, the points of divergence are apparent to everyone. The interpretation of Mr. Dikshit then has nothing to stand upon but a superficial resemblance of the quadruped in the sculpture with an ass—a resemblance, which has led Mr. Dikshit, rather hastily I am afraid, to describe the sculpture as Balarāma fighting the ass demon Dhenuka. He has passed over the story, the main incident I should rather say, as to how the demon was fought and killed, which, if given, would have upset his interpretation then and there. The representation of the palm tree would add a little weight to his rather flimsy data for identifying the sculpture with the incident of the palm grove, and most probably with this end in view he has attempted to describe the tree to the proper right as a palm, which, in his opinion, 'is more successfully depicted here than in other known examples of this scene'.[1] Mr. Dikshit has begun his description of the Kṛṣṇa myth at Paharpur with a reference to similar scenes of the myth at Mandor and Badami. It will not be idle hence to presume that he is conversant with those scenes and has noticed a representation of *Dhenukavadha* on a *torana* pillar at Mandor [2] and another at least in a cave at Badami.[3] There we find Balarāma in the act of whirling the donkey demon in the air and hurling him against the palm tree, which, in both the reliefs, is as much naturalistically depicted as is possible in stone within a space circumscribed. It is beyond our capacity to understand how a tree with long rectangular leaves can be a palm tree at all and it would be fancy pure and simple to regard it as a more successful representation of the palm tree in comparison with a tree with a plain cylindrical trunk topped by clusters of fan-shaped leaves and bunches of round fruits.

The sculpture thus does not refer to the scene of *Dhenukavadha* as it does not tally with the legend even in its principal theme. The only story to which the sculpture fully conforms is that of *Keśinidhana* or the slaying of the demon Keśi by Kṛṣṇa. The legend, as told in the *Purāṇas*, runs thus :—' When the attempts of Putanā, Dhenuka, Pralamba, Arishta, etc. to destroy Kṛṣṇa failed, Kaṁsa sent for Keśī, a demon of uncommon strength, and commissioned him to proceed immediately for Vṛndāvana to kill his nephew who was destined to put an end to him and his evil ways. Accordingly Keśī appeared in Vṛndāvana in the form of a powerful horse and set fear into the hearts of the people by his uncommon size, his thundering neighs and his incessant striking of hoofs. They took refuge with Kṛṣṇa, who came to the demon and challenged him. The demon ran towards Kṛṣṇa with open jaws to devour him. Kṛṣṇa, nothing daunted, thrust his elbow into the jaws of the demon, whose teeth were all uprooted in his attempt to tear away the arm of Kṛṣṇa. Then, by his divine power, Kṛṣṇa made his arm swell within the jaws of the demon, who fell to the ground with his jaws torn asunder and vomitting blood and blood-shot eyes coming out of the sockets. The inmates of Vṛndāvana, their fear dispelled, hailed Kṛṣṇa with acclamations and gods showered flowers on him from the heaven.' [1]

---

[1] *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 138, fig. 2.

[3] *Mem.*, *A.S.I.*, No. 25, p. 53, Pl. XXIV, *b*.

This story told, every casual observer sees through the sculpture, which really represents Kṛṣṇa fighting with Keśī in the form of a horse and finally killing him. He has his left elbow thrust into the jaws of the demon, as is required by the text, and the right hand engaged in dealing out blows. The figure under the foot of Kṛṣṇa most probably represents the final episode of the story when the demon has fallen to the ground and has assumed his normal shape. He is in the throes of death struggle under the foot of Kṛṣṇa, who heavily tramples upon him to make an end of the fallen foe. The trees are most probably used as decorations, or may represent Vṛndāvana (the forest of Vṛndā) where the incident is said to have happened.

SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI.

DISPOSAL OF GIRLS IN YĀṢKA'S TIME

There is a passage in the Nirukta (II, 4 ; Ānandaśrama edition, page 208) which throws some light on the position of women in Yāska's time which is commonly accepted as between 100 to 500 B.C. The passage is as follows :—

Tasmāt-striyaṃ jātāṃ parāsyanti na pumāṇsam-iti cha strīṇaṃ dāna-vikray-ātisargā vidyante na puṃsaḥ puṃso-p-īty-eke Śaunaḥśepe darśanāt, i.e. Hence they give away to others a female being born, but not a male. There exist *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga* of a female, but not of a male. (They exist) even of a male according to some as seen (in the story) relating to Śunaḥśepa. Thus, it will be seen that three courses for the disposal of a girl are mentioned here, viz. *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga*. It is important to find out what exactly the author meant by these three terms. He is treating in this passage the subject of the rights of a daughter to her father's property, and hence the word *Strī* here may mean *duhitā*, a daughter.

---

[1] *Harivaṁśa*, Chap. 80 ; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, X, Chap. 37 ; *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, X, Chap. 16 ; *Brahma-Purāṇa*, Chap. 190.

Durgāchārya, the famous commentator of Nirukta, explains *dāna* as *Kanyā-dāna* in marriage, *vikraya* as giving the daughter away in marriage after accepting her price from the bridegroom, and *atisarga* as parityāga or abandonment of the girl for the purpose of Svayaṃvara, i.e. sending her away saying, 'let anyone who is the strongest take you away, or choose whomsoever you desire'. Thus, to Durgāchārya, *dāna* is marriage, and the other two are preliminaries to marriage. Anyhow the three are connected with marriage. Durgāchārya is, no doubt, somewhat nearer to Yāṣka than we are, but even he is separated from Yāṣka by a wide gulf of time. The social life of his epoch could not have been the same as during that of Yāṣka. And hence his interpretation may not be the correct one. In fact, a critical study of the passage reveals the impossibility of Durgāchārya's explanation. No doubt the word *parāsyanti* in the passage shows that the three terms *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga* are used in connection with 'giving away the girl to somebody', but they do not necessarily mean giving her away in marriage in one form or another. *Puṃso-p-īty-eke* makes it clear that *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga* could be permissible also in the case of males according to some. Hence, the sense of the three words must be applicable to boys as well as to girls which becomes impossible if the interpretation of Durgāchārya is accepted. And moreover it should be noticed that the negation in *na puṃsah*, and the '*eke*' in *Puṃso-p-īty-eke*, and the ancient story of Śunaḥśepa as an illustration show that *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga* of a male though existed in times prior to Yāska, and were permissible, had fallen into disuse in his day; and as such it becomes necessary to interpret the three words in such a way that they should be possible in case of boys as well as girls and yet they should not have been practised in the case of boys in Yāṣka's time.

Durgāchārya explains *dāna* of males as giving in adoption. As for *vikraya*. Yāṣka himself gives the example of Śunaḥśepa. The well-known story of Śunaḥśepa is given in the 33rd *adhyāya* of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. A certain king named Harischandra had no sons, and he begged Varuṇa that if a son was born to him, he would sacrifice him to that god. A son named Rohita was born, but the sacrifice was postponed by the king until Rohita grew up. When Rohita was told about the sacrifice, he absconded and wandered in the forest. There he met Ṛśi Ajīgarta who had three sons. Rohita

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

gave a hundred cows to him, and purchased Śunaḥśepa the middle son whom he brought to the king for sacrificing to Varuṇa. So here, Śunaḥśepa was actually sold, and there can be no doubt about the meaning of the word *vikraya.* *Atisarga* means *parityāga* or abandonment according to Durgācharya, and he quotes the instance of the abandonment of Madhuchchandas by his father Viśvamitra.

Thus the commentator has two meanings for each of the three words—one applicable to girls only and one to boys. This seems rather inconsistent. *Dāna* may mean '*dattakvidhāna*' or 'giving in adoption' even in the case of girls. It is not quite impossible that the custom of adoption of girls was prevalent in Yāṣka's time.

Uttara-Ramacharita (Act I, verse 4) and Viśṇu-purāṇa (4–18) tell us that Daśaratha's daughter Śantā was given to Romapāda who had no children. The absence of any clear mention of this in the Rāmāyaṇa is only a negative evidence and cannot disprove it. Moreover, even from Manu and others we know that for a sonless person 'adoption of a boy' was not the only way; he could as well appoint his daughter as a '*putrikā*' so that her son belonged to her father's family or *gotra*. It seems possible that if a person had no children at all, he could adopt even a girl as a putrikā. But though this dāna is possible in the case of boys as well as girls 'eke' compels us to assume that in Yāṣka's time *dāna* of girls alone and not of boys existed. Perhaps boys were rare, and hence only girls were given away in adoption. It is doubtful whether the ceremony of adoption was known then. If it was known, then *dāna* might have been giving in adoption but without the formal ceremony. So giving away in adoption without any ceremony might have been common in the case of girls, and such dāna of boys, though prevalent prior to Yāṣka, was uncommon in his days. Thus we have to make a distinction between 'dattaka' and 'dāna'. Anyhow, dāna can be better explained as some form of adoption than 'a form of marriage', so that it can be applicable equally to males and females.

7030

Just as Śunaḥśepa was sold away girls in Yāṣka's time might have been sold away to be used for similar or other purpose, and hence *vikraya* of a girl may not necessarily mean vikraya in marriage.

The sense of *parāsyanti*, i.e. giving to others should be applicable even to *atisarga* and as such, the example of Madhuchchandas given by the commentator does not seem to be a proper illustration of that term. Madhuchchandas was not handed over to any body, but was just driven out. In the dictionary, *atisarga* is explained as 'giving away' or 'abandonment'. There is already the word *dāna* in the sense of 'giving away' and hence *atisarga* cannot mean anything but 'abandonment'. But the word *parāsyanti* makes us assume that this abandonment must be for somebody. Abandonment for the sake of svayamvara is not possible for boys. *Atisarga* may therefore possibly mean 'dedication to some deity'. The custom of dedicating male and female children to certain deities like Khandobā, Bhairobā, Bhawanī, Jotiba, Saṭavi, etc. is prevalent in the lower classes of people in India even to this day. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 135, gives interesting information about how boys and girls are dedicated to Khandobā at Jejuri in the Poona district. Mr. R. E. Enthoven's '*The tribes and castes of Bombay*', Vol. III, p. 70, also throws some light on this custom. The author says there, 'when a person has no children or his children are short lived, he vows that if Khandobā blesses him with a child he will set it apart to worship and attend upon god. Girls offered to Khandobā in this way are called Muralis and boys Vāghes.' If boys were smaller in number in Yāṣka's days, only girls were perhaps thus offered and not boys. It is scarcely necessary to add that religious prostitution was existing in different forms in different countries in different periods. Perhaps the most revolting form was that connected with Mylitta which prevailed among the Babylonians as Heredotos informs us. Such things were known even in the fairly advanced period of Roman history, and in connection with the statue of Priapus. The instance of Kabīr shows us that children were even thrown in the river. The custom of making a vow previous to the birth of a child that if a child would be born it would be offered to the sacred waters, and of throwing it in the rivers prevailed in Northern India and some parts of Southern India even as late as the British period. So did *atisarga* mean some such abandonment which was common of girls only and not of boys in the days of Yāṣka? Or did atisarga mean dedicating girls to some religious order? Pandit Gopāl Dutta Śastrī drew my attention to a Sūtra of Pāṇini (2-1-70) viz. *Kumāraḥ Śramaṇādibhih*, which proves that *kumarīs* i.e. virgins were made over to *Śramaṇa pantha*. Such a custom of dedication to religious order was not unknown to ancient Romans as we know virgins between six and ten years of age were consecrated to Vestu and entrusted with the service of watching the sacred fire. But if we accept the meaning of *atisarga* as dedication to some *pantha*, there arises one difficulty. Such *atisarga* of boys was quite common in the 7th century B.C. and it is known that many boys were made over to *Śramaṇa pantha*, and therefore the words *na puṃsah* become valueless.

Hence the most suitable interpretation of *atisarga* seems to be 'dedication to a deity'. It is worthy of note that in the epoch of Yāṣka girls only were dedicated to a divinity in this manner. This is in agreement with the custom prevalent in Northern India and in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

some parts of Southern India where girls alone are so dedicated and are called *Deva-dasīs*, no instance of a boy so dedicated and called a *devadāsa* being known to us so far.

So whatever interpretation of these terms we accept, in those early times when Yāṣka lived, a father could give away his daughter in adoption to anybody, could dedicate her to some deity or pantha, or could even sell her. He could dispose of his son also in similar ways, but the custom of *dāna*, *vikraya* and *atisarga* of boys was current only prior to Yāṣka, and even in the days of Yāṣka it had fallen into desuetude, and remained only in memory.

This shows that boys were more valued and desired for than girls even in those days, perhaps because girls outnumbered boys.

VANAMALA BHAWALKAR.

THE PREDECESSORS OF TĪRTHAṀKARA MAHĀVĪRA

The immediate predecessors of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, the last Jaina Tīrthaṁkara, who has been described as a great omniscient Teacher and Philosopher in the Jaina as well as non-Jaina literature,[1] were his two foregoing Tīrthaṁkaras. They are named in Jaina Canonical books as Jinas Ariṣṭanemi and Pārśva. Besides them, prominent ascetic teachers of the time such as Makkhali Goshāla and Pūrana Kāshyapa were also the elder contemporaries of Mahāvīra. But before writing anything about them, I intend to write about Ṛṣabha, the very first teacher and founder of Jainism in this cycle of time.

Ṛṣabha indeed is the very remote predecessor of Mahāvīra and it is due only to his hoary antiquity that he has been passed for a *Pauranic* person. But in fact he was a real and historical personage. The very antagonistic writers on Jainism, that is to say, Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists name Ṛṣabha as the founder of Jainism.[2] This agreement of the Jaina and Brāhmaṇa texts is so striking and singular that we cannot deny its validity.[3] Moreover the epigraphical evidence puts it beyond doubt that there had been certainly in ancient India a great person who was named Ṛṣabha. Most ancient Mohen-jo-daro seals may be pointed out in this connection. The nudity, the pose of eyes and the standing (Kāyotsarga) position of the figures engraved on them are the same as found in the Jaina images.[1] R.B. Ramprasad Chanda remarks that the standing deity figured on seals 3 to 5 may be the proto-type of Ṛṣabha.[2] In one of the seals Dr. Pran Nath has deciphered the word 'Jineśvara',[3] which singularly signifies that the figures engraved on seals bearing resemblance to the images of Jinas may be those of Tīrthaṁkara predecessors of Mahāvīra.

---

[1] Jaina Sūtras, S.B.E., Pts. I-II. Dīgha-Nikāya, ii, 150, etc.

[2] Jaina Antiquary, Vol. I, pp. 20–23.

[3] Rev. J. Stevenson remarked: 'It is seldom that Jainas and Brāhmaṇas agree, that I do not see how we can refuse them credit in this instance, where they do so'.—Kalpasūtra, Intro. XVI.

The ancient Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela mentions clearly an image of Agra Jina (i.e. the first Jina : Ṛṣabha)[4] and the antiquities of the Kankālī Tīlā Mathurā also include a certain image of Ṛṣabha belonging to Indo-Scythian period.[5] This evidence is enough to prove that Ṛṣabha was an historical person : the religious votaries of the times of Buddha and Mahāvīra worshipped his images. The Jaina tradition of 24 Tīrthaṁkaras also holds good under the circumstances.

Now turning to other predecessors of Mahāvīra, it is remarkable to note that when Kṛṣṇa, the cousin of Ariṣṭanemi, is being regarded as an historical person, then there is no reason to doubt the historicity of Ariṣṭanemi, the 22nd Jaina Tīrthaṁkara.[6] Dr. Pran Nath has recently read the name of Nemi in an ancient copperplate of the Babylonian monarchy,[7] which leaves no doubt that Ariṣṭanemi was a real predecessor of Mahāvīra. But there is not available enough material to show that what relations they had with the last Tīrthaṁkara. In this respect, however, we come on a good footing with Pārśva, the 23rd Tīrthaṁkara.

It is remarked in certain quarters that Pārśva was not a philosopher[8] : He was only an ordinary ascetic predecessor of Mahāvīra, whose parents and clan's people followed his doctrines.[9] But the Atomic Theory as found in Jainism puts it beyond doubt that the Jaina Philosophy had its beginning long before 8th century B.C.[10] There are also certain philosophical references in the Jaina Canonical works which establish the fact that Pārśva possessed a philosophy of his own.[1]

---

[1] Jaina Antiquary, I, p. 22.
[2] Modern Review, Aug., 1932, pp. 156–159.
[3] IHQ., Vol. VIII, No. 2—Suppl.
[4] Journal of Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., III, pp. 465–467.
[5] Smith : Jain Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathura.
[6] Fuhrer : Epi. Ind., I, p. 389.
[7] Times of India, 19th March, 1935, p. 9.
[8] Barua : History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 377–380.
[9] Uvāsagadasāo 6 ; Ācārāṃgasūtra, 2. 15-16.
[10] Glassenapp : Ephemerides Orient. 25, p. 13. and ERE., II, p. 200.

Likewise it cannot be taken as a truth that Mahāvīra after leaving the household life became a follower of the Order of Pārśva. No evidence: Jaina or non-Jaina comes forward to vouchsafe it. The Jaina tradition is unanimous and clear on the point. It holds that Tīrthaṁkara being a *genius* is *Suyambuddha*: He requires no teacher and as long as he attains to omniscience, he observes the vow of silence.[2] It is clearly said in the Jaina Canonical books that Mahāvīra Vardhamāna paying obeisance to *Siddhas* set himself to observe the Dharma of Śramaṇas.[3]

Yet the Jaina texts are quite expressive to point out the dissimilarities between the teachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the teaching of Pārśva consisted of four vows, while that of Mahāvīra had five vows with the practice of going out naked.[4] But the Digambaras do not agree with it, though they also point to the dissimilarities in the teachings of both the teachers.[5]

Similarly Makkhali Goshāla cannot be regarded also a predecessor of Mahāvīra in the sense of a teacher. It holds no water to say that Mahāvīra borrowed the vow of nudity from Makkhali Goshāla.[6] The Jaina tradition unanimously establishes the practice of going out naked for its śramaṇas from the very time of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṁkara,[7] which also receives support from independent testimony.[8]

Moreover it is evident from the Bhagawatī Sūtra that when Makkhali Goshāla approached Mahāvīra and begged ordinance from him, he wore clothes[9] and was not naked; though Mahāvīra discarded his clothes long before and was naked at the time. Hence it was quite impossible for Mahāvīra to borrow a practice from a novice.

---

[1] E.g. Saṭakāya Jīvas doctrine of Pārśva, etc.

[2] Uttarapurāṇa, p. 610 and Jaina Sūtras (SBE.), Pt. I, pp. 76–78.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Jaina Sūtras (SBE.), Pt. II, Intro. xix-xxii.

[5] 'वावीसं तित्थयरा सामाइयं संजमं उवदिसंति ।
छेदोवट्ठावणियं पुण भयवं उसहो य वीरो य ॥ ३२ ॥
आचक्खिदुं विभजिदुं विण्णादुं चावि सुहदरं होदि ।
एदेण कारणेण दु महव्वदा पंच पण्णत्ता ॥ ३३ ॥
आदीए दुव्विसोधणे णिहणे तह सुठ्ठ दुरणुपालेया ।
पुरिमाद्य पच्छिमा वि हु कप्पाकप्पं ण जाणंति ॥ ३४-९ ॥'— इति मूलाचारः

[6] Jaina Sūtras (SBE.), II, Intro. and the Ājīvikas, Pt. I.

[7] Jaina Sūtras, I, pp. 55-56 and C. R. Jain: Nudity of Jain Saints (Delhi).

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Uvāsagadasāo (Biblo. Ind.) Appendix, p. 110.

The Jaina work '*Darśansāra*' of the 10th century informs us that Makkhali Goshāla was a prominent ascetic of the Order of Pārśva, but when Mahāvīra became an omniscient teacher and did not accept him as his chief apostle, he got angry with him and began to preach his own teachings independently[1]; though he borrowed them from the ancient Jaina literature known as 'Puvvas'.[2] The following are a few items which support this view :

1. The very name of the sect founded by Makkhali, known as Ajīvika, points to the fact that though Ājīvika śramaṇas resembled in many respects with the Nirgrantha śramaṇas, yet they were regarded separate from them because they used to earn their livelihood by following certain pursuits of life as astronomy, etc.[3] The Jaina śramaṇas were never allowed to earn their livelihood (ājīvikā).[4] It is the case when Makkhali Goshāla, who was a Jaina ascetic in his early life, started or allowed his disciples to earn their livelihood, violating the Jaina injunction of non-earning, he came to be known as Ājīvika.

2. Nudity and other strict rules of penance Ājīvikas imitated after the Jaina śramaṇas.

3. The philosophical ideas of the Ājīvikas were also like those of Jainas. Makkhali proclaimed the existence of an independent soul, which he called '*arogi*' and accepted the transmigration theory as well.[5]

4. Ājīvikas took the theory of eight Mahā-Nimittas from the Jaina Puvvas.[6]

5. Cattāri Pāṇagāyaṃ vow of the Ājīvikas was similar to the Sallekhanā vow of the Jainas.[7]

6. Makkhali's theory of six Abhijātis seems a corruption of the Jaina conception of six Dravya Leṣyas.

7. Ājīvikas classified *Jīvas* as one-sensed and the like quite in conformity with the Jaina view.[8] Makkhali used many a Jaina term.

---

[1] 'मसयरि·पूरण रिसिणो उप्पण्णो पासणाहतित्थम्मि ।
सिरिवीर समवसरणे अगहिय झुणिणा नियत्तेण ।' etc. Darśanasāra.

[2] Cambridge History of India, p. 162 and ERE., I, p. 261.

[3] Barua, the Ājīvikas, Pt. I, pp. 67-68.

[4] 'धादीदूदनिमित्ते आजीवो वणिवेगद्रभादि ।'— मूलाचार ।

[5] Jaina Sūtras, Pt. I, Intro. xxix.

[6] The Ājīvikas, I, p. 41.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] Jaina Sūtras, II, Intro.

But in spite of all this, the main teaching of Makkhali Goshāla was against that of Mahāvīra. The life-career of Mahāvīra was of a hero all round, who cared not a bit for, rather crushed down the so-called mishaps of destiny. But Makkhali Goshāla on the other hand was always only a puppet in the hands of destiny. His *Niyativāda* never allowed him to aspire high. He confined himself to the mere idea of enjoying oneself so much as the times and means permit. So Makkhali proved short of the aspirations of the Hindu nation at that time. But the message of Mahāvīra contained all what the nation required then and the people assembled gladly round the Great Hero Vardhamāna. Here lies the difference between the both teachers.

Pūraṇa Kāśyapa was also another elder contemporary of Mahāvīra, but very little is known of him. The Jaina writer Devasena mentions him with Makkhali—rather he took both as one man [1]. It seems that they shared similar views and were companions.

K. P. JAIN.

PALÆOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE MAURYAN BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀSTHĀN

The object of this short note is to consider, from the standpoint of palæography, whether some letters inscribed in this epigraph should be taken as *sa* or *sha*.[2] Regarding this point Bhandarkar, who has edited this inscription for the first time, writes, 'Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kālsī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *sh*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, *s* and *sh*, is quite certain. The word *saṁvagiyānaṁ* occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s*, it has the form of *sh* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *saṁvagiyānaṁ* being the word intended. The *sh*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *sh*. Similarly in regard to *sulakhite* (l. 2) and *su-atiyāyikasi* (l. 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *su*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *s*, the latter looks like *sh*. This *sh*-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kālsī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *sh*-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *sh*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.[1] The letters which, according to Bhandarkar, look like *sha* but which are really *sa* are those which are found in *[ni*]vahipayisati* (l. 3), *saṁva[m*]giyānaṁ* (l. 3), *nivahisati* (l. 4), *d[evā*][tiyā*][yi]kasi* (ll. 4-5), *su-atiyāyika[si]* (l. 5), *esa* (l. 6), *kosaṁ* (l. 6). At first view all these letters really look like *sha*, but there is at least one letter which, from the standpoint of palæography, must be taken as *sa*. The letter which is meant here is the first one in the word *su-atiyāyika[si]* (l. 5). The vertical line which is drawn downwards from the first curve of this letter is the really incised line for the medial form of the vowel *u*, while other lines near it are mere scratches.[2] It should be taken as an example of *su* and not of *shu* for the following reasons. Had it been an example of *shu*, then the medial *u*-stroke would certainly have been drawn downwards from the second curve and not from the first curve ; but as it is an example of *su*, the vertical line has rightly been drawn downwards from the first curve and not from the second one. Anybody who marks the difference between the form of *shu* as found in the Kālsī Recension of Rock Edicts X–XIV of Aśoka [3] and this letter will at once be convinced of the argument of the present author and will conclude that this is a certain example of *su* and not of *shu*.

---

[1] Darśanasāra, 176.

[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 83–91, two plates, 1933: Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, pp. 57–66, one plate, 1934.

---

[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, p. 84, 1933.

[2] Regarding this letter Barua observes, ' The *u*-mark of *su* is rather misleading ' (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 58, foot-note 11, 1934). Regarding this point he further remarks, ' Bhandarkar, depending on the photo-enlargement, reads *su-atiyāyikasi*. The photo, however, is misleading as it gives prominence to several marks in stone, making them look like the *u*-sign ' (ibid., foot-note 17, 1934). The writer of this note had the opportunity of thoroughly examining the actual inscription, for which he thanks Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Officer-in-charge of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, and found that the vertical line which was drawn downwards from the first curve was the really incised line for the medial form of the vowel *u* and that other lines near it were mere scratches. Further Bhandarkar does not depend on the photo-enlargement only as he has himself remarked in course of editing this inscription, ' Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript ' (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, p. 84, 1933).

[3] The following are the examples of *shu* found in the words in the Kālsī Recension of Rock Edicts, X–XIV : I. 10th Rock Edict—(1) *ushuṭena* (Hultzsch, Corpus

So far as the remaining similar six letters without the medial *u*-sign are concerned, we cannot definitely say whether they are *sa* or *sha* ; but when there is such a close similarity between the undoubted *sa* of *su* in *su-atiyāyika*[*si*] and these six letters, it would not be illogical to conclude that they should be taken as examples of *sa* and not of *sha*. This suggestion is, however, only tentative and should not by any means be considered final. However this inscription shows for the first time that in the Maurya period two forms of Brāhmī *sa* were prevalent—one which looks like the usual Aśokan *sa* and the other like an Aśokan *sha*.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 39, l. 28 ; plate facing, p. 44, Kālsī Rock, East Face, l. 28) ; II. 11th Rock Edict—(2) *pitishu* (ibid., p. 40, l. 29 ; ibid., l. 29), (3) *shushushā* (ibid., p. 40, l. 29 ; ibid., l. 29) ; III. 12th Rock Edict—(4) *shune*[*y*]*u* (ibid., p. 42, l. 33 ; ibid., l. 33), (5) *shushusheyu* (ibid., p. 42, l. 33 ; ibid., l. 33), (6) *shutā* (ibid., p. 42, l. 34 ; ibid., l. 34) ; IV. 13th Rock Edict—(7) *Kaligyeshu* (ibid., p. 45, l. 35 ; ibid., l. 35), (8) *shushushā* (ibid., p. 45, l. 37 ; ibid., l. 37), (9) *shushushā* (ibid., p. 45, l. 37 ; ibid., l. 37), (10) *shushā* (ibid., p. 45, l. 37 ; ibid., l. 37), (11) *nātikeshu* (ibid., p. 45, l. 37 ; ibid., l. 37), (12) *Kali*[*ṁ*]*geshu* (ibid., p. 45, l. 39 ; ibid., l. 39), (13) *shaveshu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 6 ; Plate facing, p. 50, Kālsī Rock, South Face, l. 6), (14) *ateshu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 6 ; ibid., l. 6), (15) *shashu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 6 ; ibid., l. 6), (16) *shateshu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 6 ; ibid., l. 6) ; (17) *Kaṁbojeshu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 9 ; ibid., l. 9), (18) *Nābhapaṁtishu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 9 ; ibid., l. 9), (19) *P*[*ā*]*lade*[*sh*]*u* (ibid., p. 46, l. 10 ; ibid., l. 10), (20) *manishu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 16 ; ibid., l. 16). Here, unlike the medial *u*-stroke in *su* of the word *su-atiyāyika*[*si*] found in the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān, in all these examples the vertical stroke indicating the medial *u* is drawn downwards from the second curve. Moreover the statement of Bhandarkar that 'In Rock Edict, X the *sh*-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *sh*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*' (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, p. 84, 1933) deserves consideration. In all examples of *su* found in the words, in the Kālsī Recension of Rock Edicts X–XIV, which are four in number, viz., I. 10th Rock Edict—(1) *susushā* (Hultzsch, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 39, l. 27 ; Plate facing, p. 44, Kālsī Rock, East Face, l. 27), (2) *susushātu* (ibid., p. 39, l. 27 ; ibid., l. 27) ; II. 13th Rock Edict—(3) *sutu* (ibid., p. 46, l. 11 ; Plate facing, p. 50, Kālsī Rock, South Face, l. 11) ; III. 14th Rock Edict—(4) *sukhitenā* (ibid., p. 49, ll. 19-20 ; ibid., ll. 19-20) the form of *sa* is a regular one 'with the straight side-limb '. (Bühler-Indian Palæography, p. 36.) Thus from the palæographical standpoint there is no evidence to show that, in the Kālsī Recension of Rock Edicts X–XIV, the cursive form of *sa*, as we find in the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, has been used along with the regular type. Thus it appears that Hultzsch is not wrong in reading this cursive letter in the above-mentioned inscriptions as *sha* and not as *sa*.

FAMILY LIFE IN PRE-BUDDHIST DAYS

The highest value of the *Jātaka* stories lies not so much in the presentation and propagation of Buddhistic teachings, as in the portrayal of life lived by the simple folk of the pre-Buddhist days. In the following pages an attempt has been made to grasp the real nature of only one of the many aspects of life represented in this valuable collection of folk-stories, viz. the family.

The unit of Society was, as it has been till the present day, *kuṭumba* or the family, which comprised a patriarch, his wife (or wives), his unmarried daughters and his sons with their wives and children. Marriage in those days was usually monogamic, though polygamy was not unknown probably mainly among the richer class and the nobility. In the household, the patriarch was the head and master with absolute authority; the wife was the mistress, but dependent on, and obedient to, the master.

Children were naturally the happy corner of the household. Prayers for getting children were not unknown.[1] On the birth of a child, neighbours and relatives came with offerings (*khīramūlaṁ*) to the parents of the new-born child.[2] There was a day fixed for naming the child (*nāmagahaṇadivasa*).[3] Names were usually formed after those of the ancestors or from the mother's or the father's side.[4] Probably in the case of a girl a sacrifice called the '*navamiya*' was performed 9 days after her birth.[5] It seems that a feeling of difference was maintained between a girl and a boy, as the following utterances of the king in the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*[6] and of the *purohita* in the *Uddālaka Jātaka* respectively suggest: 'If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring the ring and the child to me'. Children were carried on hips (*aṅkenādāya*),[7] as is well known. As play, mirth, merrymaking, and enjoyment have been the very life-breath of children in all countries at all times, so we see them here in our stories (*ānando ca pamādo ca sadā hasitakīlikaṁ*),[8] making hills from the dust-heaps,[9] the girls shaking sand in a small winnowing basket—nice training for their future life—,[10] the urchins playing at the foot of the banyan tree at the entrance of the village,[11] or else harassing the poor mother by refusing to go to the fields,[1] or having a ride on young bulls of the village.[2] Ideal children were recognized as 'nobly bred, quick-witted and easy, men to please whatever thing be sped'.[3]

---

[1] *Jātaka* (henceforward abbreviated as *J.*), II, p. 328; V, p. 312.

[2] *J.*, V, p. 127.

[3] *J.*, I, p. 404; VI, p. 332.

[4] *J.*, IV, p. 298; VI, p. 332 (*ayyakādīnaṁ*); 485—*gāthā* 1700—'*na mahyaṁ mattikaṁ nāmaṁ, na pi pettikasaṁbhavaṁ*'.

[5] *J.*, VI, p. 522—*g.* 1958.

[6] *J.*, I, p. 134.

[7] *J.*, II, p. 127; VI, p. 513.

[8] *J.*, V, p. 330—*g.* 177-8.

[9] *J.*, VI, p. 559—*g.* 2235.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[11] *J.*, III, p. 202.

Of domestic affection and happiness, we have a rare representation in our stories. Folklore, portraying as it does the real domestic life, has always been highly-prized. The joint-family system was, in those times, it seems, free from the evils that attend it at the present time.[4]

The relation of child and parent was clearly one of affection, as a rule; for the father is regarded as the type of all that is good and kind. Parents are recognized as god-like.[5] '*Brahmā hi mātāpitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare*',[6] so we are told in the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka*, which beautifully describes the relation of parent and child. Supporting parents in their old age was considered as an imperative duty, enjoined by religion, and more so by tradition.[7] We have, in the *Vessantara Jātaka*,[8] a noble and sublime representation of that parental love, that precious bond between parent and child which is self-evident. We observe Vessantara and his wife Maddī respectfully making obeisance to their father who strokes them affectionately with his hand.[9] Elsewhere,[10] we have a vivid picture of a beautiful girl 'like a nymph of heaven' fanning her father with a palm-leaf as he lies on a little bed to allay discomfort after his early meal. Children sitting down to meals with their parents instead of waiting upon them, was considered as a sign of lamentable decay of respect towards parents.[11]

The relation between brothers and sisters was also, as a rule, happy. 'The name of a brother a strong link is found, to join those akin to each other', so we hear in the *Maṁsa Jātaka*[12]; and in another, we hear that sisters surely are loving towards their brothers.[13] And if the ideal prevailed among the folk that :

---

[1] *J.*, VI, p. 377.

[2] *J.*, I, p. 194.

[3] *J.*, IV, p. 428—*g.* 132—'*puttā sujātā . . . paññājavena saṁpannā, sammodanti tato tato*'.

[4] *Cf.*, 'But India aimed at the sublimation of the institution of the family with a deliberately conceived social and political purpose': S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 280.

[5] *J.*, VI, p. 384—'*Pubbadevatā nāma mātāpitaro*'.

[6] *J.*, V, p. 331—*g.* 182.

[7] *J.*, III, pp. 137, 270, 325; IV, pp. 45, 90, 280—*g.* 10; 417; V, p. 492—*g.* 433-4.

[8] *J.*, VI, pp. 479-594.

[9] *J.*, VI, p. 584—*g.* 2407-8.

[10] *J.*, III, p. 283.

[11] *J.*, I, p. 453.

[12] *J.*, III, p. 50—*g.* 58—'*aṅgaṁ etaṁ manussānaṁ bhātā loke pavuccati*'.

[13] *J.*, III, p. 165—'*bhaginiyo nāma bhātusu sasnehā*'.

> ‘ A father’s or a mother’s pain or sister’s to relieve,
> A man should never hesitate his very life to give ’,[1]

the utterance that :

> ‘ A parent’s fond hearts to pity is moved
> The cry of “ dear father ” to hear ’,[2]

is as true and sincere as it is natural, since this human bondage is eternal and all-pervading.

But the utmost sublimity lies in the affection of a mother towards her child. And the stories are so full of pathos and happiness, sorrows and joys, hopes and fears while presenting this aspect of human relationship, that they may well stand out as one of the sublimest pieces of world’s folklore.

The *Sona-Nanda Jātaka*,[3] just referred to, presents before us, in all sublimity, the bond of love that always exists between parents and children. The *brāhmaṇa* husband and wife and their two sons, Sona and Nanda, are living in a hermitage on the Himalayas. The two brothers tender their parents, do everything for them. Later on the elder brother reproaches the younger for not serving the parents satisfactorily, and asks him to go away elsewhere. Nanda goes away. And when after more than seven years he returns, the mother’s heart is filled with inexpressible tender feelings. She runs towards her son, embraces him, smells and kisses (*cuṁbitvā*) his head and keeps her heart at rest. And then she says :

> ‘ Just as the tender bo-tree shoot is shaken by the blast,
> So throbs my heart with joy at sight of Nanda come at last.
> Nanda, methinks, as in a dream returned I seem to see,
> Half mad and jubilant I cry : “ Nanda comes back to me ” ;
> But if on waking I should find my Nanda gone away,
> To greater sorrow than before my soul would be a prey.
> Back to his parents dear today Nanda at last has come,
> Dear to my lord and me alike, with us he makes his home.
> Though Nanda to his sire is dear, let him stay where he will
> —Thou to thy father’s wants attend, Nanda shall be mine.’[4]

The following *gāthās*, still more clearly and pointedly, put before us the type of an affectionate mother with all her joys and anxieties, more sublimely than even Wordsworth could :

---

[1] *J.*, VI, p. 587—*g.* 2432 ; *mātula*—maternal uncle—was a term of affection used between men and men : *J.*, II, p. 301. For the importance of the mother’s brother (*mātula*) in the *Epics* and the *Purāṇas*, see N. K. Siddhanta, *Heroic Age of India*, pp. 125-6.

[2] *J.*, III, p. 50—*g.* 59—‘ *tāta ti putto vadamāno, kaṁpeti hadayaṁ pitu* ’.

[3] *J.*, V, pp. 312ff.

[4] *J.*, V, pp. 328-9—*g.* 159-63.

‘ Craving a child in prayer she kneels each holy shrine before,
The changing season closely scans and studies astral lore.

Pregnant in course of time she feels her tender longings grow,
And soon the unconscious babe begins a loving friend to know.

Her treasure for a year or less she guards with utmost care,
Then brings it forth and from that day a mother's (*janettī*) name will bear.

With milky breast and lullaby (*gītena*) she soothes the fretting child
Wrapped in his comforter's warm arms his woes are soon beguiled.

Watching over him, poor innocent, lest wind or heat annoy,
His fostering nurse she may be called to cherish thus her boy.

What gear his sire and mother have she hoards for him: “ may be ”,
She thinks, “ some day my dearest child, it all may come to thee ”.

“ Do this or that, my darling boy ”, the worried mother cries,
And when he's grown to man's estate, she still laments and sighs.

He goes in reckless mood to see a neighbour's wife at night,
She fumes and frets: “ why will he not return while it is light ? ” ’ [1]

Out of the four riddle-like questions placed before the wise Mahosadha by the king, the two are worthy of our attention here. The first is :

‘ He strikes with hands and feet, he beats the face ;
And he, O king, is dearer than a husband.’ [2]

In solving this the wise man says : ‘ When a child on the mother's lap happy and playful beats his mother with his hands and feet, pulls her hair, beats her face with his fist, she says : “ little rogue (*coraputta*), why do you beat me?" And in love she presses him close to her breast unable to restrain her affection, and kisses him; and at such a time he is dearer to her than his father.'

---

[1] *J.*, V, pp. 329-30—*g.* 166–72 ; also III, p. 323—*g.* 11.

[2] *J.*, VI, p. 376—*g.* (?)—

‘ hanti hatthehi pādehi mukhañca parisuṁbhati
sa ve rāja piyo hoti kantenamabhipassasi.’

The second question is:

> 'She abuses him roundly, yet wishes him to be near;
> And he, O king, is dearer than a husband.'[1]

The solution of this is thus beautifully given: '. . . the child of seven years who can now do his mother's bidding, when he is told to go to the field or to the bazar, says: "if you will give me this or that sweetmeat, I will go"; she says: "here my son", and gives them. Then he eats them and says: "yes, you sit in the cool shade of the house and I am to go out on your business". He makes a grimace, or mocks her with gestures, and won't go. She is angry, picks up a stick and cries: "get out, may the thieves chop you up into little bits (*gaccha, cora taṁ khaṇḍa-khaṇḍikaṁ chindantu*)". So she abuses him roundly as much as she will; but what her mouth speaks, she does not wish at all, and so she wishes him to be near. He plays about the livelong day, and at evening not daring to come home he goes to the house of some kinsman (*ñātaka*). The mother watches the road for his coming, and sees him not, and thinking that he durst not return home, has her heart full of pain; with tears streaming from her eyes she searches the houses of her kinsmen, and when she sees her son she hugs and kisses him and squeezes him tight with both arms, and loves him more than ever, as she cries: "did you take even my words in earnest (*putta, mamāpi vacanaṁ hadaye thapesi*)?" Thus a mother ever loves her son more in the hour of anger.'

And, then, who can ever forget the slim and tender-hearted figure of Maddī, wife of that prince-sage Vessantara, pining for her dear children Kaṇhā and Jāli, for she has been late in returning to the hermitage being obstructed on the way? Her feelings are hard to be reproduced here in piecemeal. They should be experienced from the story itself—the *Vessantara Jātaka*,[2] the noblest and the sublimest in the whole of the *Jātaka*-collection and, to my mind, in the world's literature and folklore.

We only quote this verse spoken by the boy, Jāli, bereft of his dear mother:

---

[1] *J.*, VI, p. 377—*g.* (?)—
'akkosati yathākāmaṁ agamañca assa icchati
sa ve rāja piyo hoti kantenamabhipassasi.'

[2] *J.*, VI, pp. 480–593, specially *gāthās*, 2213–2289.

'How true that saying seems to be
Which men are wont to tell :
Who has no mother of his own
Is father-less as well.' [1]

But are we here all along playing upon mere sentiments and poetic imagination and have no basis on the realities of life? The suspicion does arise, but we cannot share in it. We cannot for a moment believe ourselves that all these are mere ideas, and do not reflect real life. No piece of folklore can ever remain out of touch with real life : if it does, it is something else, but not a piece of folklore.

Anyway, nobody will object to our contention that domestic love and family tie were, in those days, on a sound footing.

The son, after marriage which was largely controlled by his parents, must have lived in the same house and under the control of his father. But clearly as the father advanced in years, the care of the household fell on the shoulders of the eldest son.[2]

After the death of his father, the son looked after the family property,[3] and if the son was yet young, the management was in the hands of the mother.[4] Brothers were entitled to equal shares of the family estate.[5] It seems probable that there was a tendency for the family to break up as soon as the parent died. The sons would, then, stay in the vicinity of one another for mutual support and assistance. In this way, the little knot of houses of the several branches of the family would together form the *nucleus* of the second stage in the society, the *ñāti*, a predominant feature of the sociology of the times.

RATILAL MEHTA.

---

[1] *J.*, VI, p. 553—*g.* 2189 :

'saccaṁ kira evaṁ ahaṁsu
narā ekacciyā idha
yassa natthi sakā mātā,
pitā natthi tatheva so' ;

cf. for motherly feelings : *J.*, VI, pp. 19-20—*g.* 50–5.

[2] *J.*, V, p. 326—*g.* 149 ; *jeṭṭhaka* is modern *jeṭh*, elder brother of a woman's husband.

[3] *J.*, I, pp. 226, 337 : III, pp. 56, 300.

[4] *J.*, IV, p. 1.

[5] *J.*, III, pp. 57, 300, 302—*g.* 106–9.

A NOTE ON THE EXORCISM OF DISEASE-SPIRITS IN NORTH BIHAR

In my paper entitled 'Folklore Notes from Northern India' which I have communicated to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, I have shewn that the custom of exorcising away the spirits of diseases by means of spells or incantations is current in the Provinces of Agra and Oudh and that an instance of it, which occurred there about a year or two ago, resulted in the institution of a civil suit in the Munsiff's Court at Allahabad for the recovery of the money which had been paid to the exorciser in anticipation as remuneration for exorcising away a disease-spirit which was troubling the plaintiff. The facts of the case may be shortly stated as follows :—

The plaintiff was suffering from a disease which had been brought on by natural causes. But, under the influence of a superstitious belief which is prevalent among the lower orders of the people in the U.P., he thought that a disease-spirit was troubling him by inflicting on him that particular ailment. Another man (the defendant in the suit), who pretended to be an exorciser of disease-spirits, appeared on the scene and said that he would cure the former of his disease by means of his spells or incantations if a certain amount of money would be paid to him in advance by way of remuneration. The former accordingly complied with the latter's request ; and the latter commenced his so-called operations for exorcising away the disease-spirit which was troubling the former. But the plaintiff, at the same time, placed himself under medical treatment and had got cured of his disease by taking proper medicines before the exorciser's so-called incantations for driving away the supposed disease-spirit could take effect. Thereupon the plaintiff demanded the refund of his money from the defendant who refused to give it back to him. Thereupon the plaintiff instituted a civil suit in the Munsiff's Court at Allahabad for the recovery of his money. The Munsiff dismissed the suit on the ground that the defendant was not bound to refund the money because the belief in the exorciser's ability to exorcise away disease-spirits was very common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh among the lower orders of the people and that low-class and illiterate patients frequently acted upon it.

The same belief is also prevalent in North Bihar, and an analogous instance, which resulted in the institution of a similar case in a Criminal Court, occurred in the Siwan Sub-Division of the District of Saran in that part of Bihar. The facts of this case are as follows :—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

'A man, named Kari Dom, had been much troubled by an evil spirit, which the wizard, whom he consulted, found to be the familiar spirit of a neighbour, Gokhul Dom. Kari thereupon came to an agreement with Gokhul to the effect that the latter would recall the evil spirit and never allow it to haunt the former again, and that should the said spirit ever trouble the former, the latter would be liable to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 25. This agreement was carefully recorded on a formal document which was signed by witnesses. But in spite of the deed and the penalty to which Gokhul was liable, the evil spirit would not remain quiet and again visited Kari, with the result that he sought redress in the Criminal Courts, and brought a charge of cheating against the other party to the transaction'.[1]

From the facts of the foregoing case, we find that a Dom named Gokhul Dom was believed to be the possessor of an evil spirit which troubled neighbours. This belief is quite in accordance with the popular notion that Doms are great adepts in sorcery and witchcraft, as will appear from an enquiry into and consideration of their ethnic affinities.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Doms of India may have been the progenitors of the gipsies of Europe. They have further pointed out the fact that Romany—the language spoken by the European gipsies is almost identical with Domani the plural of Dom. The renowned linguist and enthnographer Sir George Grierson says: 'Domani is the plural form in the Bhojpuri dialect of the Bihari language. It was originally a genitive plural; so that a Romany Rye, "a gipsy gentleman" may be well-compared with the Bhojpuri Domani Ray, "a king of Dom".'

'*The Bhojpuri-speaking Doms are a famous race, and they have many points of resemblance with the gipsies of Europe.* Thus, they are darker in complexion than the surrounding Biharis, are great thieves, live by hunting, dancing, and telling fortunes; *their women have a reputation for making love-philtres and medicines to procure abortion*; they keep fowls (which no orthodox Hindu will do), and are said to eat carrion. They are also great musicians and horsemen'.[2]

From the foregoing researches of Sir George Grierson, it would appear that the women-folk of the Doms of Bihar are adepts in fortune-telling, the making of love-philtres, and the concoction of medicines to procure abortion. The knowledge of fortune-telling and leechcraft presupposes some previous acquaintance with sorcery and witchcraft. Then again, this acquaintance with sorcery and witchcraft must be based on some previous connection with, and must have for its object the commanding and controlling of spirits or other invisible beings who thus become their tools or agents. In this way, their masters and mistresses become wizards and sorcerers. It is, therefore, no wonder that the male Doms of North Bihar possess some knowledge of sorcery and witchcraft and that, for this reason, Gokhul Dom of Siwan was popularly believed to have had, in his service, one of these spirits or familiars whom he employed to torment and trouble Kari Dom of the same locality. For this reason, the latter entered into an agreement with Gokhul Dom whereby he (Gokhul) agreed that he would thenceforward never allow his familiar spirit to trouble Kari Dòm and that, should he ever violate this condition, he would be liable to pay a penalty of 25 rupees.

---

[1] *Vide* the Gazetteer of Saran, By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Calcutta. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908, pages 48-49.

[2] *Vide* G. A. Grierson's Introductory Note to an English Gipsy Index, published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, (1886).

S. C. MITRA.

NOTES ON THE CULTS OF KAMĀLO BĪBĪ AND ĀMĀSAN BĪBĪ IN SOUTH BIHAR

Among men in a low plane of culture it is the men possessed of considerable knowledge of the ancient lore of their tribe and of the magical art and rites, who are looked upon as men of individuality, as being persons who are entitled to be their superiors and whose voices in the matter of changing their tribal customs and institutions go for a great deal. It is their opinions in these matters that are accepted by the rest of the tribesmen. Among these primitive people, the men of hoary old age are not necessarily looked up to as superior persons possessed of great influence in the respective tribes. On this point, Dr. R. R. Marrett says :—

'At this gathering (of Central Australian natives), for example, some of the oldest men were of no account ; but, on the other hand, *others not so old as they were, but more learned in ancient lore or more skilled in matters of magic, were looked up to by the others, and they it was who settled everything.*'[1]

If we study the cults prevalent among any particular people or tribe, we sometimes find that it is these persons of individuality

---

[1] *Vide* Anthropology, By R. R. Marrett, M.A., D.Sc. (London): Williams and Norgate. (No date), pages 244-245.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

who are greatly venerated by the rest of their people and become ultimately canonized into saints or holy men or human saviours.

While I have been studying the *cults of South Bihar* I have come across two feminine saints or *Pirs* the evolutions of whose cult bear out the truth or plausibility of the foregoing remarks. These are the cults of Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī.

In the district of Gaya in South Bihar, the cult of Kamālo Bībī is prevalent. She appears to have been a Mahomedan lady possessed of considerable knowledge of the magical art and rites. Many legends are narrated about her skill in magic and sorcery. It is stated that she lived at Kâkô in the time of a Buddhist Raja Kanaka, who sent her a dish made of rats. When the dish was brought before her, the rats came to life, and she cursed the Raja. At once, the town of Kâkô fell into ruins, in which the Raja was buried. Another legend goes on to say that her husband tried to desert her and walked till nightfall when he stopped and fell asleep. When he awoke, he found himself again at Kâkô, and two other similar attempts at deserting her also proved abortive owing to his wife's magical incantations. She has now been canonized into a female saint or *Pir*, who is much venerated, and is considered as possessing the power of curing barrenness in women. The people, both Hindus and Musalmans, also believe that she possesses great skill in leechcraft and the art of exorcism. Her tomb is resorted to by both Hindus and Mahomedans, and is regarded as a great place for exorcism or for the cure of any illness. Women frequently go to her tomb with small offerings, in order to obtain offspring, and tie up strips from their garb at the door of this tomb. A stone engraved with an inscription is smeared with oil by the pilgrims, who subsequently anoint themselves with it. This ointment is believed to confer on the anointers the gift of tongues as the latter at once speak ecstatically.[1]

Then again, in the district of Patna in South Bihar, the cult of another female saint named Āmāsan Bibi is current. She also was, very probably, a Mahomedan lady who possessed considerable knowledge of leechcraft so much so that, at the present day, she is invoked and the medicine is administered to the patient in her name to ensure the latter's recovery from the illness. She has now been deified. The following rite is observed when giving the medicine to the sick man: After it has been administered, it is common to call upon her name and to place the cup, after it is emptied, top side down on the ground. Then a small piece of earth is taken, waved thrice round the patient's head, and kept in a small niche in the house. After the sick man's recovery from the illness, sweet-stuffs, equal in weight to the aforementioned piece of earth, are offered to Āmāsan Bībī.[1]

---

[1] *Vide* the Gazetteer of Gaya, By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1906, page 79.

From a careful study of the two afore-described cults, I am of opinion that—

(1) Both Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī were Mahomedan ladies who possessed great knowledge of magic and leechcraft.

(2) Both of them were greatly respected and looked up to during their lifetime on account of their great skill as magicians and physicians.

(3) After their deaths, both of them have been canonized as saints or *Pirs*.

(4) In the case of Kamālo Bībī, her tomb is resorted to by both Hindus and Mahomedans for the cure of illness and barrenness in women and for the exorcism of ghosts and spirits.

(5) In the case of Āmāsan Bībī, she is invoked at the time of administering medicine to sick men. This is done in order that they may recover from their illness soon.

S. C. MITRA.

A NOTE ON THE EARLY HOME OF THE GUHILOTS

Tradition recorded in Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān* connects the Guhilots of Mewār with the ruling family of Valabhi, modern Wala in Gujerat, now known to scholars as the Maitrakas of Valabhi. It is related that prince Śilāditya of this line died while resisting an attack of the barbarians and lost his kingdom. A posthumous son was born to him, Guhāditya by name, who was brought up in a family of Nāgara Brahmins of Vaḍnagar in Gujarat. When the child grew up he conquered the aboriginal Bhil chieftain of Idar and became the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewār.[2] The tradition recorded above can, however, hardly be reconciled with the evidence of contemporary epigraphs. The Sāmolī Inscription of the time of

---

[1] *Vide* the Gazetteer of Patna, By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Revised Edition by J. F. W. James, I.C.S., Patna: Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa Government Printing, 1924, pages 62-63.

[2] Crooke's edition, Vol. I, 258f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Guhila) Śilāditya, dated A.D. 646,[1] and the Nāgdā Inscription of the time of Guhila Aparājita, dated A.D. 661,[2] suggest that the Guhila family was already established in Mewār in the time of the earliest Śilâdityās of the Maitraka line and flourished long before the extinction of the Valabhi dynasty sometime after A.D. 766-67.[3] Opinion has, therefore, been expressed that the Guhilots of Mewār have no connection whatsoever with the Maitraka family, except perhaps an ethnic relationship.

Where from did then the Guhilots come? An inscription of the time of Guhila Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1274, speaks of Vappa, believed at the time to be the founder of the royal fortune (*navarājya-lakahmî*) of Mewār, as having come from Ānandapura.[4]

jīyādānandapurvaṁ tadiha puram-Ilākhaṇḍasaundaryaśobhi
kṣonīpra (pṛi) ṣṭasthameva tridaśapuramadhaḥ kurvaducchiḥ
 samṛiddhya
jasmādāgatya vipraścaturūdadhimahī vedinikṣiptayupo
Vappahkyo vītarāgaścaranayugamupasīta (siṣṭa) Hārītarāseh

saṁprāptādbhutam-Ekaliṅgacaraṇāmbhojaprasādātphalaṁ
yasmai divyasuvarṇapādakatakaṁ Hāritarāsirdadau
Vappakhyaḥ sapurā purānapuruṣaprārambhanirvāhanā
tulyotsāhaguno babhuva jagati Śrī-Meḍapātadhipaḥ

sadaikaliṅgārcchnaśoddhabodha saṁprāpta sāyujya mahadaya-
 sya.
Hāritarāserasamaprasādādavāpa Bappa navarājyalaksmīṁ

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies Anandapura of this passage with modern Vaḍnagar in Gujarat.[5] Rāo Sāhib C. V. Vaidya, on the other hand, points out that Ānandapura mentioned in the inscription of A.D. 1274 should rather be identified with Nāgahṛida, modern Nāgdā in the Udayapura State.[6] In verse 8 of the inscription Nagahṛida is described as Ilākhaṇḍa-avanī-bhuṣanaṃ. In the following verse occurs this line:—*jīyādānandapurvam tadiha puram-*

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 97ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 31f.

[3] The Alīnā plates of Śilāditya VII of Valabhi was issued from Ānandapura in G. 447 (=A.D. 766-67).

[4] *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 75ff. It should be noted that the Atpur Inscription of Saktikumara, dated A.D. 977, describes Guhadatta as the progenitor of the Guhila family (*Prabhavaḥ Śrī-Guhilavaṁśasya*), and the delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family which came from Ānandāpura (*Ānandapura-vinirgata-viprakulānandano*). *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 191.

[5] *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 183.

[6] *History of Mediæval India*, Vol. II, p. 337.

Ilākhaṇḍa-saundaryaśobhi. It would be seen that both Ānandapura and Nāgahṛida are described as the ornament of Ilākhaṇḍa[1] and the use of the expression *tadiha* in verse 9 renders it probable that the two cities were identical. The conclusion of Rāo Sāhib C. V. Vaidya seems to receive confirmation from the Achalgaḍh Inscription of A.D. 1285, which mentions Nāgahrada as the place where the sage Hāritarāsi whose name is intimately associated with the rise of the Guhilot power performed austerities.

asti Nāgahradaṁ nāma sāyāmamiha pattanaṁ
chakre tapāṁsi Hārītarāśiryatratapodhanaḥ.[2]

An inscription of the time of Rāyamalla, son of Rānā Kumbhā, also associates Nagahṛada with Vappa the traditional founder of the Guhilot line.

Śrī-Medapātabhuvi Nāgahradebhud Vaspo (*sic*) *dvijaḥ Śiva-padārpita cittavṛitti.*

Tradition current in the days of Akbar and Jahāngīr, however, points to an earlier home of the Gulilots south of the Narmada. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Faḍl it has been stated that an ancestor of the Guhilots came to Berār and distinguished himself as the chief of Narnālah. About eight hundred years before the time of the author Narnālah is said to have fallen into the hands of an enemy, and ' one Bāpa, a child,' was taken to Mewār where he found refuge with the Bhil chieftain Mandalikh.[3] Writing in the early part of the seventeenth century Jahāngīr says ' They (the rulers of Mewār) have long borne rule towards the East, that in *Purab* ....After this they fell on the Deccan and took possession of many of the countries of that region....After this they came into the hill country of Mewat (*sic*), and by degrees got into their possession the fort of Chitor '.[4]

It would be seen from the passages referred to above that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it was believed that the Guhilots came to Mewar from some territory in the Deccan. The tradition recorded by Muslim authors also finds some support from Hindu chroniclers of a slightly later age. Muhanota Nenasi, for example, records a tradition that the Rānā's family migrated from Nāsik.[5] The *Rājapraśasti* of the time of Rānā Rājasiṁha also states that Bijayasena, an alleged ancestor of the Guhilots, went to the South after leaving Ayodhyā.[1] The persistent tradition current in the Mughal times points to a southern home of the Guhilots before their migration to those territories north of the Nerbudda with which they are associated in epigraphic records. Future discoveries alone may show whether the tradition about the early association of the Guhilots with the '*Purab*' and the Deccan is merely an echo of the claim of descent from Śrī Rāmchandra who is represented in the great epic of Valmiki as having gone from Ayodhyā to the banks of the Godavarī ; or it transmits a genuine story which affords an important clue to the unravelling of the mystery that shrouds the origin of one of the most illustrious ruling clans of ancient and mediæval India.

---

[1] Dr. Bhandarkar takes Ilākhaṇḍa to mean ' a portion of the earth '. *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 170.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1887, p. 347.

[3] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 268.

[4] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 250.

[5] *Muhanota Naiṇasī kī khyāta*, part I, translated by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dugaḍa, p. 10.

GOLAP CHUNDER RAICHAUDHURI.

ĪSĀ-UPANIṢAD (11–14)

The English publication of the excellent work 'Gītā-Rahasya', by the late Lokamanya B. G. Tilak,[2] has thrown a new light on the philosophical teachings of the Bhagavadgītā. This translation of one of the most famous books in Marathi—a language which is unknown not only outside India but even in India itself—is quite appropriate. On the whole this book is a laborious and useful publication.

The discussion of the well-known stanzas 12–14 of the Īśā-Upaniṣad by Mr. Tilak (Vol. I, pp. 501–504) is quite instructive. But I venture to differ from him for the following reasons :—

(1) A philosophical reconstruction of the upaniṣadic meaning which occurs in these stanzas does not allow to deal on the union's possibility (viz. : Īśā—12–14). There is a dependent realization of thought in stanzas 11 and 14, from which *vidyā-avidyā* and *sambhūti-vināśa* are a psychological compendium of transcendental meanings for such a union. The exegetical rendering of the two stanzas should be conditioned by the following scheme :—

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, App., p. 137.

[2] *Gītā-Rahasya or Karma-Yoga-Śāstra* by B. G. Tilak, B.A., LL.B., translated by B. S. Sukthankar, M.A., LL.B. First Edition, 1935, Poona, Tilak Bros.

vidyā	*Jñāna*
avidyā	*Karma*
sambhūti	psycho-physical cause
vināśa	(destruction) physical body

in which the interruption of re-incarnation, thorough *vidyā-avidyā* and *sambhūti-vināśa* forms here the principal psychological point of view in favour of the individual consciousness of Self.

(2) Tilak's phrase ' ....the same idea is repeated in the three succeeding stanzas (Īśā—12–14) ' is not strictly exact, because verses 12-13 do not include the fundamental conception of life as, for instance, 11 and 14. Stanzas 12-13 are more an allusion to the ethical teaching than clear *philosophical manifestation* of Indian thought.

E. G. CARPANI.

OUR PRESENT BHAVIṢYA PURĀṆA

Regarding the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* as published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, scholars hold very unfavourable opinions. Prof. M. Winternitz has grave doubts about its authenticity,[1] and Th. Aufrecht calls it a ' literary fraud '.[2] It is, therefore, necessary to see whether the whole of the Purāṇa deserves to be thus rejected as entirely worthless.

As regards the contents of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* the *Matsya* informs us that, in relation to the Aghora Kalpa, Brahmā spoke out to Manu the Purāṇa which dealt with the glories of the Sun, and that it contained 14,500 verses.[3] The information supplied by the *Agni Purāṇa* differs slightly from that of the *Matsya*. According to this Purāṇa the *Bhaviṣya*, which originated from the Sun (sūrya-saṁbhavaṁ), was declared by Bhava to Manu and its extent was 14,000 Ślokas.[4] More detailed information in the same direction is contained in the *Nāradīya P.* (I, 100), wherein it is said that once Manu enquired of Brahmā about Dharma. Accordingly the latter spoke out the *Bhaviṣya P.* in relation to the Aghora Kalpa. This Purāṇa was then divided by Vyāsa into five Parvans, viz. Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura and Pratisarga. The contents of all these Parvans are also given. About the Brāhma Parvan it is said that it began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka, and that it was mainly a book on the Sun (āditya-carita-prāyaḥ).[1]

---

[1] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 567, footnote 1.

[2] ZDMG., 57, 1903, pp. 276ff.

[3] yatrādhikṛtya māhātmyam ādityasya caturmukhaḥ
aghora-kalpa-vṛttānta-prasaṅgena jagat-sthitiṁ ॥
manave kathayāmāsa bhūta-grāmasya lakṣaṇaṁ ॥
caturdaśa sahasrāṇi tathā pañca śatāni ca ।
bhaviṣya-carita-prāyaṁ bhaviṣyaṁ tad ihocyate ॥
Matsya P., 53, 30-31.

These verses are the same as *Skanda P.*, VII (Prabhāsa khaṇḍa), i, 2, 49-50, the difference being that the *Skanda P.* reads ' jagatpatiḥ ' for ' jagat-sthitiṁ '.

[4] *Agni Purāṇa*, 272, 12.

From these informations we learn that the *Bhaviṣya P.* was narrated in relation to the Aghora Kalpa mainly as an interlocution between Brahmā and Manu, that it consisted of five Parvans,[2] and that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt primarily with the Sun, began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka. The present *Bhaviṣya*, on the other hand, does not contain any interlocution between Brahmā and Manu ; it is divided into four Parvans, viz. Brāhma, Madhyama, Pratisarga and Uttara ; there is no mention of the Aghora Kalpa ; and though the Brāhma Parvan contains a good number of chapters on the Sun and his worship, it does not begin with the conversation between Sūta and Śaunaka. These disagreements show that at least the major portion of the present *Bhaviṣya* does not represent the earlier one known to and noticed by the *Matsya*, the *Agni* and the *Nāradīya Purāṇa*. As a matter of fact, the three Parvans—Madhyama, Pratisarga and Uttara—are very late appendages. None of them is mentioned in *Bhaviṣya P.*, I, 2, 2-3 which speak of five Parvans, viz. Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra (i.e. Saura) and Pratisarga. Their contents also disprove their claim to an early date. They are full of Tantric elements, recognize the authority of the Tantras, and mention the Yāmalas, Ḍāmaras, etc. They narrate stories about Adam, Noah, Yakuta and others, and speak of Taimurlang, Nadir Shah and Akbar with their descendants. They give the story of Jayacandra and Pṛthvīrāja, preach the glories of the worship of Satya-Nārāyaṇa, and fabricate myths about the births of Varāhamihira, Saṁkarācārya, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Jayadeva, Viṣṇusvāmin, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, Ānandagiri, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Nityānanda, Kabīra, Nānaka, Ruidāsa, and others. They even know the British rule in India, and name Calcutta and the Parliament (aṣṭa-kauśalya). Probably they are fabrications of the modern Pundits. The late date of these Parvans is further proved by the fact that none of the numerous verses quoted by the comparatively early commentators and Nibandha-writers like Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi and others is found to occur in them though they are full of Smṛti materials.

---

[1] *Nāradīya P.*, I, 100.

[2] According to *Skanda P.*, V, iii (Revā khaṇḍa), 1, 34*b*-35*a*, the *Bhaviṣya* consists of four Parvans. But I shall show in a separate paper that the extant *Skanda* is a very late work.

Different, however, is the case with the Brāhma Parvan, in which a good number of the quoted verses is traceable. Thus, some of the verses quoted from the '*Bhaviṣya P.*' in the *Mitākṣarā*, *Kāla-viveka*, Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Dānasāgara*, *Smṛti-candrikā*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, *Madana-pārijāta*, and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Manu-smṛti* are found in *Bhaviṣya P.*, I (Brāhma Parvan), chapters 3, 4, 21, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 46, 64, 65, 81, 93, 96–101, 103, 106, 118, 181, 183, 184 and 186 (see Appendix). Therefore, it is sure that at least the above-mentioned chapters of the present Brāhma Parvan can rightly claim an early origin. Now the question is whether this Brāhma Parvan is the same as that of the *Bhaviṣya* known to the *Matsya*, *Agni* and *Nāradīya*. We have seen from the *Matsya* and the *Nāradīya* that the Brāhma Parvan of the earlier Purāṇa began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka, and that the Purāṇa was first declared by Brahmā to Manu. In the extant Brāhma Parvan, on the other hand, there is mention neither of Sūta and Śaunaka nor of Brahmā and Manu. It begins, unlike other Parvans, with the story of king Śatānīka, who, being advised by the sages, asks Vyāsa to speak on Dharma-śāstra. Vyāsa refers the king to his pupil Sumantu who is to speak on Dharma matters. Sumantu, therefore, first names the authors of the Dharma-śāstras, viz. Manu, Viṣṇu, Yama, Aṅgiras and fourteen others, and goes on answering the questions put to him by Śatānīka.

The above disagreements show that the extant Brāhma Parvan is the result of a recast to which its prototype was subjected. In this recast the general form of the Parvan was changed and many chapters were discarded. It is most probably for this reason that numerous quoted verses, especially on vows and penances, are not found in the extant Brāhma Parvan.

The Brāhma Parvan calls itself a Dharma-śāstra in which Śrauta and Smārta Dharma has been described.[1] The topics dealt with in it are multifarious. In chapters 1–46 it treats of the duties of the castes and the Āśramas, the sacraments, the duties of women, the good and bad signs of men, women and kings, and the method of worshipping Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Skanda and the Snakes on different Tithis; and chapters 47–215 are devoted to the numerous solar vows,

---

[1] *Bhaviṣya P.*, I, 1, 71 and 75.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the glories of the Sun, and the origin of the Bhojakas from the Magas brought to India by Śāṁba from the Śāka-dvīpa and married to the girls of the Bhoja family. This Parvan has taken a few verses from the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira without naming the source.[1] It refers frequently to Manu [2] and has numerous verses in common with the *Manu-smṛti*. Sometimes it expands the ideas contained in the verses of Manu. Aparārka and Kullūkabhaṭṭa are, therefore, justified in saying that the *Bhaviṣya P.* expounds the passages of the *Manu-smṛti*.[3] This indebtedness to Manu is not, however, peculiar with the *Bhaviṣya* only. Most of the other Purāṇas often refer to Manu as an authority and have verses in common with the work of the great law-giver.[4]

The determination of the date of composition of the earlier portions of the extant Brāhma Parvan is very difficult, there being no sufficient evidences on which we may base our conclusion. It is, however, possible to form an idea of the upper limit of the date of especially the Smṛti-chapters. An examination of these chapters as well as of the untraceable verses quoted in the Nibandhas shows that they were composed at a time when the names of the zodiacal signs and the weekdays were well known and widely used.[5] The Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in one place (viz. *Bhav.* I, 179, 1–10) and from Aśvinī to Revatī in another (viz. *Bhav.* I, 102, 47–71). The chapters in which the Nakṣatras have been named are closely connected with the preceding and the following ones, in some of which the verses quoted by the Nibandha-writers have been traced. These chapters, therefore, cannot be taken as dating later than the adjacent ones. Now, the orders of the Nakṣatras and the popularity of the names of the Rāśis and the weekdays show that the upper limit of the date of composition of the Smṛti-chapters should be placed about 500 A.D., because from 550 A.D. the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī attained a state of general acceptance. If the chapters containing verses from the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* are not later additions, this limit should be placed later than 550 A.D. As we are not sure about the real character of these chapters, we shall have to remain satisfied with 500 A.D. as the upper limit.

---

[1] *Bhav.*, I, 130, 27ff. (=*Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* 56, 20ff),
I, 132, 26ff. (=*Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, chap. 58, verses 48, 47*b*, 50–52, and 41-42), and
I, 137, 4ff. (=*Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* 60, 14ff.).

[2] Cf. *Bhav.*, I, 2, 114 ; I, 3, 10 ; I, 4, 23 and 141 ; and so on.

[3] Cf. Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, pp. 1071 and 1076 ; and Kullūka's com. on *Manu* XI, 73, 74, 76 and 101.

[4] See my article in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 587–614.

[5] Cf. *Bhav.*, I, 102, 76 ; I, 179, 12-13 ; I, 81, 2 and 16 ; I, 84, 1-2 ; I, 90, 1 ; and so forth. *Kālaviveka*, pp. 194-195, 300, 301-302, 420 and 492.

In the extant Brāhma Parvan there are certainly numerous interpolated chapters which seem to include those influenced by Tantricism, because chapters dealing with the same topics but free from Tantricism are also found to occur. The chapters, in which Tantric influence is very conspicuous, are the following :—

I, 16 (verses 35ff.) to I, 18	.. on Brahmā-worship ;
I, 29-30	.. on Gaṇeśa-worship ;
I, 49, 199-200, 205-206 and 211–215.	.. on Sun-worship.

These chapters were most probably interpolated at the time of appending the other Parvans which also are replete with Tantricism.

It is necessary here to say a few words on the Smṛti-contents of that *Bhaviṣya P.* which was used by the Nibandhakāras. From the quotations we understand that in this *Bhaviṣya P.* there were some Smṛti-chapters in which the interlocutors were Sumantu and a king (Śatānīka ?) of the Kuru family.[1] There were also some more chapters in which Īśvara spoke to Guha (i.e. Kārttikeya) on penances.[2] This interlocution between Īśvara and Guha is not found in the present *Bhaviṣya*. From the quoted verses we understand further that the chapters on penances were based on the works of Parāśara, Śaṁkha, Vaśiṣṭha, Manu and Gautama who are found mentioned as authorities in the quoted verses.[3]

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*' or '*Bhaviṣya*' in

		Bhaviṣya P.
1.	Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*, On *Yāj.*, III, 6	=I, 32, 56*b*-57*a*.
2.	*Kālaviveka* of Jīmūtavāhana, p. 408	=I, 21, 31 and 32*b*–34*a*.
	pp. 411-412	=I, 31, 1-2, 4–10, and 16. The last line 'snānadānādikaṁ karma etc.' is not found.

---

[1] Cf. *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya III, 6; Aparārka's commentary on *Yāj.*, pp. 15, 39, and 563; *Kālaviveka*, pp. 302 and 413; and so on.

[2] Cf. Aparārka's commentary, pp. 1067–1069; Bhavadeva's *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa*, p. 17; Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary on Manu XI, 78; and so on.

[3] Cf. Aparārka's commentary, pp. 1061-1062, 1067, 1071, and 1075; and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary on Manu XI, 91 and 147.

pp. 413-414 =I, 32, 1a and 3b-4a; I, 36, 67–69; I, 37, 1-2; I, 32, 1b–3a; I, 37, 3a. Four lines from 'supte janārdane deve etc.' are not found.
p. 414 =I, 39, 1, 9b-10a and 12a.
I, 46, 1a and 2a.
p. 415 =I, 81, 2-3, 14b and 15b-16a.
I, 96, 3-4a.
pp. 415-416 =I, 97, 1;
I, 98, 1;
I, 99, 1-2;
I, 100, 1; and
I, 101, 1-2a and 20b-21a.
The line 'snānadānādikam sarvaṁ etc.' is not found.
p. 417 =I, 106, 4b–7a.
Seven lines from 'śukla-pakṣasya saptamyām upavāsa-paro naraḥ' are not found.
p. 492 =I, 81, 2. The verse 'amā vai soma-vāreṇa etc.' is not found.
pp. 507-508 =I, 99, 1-2;
I, 106, 4b–6a.

3. Aparārka's commentary on *Yāj.*, *Bhaviṣya P.*
p. 15 =I, 4, 87b–89.
p. 26 =I, 3, 6-7.
p. 39 =I, 3, 68b-69.
p. 41 =I, 3, 85b-86.
p. 52 =I, 4, 57.
The verse 'savyāpasavya etc.' is not found.
p. 60 =I, 3, 32b-33.
p. 239 =I, 184, 18b-19a.
p. 241 =I, 186, 20b–27a.
p. 283 =I, 184, 41 and 35b–37.
pp. 626-627 =I, 181, 23-24a and 26a.
p. 1186 =I, 65, 14, 16, 13a, 9b-10a and 15.
The line 'triṣu varṇeṣu etc.' is not found.

4. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena— *Bhaviṣya P.*
Fol. 14b =I, 181, 34.
,, 23a =I, 64, 4 (=I, 103, 19b-20a).
,, 276b =I, 93, 74b-75a.
,, 287b–290a =I, 93, 58 and 59b;
I, 93, 49-50;
I, 93, 51;
I, 93, 69–71;
I, 93, 45;
I, 93, 42–44;
I, 93, 68.
The verse 'bheryāṇi ca vādyāni etc.' is not found.
I, 93, 60-61a;
I, 93, 62;
I, 93, 63;
(three lines 'dhanadhānyaṁ etc.' are not found);
I, 93, 35;
I, 93, 36;
I, 118, 50b–52a;
I, 103, 39b–41a;
I, 93, 37;
(three verses 'vimānam iti etc.' are not found).

5. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa— *Bhaviṣya P.*
I, 53 =I, 3, 6-7a.
III, i, 54 =I, 181, 28-29.
IV, 163-164 =Of the five quoted verses, the verse 'vaiśvadevena etc.' is the same as Bhav. I, 184, 5; the verse 'avratānāṁ etc.' is the same as Bhav. I, 4, 117b-118a; and the verse 'brāh-

manātikramo nāsti etc.' is the same as Bhav. I, 4, 120*b*-121*a* or Bhav. I, 184, 29*b*-30*a*.
230 =I, 186, 24.
231 =I, 186, 21*b*-22*a*.
6. Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*— *Bhaviṣya P.*
Vol. I, Part i :
p. 324 =I, 4, 56.
Vol. I, Part ii :
pp. 24-25 =I, 3, 6-7*a*.
p. 347 =I, 4, 120*b*-121*a* (=I, 184, 29*b*-30*a*).
p. 378 =I, 186, 21*b*-22*a*.
p. 382 =I, 186, 24.
7. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla— *Bhaviṣya P.*
p. 355 =I, 3, 6-7*a*.
p. 411 =I, 32, 56*b*-57*a*.
p. 476 =I, 183, 9-21*a*. The line 'baviṣyena etc.' is not found.
8. Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary— *Bhaviṣya P.*
on Manu II, 1 =I, 181, 7-8.
on Manu II, 13 =I, 181, 17*a*.
on Manu II, 25 =I, 181, 10-14. The line 'varṇadharmaḥ sa uktas tu etc.' is not found.
on Manu III, 7 =I, 181, 24*a*.

The following editions of Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works have been used in writing this article :—

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa ..	.. Published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.
Matsya Purāṇa ..	.. Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Agni Purāṇa ..	.. Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Skanda Purāṇa ..	.. Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Nāradīya Purāṇa ..	.. Published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.
Bṛhat-Saṁhitā ..	.. Edited by Kern. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
Mitakṣarā on Yāj. ..	.. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, Bombay.
Kālaviveka of Jīmūta-vāhana	.. Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta.
Aparārka's commentary on Yāj.	.. Published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.
Dānasāgara of Ballālasena ..	.. MSS. No. 1704-5, India Office Library, London.
Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa	.. Published by Government of Mysore, Mysore, 1914–21.
Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti.	Edited by V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Bombay, 1893–1911.
Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla	.. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1893.
Manu-smṛti with the commentary of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa.	Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.

MAHĒNDRAGIRI, RULER OF PISṬAPURA

While writing a short but thought-provoking note on the identification of the kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar opined that the ruler of Pisṭapura might be Mahēndragiri.[1] Dr. Fleet, while editing this inscription in *Cor. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 7, discussed this division of the line now suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar, but thinking that the word *giri* as a termination to a proper name, was strictly confined and affixed to the names of Gōśavīs, and being unable to find any analogous instances, he divided the passage as *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndra* and *Girikauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*. True it is as Dr. Fleet has observed 'This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with'. The reading *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri* is supported by Dr. Bhandarkar on the following grounds. Firstly, only the name of one country is attached to one king. Secondly, any other division of this passage will be contrary to rules of grammar.

Now I wish to point out that the termination *giri* to proper names is not entirely confined to Gōśavīs, as apprehended by the late Dr. Fleet. We are aware of names of monks, nuns, males and females not marked as clerical, like Dēvagiri, Dhāmagiri, Mahāgiri, Puśagiri Yasōgiri, Dhanagiri, Himagiri, Mūlagiri, Sīhagiri, in the Sānchi Stupa Inscriptions.[2] In the Telugu Country (Andhra Dēśa) there was a king of the name of Komaragiri or Kumāragiri in the family of the Reddīs of Koṇḍavīḍu. This family was one of the feudatory families under the Kākatīyās, and became independent at Koṇḍavīḍu, after the dissolution of the Kākatīyā Empire, just when the Saṅgama princes were laying the foundation of the Vizianagar Empire.[3] The founder of this dynasty at Koṇḍavīḍu was Prōlaya *alias* Kōmati Prōlaya. He had five sons, and was succeeded by Prōlaya Vemā Reḍḍi, his second son, and he by his son Anapōta Reḍḍi, father of Kumāragiri. Anapōta had also a daughter and she was married to Kāṭaya Vēma.[4] Kumāragiri was a profound scholar and wrote a work on dramaturgy in Sanskrit by name *Vasantarājīyam*.[5] Being interested more in literary discussions than in the affairs of the State, he entrusted the business of the State to his brother-in-law, and trusted general, Kāṭaya Vema.[1] Kāṭaya was also a great scholar and wrote commentaries to *Śākuntala*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc., and named them after his patron as *Kumāragirirājīyam*. Late in his life, Kumāragiri gave away the modern Godavary District, with its capital at Rājahmundry to Kāṭaya Vēma for his loyal services. Kāṭaya Vēma and his son Kumāragiri ruled at Rājahmundry for some time.[2]

---

[1] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, No. 4.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 113ff.

[3] *Jour. Tel. Academy, Cocanada*, Vol. II, pp. 93–112; also *Triveṇī*, Vol. VI, p. 273ff., and *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 260ff.

[4] *Jour. Tel. Academy*, Vol. II, pp. 93–112.

[5] K. B. Pathak. Com. Vol. (1934) Bh. Or. Re. Inst. Poona. Vasantarajiyama by N. Venkatarow.

There was also another king by name Pina Vēdagiri or Kumāra Vedagiri in the Velugōti family.[3] This family was a contemporary one with that of the Reḍḍīs.

Apart from these names we find in the Telugu country names of hills being given to people. For example we find names like Śēshādri, Siṁhādri, Śwētadri, Śēshagiri, Śeshāchalem, Simhāchalam, Venkatāchalam, etc. whose terminations *giri*, *adri*, *achalam*, etc. mean hill.

In this connexion mention must be made of the existence of a sacred hill, by name Siṁhādri, in the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency. It is popularly known as Simhāchalam at the present day and hundreds of pilgrims visit the temple every day. Its antiquity is proved by the existence of many inscriptions, from the eleventh century A.D. onwards, of the Chōḍa, Gāṅga, Zizianagar and other dynasties. They are published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, Nos. 692 to 1215.

V. S. RAMACHANDRAMURTY.

---

[1] *Tottaramudi Cp. Ep. Ind.*, IV, part VII, p. 318.

[2] *Jour. Andhra. His. Re. Society*, Vol. I, part IV, p. 177ff.

[3] Three Reddi Ins., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 317ff.

REVIEWS

ŚRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE, MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, NO. 50.

By Dr. Bimala Churn Law. Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1936. Price Re. 1-4 or 2s.

Few of the famous towns of ancient India occupy as prominent a place in Buddhist tradition as the city of Śrāvastī or Sāvatthī, as it is called in Pali. Numerous pious legends cluster round the celebrated town and the no less renowned convent of the Jetavana situated at a little distance outside the southern city-gate. It was Anāthapiṇḍika, the wealthy *seṭṭhi* of Sāvatthī and the paragon of munificence, who presented this park to the Buddha and his community. It became the favourite abode of the Master and most of his sermons are believed to have been preached at this place. Anāthapiṇḍaka's daughter, called Visākhā Migāramātā in Pali literature, was the foundress of another monastery, known by the name of Pubbārāma or ' Eastern Convent '.

We also read of king Pasenadi of Kosala, the royal *upāsaka*, of his merciless successor Virūḍhaka, who slaughtered the Śākya maidens, and of the no less cruel robber Aṅgulimāla who was in the habit of making a garland of the fingers of his victims and yet became a convert to the Good Law. In the local legends frequent mention is made of the heretics, who exerted themselves to damage the Buddha and even had recourse to the vilest calumny. Not only were their slanderous attempts frustrated, but in that grand display of supernatural power which is known as ' the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī ' the Tathāgata utterly confounded the leaders of those rival sects.

The Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang fondly relate these edifying stories which they found located at Śrāvastī and marked by monuments. It was especially the Jetavana, once hallowed by the presence of the Master, which roused their enthusiasm. The older pilgrim, usually so sober in his account, becomes eloquent, when dwelling on ' the ponds of water clear and pure, the thickets of trees always luxuriant, and the numerous flowers of various hues ' which contributed to the charm of the ancient convent. Two centuries later, when Hiuen Tsiang visited the site of the Jetavana, the *saṅghārāma* was all in ruins.

It may seem strange that a place of so great celebrity became entirely lost and that even its position was forgotten. It was Sir Alexander Cunningham, that great pioneer of Indian archæology, who first recognized the lost town in the extensive ancient site of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh found on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of Oudh. His identification was challenged by Mr. Vincent A. Smith who even claimed to have discovered the true site of Śrāvastī far more to the north on the Nepal frontier. Subsequent excavations carried out by the Archæological Survey in 1908 and 1910-11 have vindicated Cunningham's marvellous insight in questions of ancient topography. On the strength of several inscriptions found on the spot it was possible to prove that the large site of Maheṭh represents the city of Śrāvastī, whilst the smaller site of Saheṭh marks the place of the famous Jetavana Convent.

Dr. Bimala Churn Law has accomplished an extremely useful work by bringing together and systematically arranging all references to Śrāvastī from ancient Indian literature. His great knowledge of Buddhist literature has enabled him to collect an imposing number of passages from Pali and Sanskrit books in which the ancient city with its monasteries is mentioned. The river Aciravatī, on whose bank Śrāvastī

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

was situated, must be the Rāptī which flows along the north-eastern side of Maheṭh. Dr. Law's remarks on the importance of Śrāvastī as a centre of trade-routes are of special interest.

The data derived from Buddhist writings are supplemented by abundant information which the author has drawn from Brahmanical and Jaina literature. The Rāmāyaṇa attributes the foundation of the famous town of Northern Kosala to a king Śrāvasta of the Solar dynasty, but it seems not unlikely that the name of that *heros eponymos* was in reality, invented to account for the name of the town. As the author points out, Śrāvastī was a stronghold of Brahmanism and at the same time figures prominently in Jain tradition. It is believed to be the birth-place of the third Tīrthaṅkara Sambhavanātha, and the ruins of Sōbhnāth at the south-western extremity of the site of Mahēṭh must represent an important religious establishment of the Jainas.

It is to be hoped that some day the exploration of ancient Śrāvastī will be resumed, although the excavation of a site of such enormous extent will require very liberal funds and many years of labour. This much is certain that the present 'Memoir' on Śrāvastī, containing all information available in literary sources, fully answers its purpose and will be found of great use both to the archæologist and to the student of Indian history.

J. PH. VOGEL.

KARṆĀṬAKA SAMSKṚTI (KARṆĀṬAKA CULTURE). By Narasimha Śāstry Dēvuḍu. With a Foreword by *Rājacarita-viśārada Rao Saheb* C. Hayavadana Rao. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$, 124 pp. Bangalore City. 1935. Price Rs. 1-8-0; Foreign 3*s*.

It was a happy idea which occurred to Mr. Narasimha Śāstry Dēvuḍu to devote his attention to the study of Karnāṭaka culture. In this work he has collected together the extension lectures which he delivered under the auspices of the Mysore University in 1933. The subject of Mr. Dēvuḍu's lectures is of growing importance; and it is very pleasing to note that the Mysore University should have pitched upon it and selected a scholar who could describe it so well.

In trying to delineate the culture of the Kannaḍigas, Mr. Dēvuḍu makes no difference between the culture of the rich and that of the poor (p. 1). He accepts the definition of culture in its widest sense—as that which distinguishes man from the brute (p. 10). To him culture and inherent nature are interchangeable terms; and Karnāṭaka culture is but the reflection of Vedic culture (pp. 10–13).

And in the Karnāṭaka the one great feature of her culture is its oneness (p. 4). The Brahman who drinks water after performing his *ācamana* and the peasant who quenches his thirst after remembering his god and his *guru* are united by one and the same culture (pp. 6-7).

Songs of men and women, stories, proverbs and riddles—these are the themes of the author. The section on songs is replete with interesting matter. In the first category of songs of men, we have ballads of various kinds (pp. 16–24), songs of amusement (pp. 24–42), and miscellaneous songs (pp. 43–50). Mr. Dēvuḍu does not merely enumerate them: he gives, as for instance, the Sēringapatam ballad of the times of Tipu Sultan, and describes its technique (pp. 31–33).

When one hears the Karnāṭaka women ushering in the dawn with their songs sung in the *udaya-rāga* praising the Lord and the *gurus* (pp. 52 seq.), one cannot help feeling that Karnāṭaka is indeed a land of music. These songs of the higher classes Mr. Dēvuḍu terms *Brāhmaṇīya* ballads (pp. 51–74); while those of the humbler sections, *Śūdraṇīya* (pp. 75–87). While describing the former, the author deals at some length with the well-known *koravañji* songs and the lullabies (pp. 59 seq.). In the Śūdraṇīya section we have some interesting specimens of rural genius both in the field as well as at home.

The value of the sections on stories, riddles, and proverbs (pp. 88 seq. 105 seq.) is heightened by the judicious use which the author makes of the epigraphs and current tradition. The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of the state of society among the Dravidians before the Aryans, the condition of the Aryans during the Vedic times, and the probable age when the Dravidians came under the Aryan influence (pp. 116–122).

Although our views are different on these subjects as well as on the origin and nature of Kannaḍa culture, yet we acknowledge with pleasure the merits of this work which has been written in a pleasant and popular style befitting the subject. A Kannaḍiga has every reason to be proud of the glories and achievements of the Karnāṭaka. Mr. Dēvuḍu has accomplished his task with remarkable success. He has opened up a very fertile field of investigation. But to those who are not acquainted with the Kannaḍa language, Mr. Dēvuḍu's work will not be of any use. May we suggest that he should render this work into English ? We gladly commend this book to all students of our culture ; and congratulate the author on the delightful manner in which he has executed his interesting and useful work.

B. A. SALETORE.

HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY. By D. C. Ganguly, Dacca University Bulletin, No. XVII, published by the University of Dacca, pp. i–iv, i–v, 1–387, i-ii (appendix). Price Rs. 10. 1933.

In the introduction of this interesting work a brief account of the political condition of Northern India between the downfall of the imperial Gupta dynasty and the rise of the Paramāras and also of the period of the Paramāra supremacy in Mālava has been given. In chapter I the author states that the original home of the Paramāras was in the Deccan, that the Paramāras were the offshoots of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, went out of the Deccan and established kingdom in Northern India. In chapters II–VII, IX, X the genealogies and chronologies of the Paramāra dynasties and in Chapter VIII Art and Culture under the Paramāra patronage have been dealt with. We may here at the outset remark that this work is a scholarly production and will be studied by all earnest students of Indian history. Above all the Chapter on ' Art and Culture ' is highly interesting. Nevertheless, there are some important points where an opinion different from that of the author may be reasonably held.

A. Let us, first of all, deal with the Paramāras of Mālava. (i) The author has remarked, ' As the Udayapur Praśasti does not mention any king by the name Kṛṣṇarāja, he is to be identified with Upendra ' (pp. 28-29). But this identification of Upendra with Kṛṣṇarāja is not tenable if we assume, as the author has done, that Vairisiṁha I, Sīyaka I, Vākpati I, Vairisiṁha II Vajraṭa, Sīyaka II Harṣa and Vākpati-Muñja—all existed. To make our point more clear, we have in No. 1657 (A list of inscriptions of Northern India. By D. R. Bhandarkar, E.I., Vols. XIX–XXI.) Upendrarāja ; his son, Vairisiṁha ; his son, Sīyaka ; his son, Vākpati ; his son, Vairisiṁha-Vajraṭa ; his son, Śrī Harṣa ; his son, Vākpati. In No. 64 we have Bappairāja ; his son, Vairisiṁha ; his son, Sīyaka. In Nos. 84 and 87 we have Kṛṣṇarāja ; his successor, Vairisiṁha ; his successor, Sīyaka ; his successor, Vākpati. Two different sorts of genealogy can be drawn from these evidences. If we identify

Upendrarāja with Bappaiparāja and Kṛṣṇarāja, then we will have only Vairisiṁha, Sīyaka and Vākpati in successive order after Upendrarāja and shall have to omit Vairisiṁha II, Sīyaka II, and Vākpati II as found in No. 1657 ; but, on the other hand, if we identify the first-mentioned Vākpati of No. 1657 with Bappaiparāja (the Prākṛta form of Vākpatirāja) of No. 64 and Kṛṣṇarāja of Nos. 84 and 87, then we can have those six successors of Upendraraja who are found in the genealogical table of this book. Therefore the identification of Upendrarāja with Kṛṣṇarāja seems to be untenable and consequently Kṛṣṇarāja should be identified with Vākpati I.

(ii) The author has made Udayāditya 'a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāras' (p. 131) and in support of this theory has referred to the genealogy contained in No. 134. But as this inscription is not yet properly edited and is also very late being dated in V. 1562=Ś. 1427, reliance cannot be placed on the genealogy given in it. Consequently we should concentrate our attention on No. 170 and the Jainad stone inscription of the Paramāra Jagaddeva (E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 54ff.). In course of editing the latter inscription, the editor Dr. Ganguly himself has remarked, 'The Nagpur stone inscription, dated 1104 A.D., composed by Udayāditya's son Naravarman, describes Udayāditya as the "*bandhu*" of Bhoja. The inscription under discussion states that Bhoja was the 'pitṛivya' (father's brother or cousin ; or any elderly male relation) of Jagaddeva, son of Udayāditya. Critical examination of these two evidences leads me to suggest that Udayāditya was not the brother of Bhoja but a cousin' (*ibid.*, p. 56). Firstly, the author has translated *pitṛvya* as the father's cousin ; but it appears that no such meaning of *pitṛvya* is found in Sanskrit dictionary. (Monier-Williams—Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 627, 1899.) On the other hand, it means 'a father's brother, paternal uncle, any elderly male relation'. (*Ibid.*) According to *vārttika pitṛvya* means *pitur=bhrātā* and according to Amara *pitṛi=bhrātā* (*Śabdakalpa-druma*, Vol. III, p. 147). Again *bhrātā* means *eka-garbha-jātaḥ* and according to Hemachandra it means *sah=odaraḥ*, *samān=odaryyaḥ*, *sodaryyaḥ*, *sagarbhaḥ*, *sahajaḥ* and *sodaraḥ*. (*Ibid.*, p. 558). This shows clearly that *pitṛvya* means father's brother. Therefore the line '*yasy=Odayāditya-nṛpaḥ pitā=sid=devaḥ pitṛvyaḥ sa=cha Bhojarājaḥ*' (E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 60) should be translated 'whose father was king Udayāditya and father's brother (was) king Bhojadeva'. In No. 170 Udayāditya has been called as the '*bandhu*' of Bhoja. Kielhorn has translated *bandhu* as relative and this interpretation has been accepted by all scholars. But on account of the valuable information, mentioned above, in the Jainad stone inscription it seems that the term *bandhu* should be translated as 'brother' (Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 721, 1899 ; *Śabdakalpa-druma*, Vol. III, p. 395, *bhrātā iti Medini*). Thus we find that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhojadeva.

(iii) Regarding the inscriptions of Yaśovarman it should be noted that the author has not mentioned No. 252 dated V. 119(9), in which the names of both Naravarman and Yaśovarman occur, though apparently belonging to the reign of Yaśovarman.

(iv) The author thinks that 'Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman' (p. 181) ; but it seems that there is no necessity of identifying them. The name of Jayavarman occurs in Nos. 383, 439 and 1659 and in all these inscriptions he has been named after Yaśovarman meaning almost certainly as his successor and probably as his son ; while the name of Ajayavarman is found in Nos. 457, 460 and 466 and in all these inscriptions he has been called as the son of Yaśovarman. There is no need of identifying them as they can easily be taken as two different monarchs.

(v) It should be noted that the author has not mentioned No. 1660 belonging to the reign of Arjunavarman.

(vi) The author states, 'Jayavarman II seems to have been succeeded by

Jayasiṁha II' (p. 227). Let us see whether this view is correct. In No. 552, dated V. 1314 and in No. 559 dated V. 1317, we find Jayavarman as the reigning monarch; while in Nos. 550, dated V. 1311, 551 dated V. 1312, 554, dated V. (13)14 and 575, dated V. 1326 we find the mention of Jayasiṁhadeva as the reigning monarch. A study of the dates in these inscriptions shows that Jayavarman and Jayasiṁhadeva are identical. It should be incidentally mentioned that the author relies on the older reading of Cunningham rejecting the amended reading of Kielhorn without sufficient reason so far as No. 551 is concerned. The author has not mentioned Nos. 550 and 554 which are very important regarding this point.

(vii) The supposition of the author that one Mahlak Deo succeeded Bhoja II (p. 232) does not stand on very strong evidence; and unless corroborative evidence from the epigraphical source is found, it should remain as hypothetical.

(viii) The author states that 'Jayasimha III . . . was probably the successor of Mahlak Deo' (p. 233). There is no indication for making this statement because in No. 661 which is the only inscription of Jayasiṁha III we find the mention of him only and of none of his predecessors.

B. Let us now examine the Paramāras of Abu and the Paramāras of Bhinmal as named by the author. He has made two different branches, but it seems that there is epigraphical evidence to show that it is one dynasty. In No. 312 we find Sindhurāja; Usa(tpa)la; (two names gone); then (Dharaṇivarāha); while in No. 123 we have Utpalarāja; his son, Āraṇyarāja; his son, Vāsudeva alias Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja; his son (Dharaṇivarāha). A comparative study of these two inscriptions seems to show that Utpalarāja of No. 123 had a predecessor named Sindhurāja. We know definitely that Sindhurāja of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava succeeded his brother Vākpatirāja who is also called Utpalarāja; but in No. 312 Sindhurāja is succeeded by Usa(tpa)la. Therefore this Usa(tpa)la cannot be identified with Vākpatirāja. Here in this connection one statement of the author should be quoted. He writes down, 'Sindhurāja's son Dūsala' (p. 345). We do not understand how he gets the name as Dūsala. Its reading would be Usa(tpa)la (see No. 312). Secondly, there is no evidence in No. 312 to show that Dūsala of the author was the son of Sindhurāja; but, on the contrary, the information contained in No. 312 shows that Usa(tpa)la was the successor of Sindhurāja. In No. 135 we find Devarāja; his son, Dhandhuka; his son, Kṛṣṇarāja; while in No. 312 we find Devarāja; Dhandhuka; Kṛṣṇarāja. This apparently shows that these three monarchs mentioned in these two inscriptions are identical. In No. 312 we find (Dharaṇivarāha) as the father of Devarāja; while in No. 123 we find (Dharaṇivarāha) as the father of Mahīpāla. It should be noted in connection with this information contained in No. 123 that the author has accepted the reading of Śrīnāthaghosī suggested by Burt and Kamalakanta (p. 299); but it seems that the reading of (Dharaṇīvarāha) suggested by Kielhorn (E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 12ff.) and Bhandarkar (I.A., Vol. XL, p. 239) is better. Thus it appears that Devarāja and Mahīpāla are identical. The two names before that of (Dharaṇīvarāha) in No. 312 which are lost are, in all probability, Āraṇyarāja and Vāsudeva alias Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja. This shows that what the author has taken as two different dynasties is probably one. Therefore there were not two Dhandhuka as the author believes but one Dhandhuka who had two sons, viz. Pūrṇapāla and Kṛṣṇarāja. It is better to call the rulers from Sindhurāja to Kṛṣṇarāja II as Paramāras of Marwar and the rulers from Sochharāja to Someśvara as belonging to the Kirāḍu branch which is itself an offshoot of the former dynasty. The author has observed that 'Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasīha' (p. 348) mentioned in No. 397. But this inscription does not prove that Mahārājaputra Jayatasiṁhadeva was a successor of Someśvara. This Mahārājaputra Jayatasiṁhadeva appears to belong to the Nāḍol Chāhamāna dynasty. There appears to be no direct evidence to connect Jaitsi of the Rajput bards with this

Jayatasiṁha and therefore we do not know whether Salakha also belonged to the Kirāḍu branch.

Just as the rulers from Sochharāja to Someśvara may be called as belonging to the Kirāḍu branch, the rulers from Dhruvabhaṭa to Pratāpasiṁha may be called as belonging to the Chandrāvatī branch. The author remarks, 'Dhūmarāja and Dhruvabhaṭa, as mentioned in later records, were probably among those who ruled in succession after Pūrnapāla' (p. 302). Dhūmarāja is mentioned in No. 393 where Dhārāvarsha is called a descendant of Dhūmarājadeva, in No. 469 where Dhārāvarsha, son of Yaśodhavala has been mentioned as of the lineage of Śrī Dhomarāja, in No. 488 where it has been mentioned that in the Paramāra family there arose first Dhūmarāja who was followed by Dhandhuka and in No. 614 where it has been stated that the sage Vaśiṣtha created Dhūmarāja from a fire-pit on Arbuda to bring back his cow and invested him with Paramāra-*jāti* and his own *gotra*. This last information is important because it shows that Dhūmaraja was not a historical personage but a mythical hero. In case we take him to be a historical person as the author has done, there is no evidence to show that Dhruvabhaṭa was the successor of Dhumarāja; on the contrary, we find that a ruler named Dhandhuka is mentioned after Dhumarāja and before Dhruvabhaṭa (No. 488). If we accept Dhūmarāja to be a mythical hero, then Dhruvabhaṭa appears to be a successor of Dhandhuka of the Paramāra dynasty of Marwar. The author has made Ramadeva as the successor of Dhruvabhaṭa (p. 303); but it appears from No. 488 that there are some rulers after Dhruvabhaṭa and before Rāmadeva (No. 488). Besides two inscriptions mentioned by the author there is another inscription of Yaśodhavala (No. 283). Besides seven inscriptions mentioned by the author there are three other inscriptions of the time of Dhārāvarsha, i.e. Nos. 427, 437 and 473.

C. Let us now consider the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. The author has made Ḍaṁbarasiṁha as the younger brother of Vairisiṁha I (p. 337); but considering the dates contained in the inscriptions of Maṇḍalika (Nos. 133, 145) and Sīyaka II (Nos. 64, 78) it appears more probable that Ḍaṁbarasiṁha was the younger brother of Vairisiṁha II. The author has written, 'The Paramāra princes of Vāgaḍa were descendents of Ḍaṁbarasiṁha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja. The earliest known ruler of the family is Dhanika' (p. 337). From this statement it appears that the author has made Ḍaṁbarasiṁha and Dhanika as two different persons; but in No. 133 we find that Dhanika was succeeded by his brother's son Chachcha while in No. 145 we find the mention of Ḍaṁbarasiṁha and then Kaṁkadeva (Kakkadeva ?). The author has rightly observed that Chachcha and Kaṁkadeva are identical (p. 337). From this identification it appears that Ḍaṁbarasiṁha and Dhanika are identical. It should be mentioned that the fourth inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja mentioned in the author's book as unpublished contains the date V. 1159 (No. 167).

Further the author seems to be not very careful in indicating the exact relationship between the rulers in the genealogical table. As an example, the author has rightly called Jayasiṁha simply as 'Bhoja's successor' (p. 123), but in the genealogical table Jayasiṁha has been made to appear as Bhoja's son and successor. In spite of all the differences of opinion pointed out above, we must consider this work as of a high order, because it is here that for the first time a serious attempt has been made to present a connected history of the Paramāra dynasties of mediæval India. We have no doubt that all serious students of history will read it not only with care but also with interest and profit.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

PRAVACANASĀRA (PAVAYAṆASĀRA). Critically edited by A. N. Upadhye. A second edition, revised, enlarged and remodelled. Published by Shetha Manilal Revashankar Jhaveri for the Parama-śruta-Prabhāvaka-Maṇḍala, Bombay, 1935. Price Rs. 5.

This is one of the large number of Jain texts published in the Rāyachandra Jaina śāstramālā, which with many other series of the type, mostly initiated through private endowments created by munificent wealthy persons of the Jain community, for the purpose of propagating the sacred lore of the faith they profess, have succeeded in making accessible to the world of scholars a substantial portion of the rich but little known literary treasures inherited by them. The work was first issued in the series as far back as 1912. The present edition contains besides the Prakrit and its *Chhāyā* in Sanskrit, two Sanskrit commentaries by Amṛta-Candra (*circa* 10th century) and Jayasena (*circa* 12th century) as also a Hindi commentary by Hemarāja (17th century). The editor has added an English translation with occasional notes and a scholarly and comprehensive introduction giving in six sections an account of the author and his works with special reference to the work under review. Thus it contains a running summary of the contents of the work, a discussion of its philosophical aspect, an account of six commentaries on the work and a tentative analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of it which may have to be revised, as the editor has rightly pointed out, when a critical and improved edition of the text comes to be published. It might be pointed out in this connection that this learned introduction has unfortunately omitted to refer to the immense popularity enjoyed by the work by way of drawing attention to the literature based on it and to the references if any made to it at least by earlier authors. It is also to be regretted that no attempt has been made to account for the non-mention of Kundakundācārya as the name of the author in the two Sanskrit commentaries published in the edition which interpret the introductory verses as having been uttered by a 'certain individual' or 'a śivakumāra' (elsewhere called a *mahārāja*) as Amṛtacandra and Jayasena respectively put it.

A list of variant readings collected from two comparatively modern MSS. which are stated to have been copied from two fifteenth century MSS. has been inserted at the end. A number of very useful indices (e.g. of the contents of the work, of the *gāthās* in it, of the quotations in the commentary indicating the sources of them as far as could be traced and of the topics dealt with in the introduction) have also been appended.

These are all very useful things and the edition has been so planned as to suit the requirements of the Hindi-knowing public, the orthodox pandit as well as the modern scholar. Fastidious scholarship, however, would have been all the more satisfied if the learned editor had taken this opportunity of supplying a critical text based on the collation of MSS. and commentaries of the work even if this would involve the sacrifice of some of the exegetical matter included in the edition. Such a text would be useful not only to students of Jainism but also to linguists interested in the study of the Prakrits. That would also help the reader to form, from a comparison of different MSS. and commentaries, an idea of the genuineness and antiquity of the additional verses commented on by Jayasena.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

THE NIRUKTA.

Professor Lakṣmaṇa Sarup, is well known to the world of Sanskrit scholars for his patient and careful work on the *Nirukta*. The result of his researches have been embodied in six decent volumes; the publication of five of which is to the credit of the Punjab University.

Dr. Sarup has rightly placed the *nighaṇṭus* at the head of *Yāṣka's bhāṣya* not only because it is convenient for the student to have them thus separately printed (as was done by Roth and *Sāmaśramin*), but also because the *nighaṇṭus* and their commentary form one individual book, called the *nirukta*. Sāyaṇa and Madhusudana are not wrong in giving this meaning to the word *niḥ* + *ukta*. It is true that the word *nirukta* is ordinarily taken to mean derivation, and that the lists of words called the *nighaṇṭus* contain no derivations. But that need not be supposed to have been the original meaning of the word *niḥ* + *ukta* lit. means 'speaking out', from which are derived the secondary sense of interpretation, and the tertiary sense of derivation. The popular hypothesis that the name *nirukta* rightly belongs *not* to the *nighaṇṭus* (=collections of words beginning with Gauḥ and ending with 'Devapatuaḥ') seems to be unwarranted. For a full and reasoned statement of the contrary view, the reader may profitably consult Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's Niruktālocana published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The *nighaṇṭus* are of the nature of *Sūtras*. The sūtras were not always meant to be complete treatises. They are like marginal notes of modern times. They are mnemonic helps for remembering the substance of oral (or written) discourses, and the vṛtti and bhāṣya of every sūtra work contains at least the substance of the discourses of the sūtrakāras, if not their actual words. The Bhāṣya of Yāṣka, therefore, may be supposed to contain the ascertained meanings (niruktaḥ) and derivations (nirukta) as propounded by those who originally compiled the *nighaṇṭus* out of the *Vedic* texts.

The compilation of the *nighaṇṭus* is indicated in the well-known passage of the Nirukta, I, 20, 2. The seers had direct vision of religious duties and rites including the method of their performance with definite *mantras*, as well as their effects. These are the original seers. According to a very old theory, these seers remembered the *mantras* at the beginning of creation (after a *pralaya*) just as a man remembers his previous experiences after awaking from sleep. These original seers imparted by oral instruction these mantras and their meaning to later generations of seers called śrutarṣi who lacked the gift of direct vision of dharma. A still later generation found this method of learning the Veda and its meaning irksome. Then they thought of a simpler means; they reduced the chaotic mass of veda to order by dividing it and compiled the helps to Vedic study for comprehension of their meaning.

Kriṣṇa, born in a dvīpa (daipāyana), is said to have divided the Veda. So he is known as veda-vyāsa, a divider of veda. Yāṣka seems to say that the nighaṇṭus were compiled during the period of Vyāsa. The historical Vyāsa, the author of Mahābhārata, seems to have been the last of those who worked on the collection of Śrutis and his collection and division of Śrutis is final. It superseded all previous attempts at arranging the Śrutis. Durga has stated that there were fourteen nighaṇṭus and eight grammars. Our collection is one of these nighaṇṭus : it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Yāṣka himself rearranged the vocables current in his school and family according to his own plan. Thus the present Nighaṇṭu and its bhāṣya might be supposed to be one work (=Nirukta).

The Bhāṣya of Yāṣka is not a Bhāṣya in the sense in which Vātsyāyana's or Sankara's works are Bhāṣyas. He does not take the sūtras one by one and does not comment upon every word (=sūtra). His work has a family resemblance to Praśastapāda's bhāṣya. These are more like original treatises. Probably they represent an earlier method of bhāṣya writing.

The Nighaṇṭu on which Yāṣka commented appears to be the vocables of that part of the veda which was popular in his school time and locality. It is natural to suppose that he added works here and there and arranged the vocables according to his own ideas. On this hypothesis it becomes easier to understand the opening sentence of the Nirukta-Commentary.

There is no reason to suppose that *Yāska* originated all or even a majority of the derivations which he does not attribute to other authors. Long before Yāska, grammatical science made considerable progress. It is unreasonable to suppose that Pāṇini discovered the majority of rules set forth in his immortal work. The division of words into nouns and verbs and the later additions of two other parts of speech called upasarga and nipāta were already well known as grammatical doctrines in Yāska's time. This will be apparent from the language in which Yāska introduces the subject (I, 1, 8).

The Nirukta was published with an introduction and explanatory notes, both in German, by Rudolph Roth at Gottengen in 1852. Then came Sāmaśrami's great edition of 1882–1891, in four volumes, with the commentaries of Devarāja Yajvan and Durga. Sāmaśrami's edition is found useful. The edition of *Sivadatta* (1912-13) contains some improvements in the text of Durga's commentary. But the book is deficient in one respect, namely, it does not contain the first five chapters of the Nirukta, called the Nighaṇṭu as a separate book; though the whole of it has been included in different parts of the book, and it does not contain Devarāja's excellent notes on each word of the first three chapters of the *Nighaṇṭu*. *Yāska* gives the derivation and reference for only a fraction of the words of these three chapters. So Devarāja's comment is extremely useful.

Sivadatta introduced punctuation in the paragraphs of Nirukta. Roth and Sāmaśrami printed them as undivided wholes. Sarup has generally followed Sivadatta and sometimes improved his punctuation.

I have noted below a few points where improvements may be made e.g. Skanda-Maheśvara, Vol. I, p. 104, l. 16, p. 108, l. 5, p. 111, l. 6, p. 115, l. 7; vol. II, p. 1.

Dr. Sarup's name will be long connected with his great work on the *Nirukta*. His appendices are of great help to all scholars and his edition of Nirukta and Skanda-Maheśvara are indispensable to all earnest workers.

VANAMALI VEDANTATĪRTHA.

THE INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONINS OF TYANA. By Jarl Charpentier, Leipzig, 1934; pp. 66.

This is one of the last publications of Prof. Jarl Charpentier, in whose death the science of Indology has suffered an irreparable loss. The aim of the author has been to examine in detail all that is known about that enigmatic personality of old—Apollonins of Tyana, and to ascertain whether he had actually been in India. Prof. Charpentier is convinced that Apollonins of Tyana had been actually in India, but he never went further than the altars of Alexander. That he had actually visited Taxila was suggested long ago by Sir John Marshall. Prof. Charpentier now warmly endorses this view.

Prof. Charpentier was noted and feared for the pungency of his language, and he never minced words when criticising those who dared to differ from him. A theory of Professor Berriedale Keith is thus summarily dismissed with a stricture on his 'non-sensical ideas' (p. 41, f.n. 5), and more wonderful still, in Voltaire he finds nothing but 'shallow rationalism and the blind enmity towards Christianity' (p. 12). All this of course can mean nothing at all, and need not be taken too seriously. The reader of this brochure will at all events feel grateful to the author for the mass of rich information he has gathered here.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

VĀJASANEYI PRĀTIŚĀKHYA of Kātyāyana, with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Anantabhaṭṭa; edited by V. Venkatarama Sharma; with a Preface by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, pp. viii+329+27.

The main value of the volume under consideration lies in the commentary of Anantabhaṭṭa which is published here for the first time. Uvaṭa explains the Prātiśākhya in the light of Vājasaneyi texts, but Anantabhaṭṭa explicitly says in his preface that he has only the Kāṇva-śākhā in view and he further states that non-Kāṇva examples will be given by him only where Kāṇva examples are not available:—उदाहरणवाक्यानि दीयन्ते काण्वशाखिनाम्। स्वलाभे परकीयानि सूत्रकारानुशासनात्। It is of course necessary to prove that the Sūtrakāra had both the Śākhās in view, for the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya is almost wholly identified with the Mādhyandina school in popular imagination. Anantabhaṭṭa therefore shows in his introduction that quite a number of sūtras of the Vaj. Prātiśākhya have no scope for the Mādhyandina texts, and therefore must have been meant for the Kāṇva texts in whose case their utility is evident. Says Anantabhaṭṭa: यान्युदाहरणानि माध्यन्दिनशाखायां न सन्ति काण्वशाखादौ सन्ति तदुदाहरणसाधकानि सूत्राणि दृश्यन्ते, and proceeds to quote several forms with cerebral *ḷ* which is a peculiarity of the Kāṇva texts, the Mādhyandina texts always showing *ḍ* in its place, and further points out several rules of Sandhi in the Sūtras which might have scope only for the Kāṇva texts. Anantabhaṭṭa thus conclusively proves, what may seem strange at first sight, that *one* manual of phonetics (=Prātiśākhya) was followed by at least two distinct schools. There are still many discrepancies to smooth over also in the Ṛkprātiśākhya, for it is well known that some minor details in it do not tally with the text of the Ṛgveda as we know it—including the apocryphal Vālakhilya and Bāskala hymns. Is it possible that Śaunaka too had in view also other Śākhās of the Ṛgveda?

The publication of Anantabhaṭṭa's commentary is therefore to be greeted as an important event in the history of Vedic philology. But it is a pity that nobody took the trouble to read proofs for this important publication, for the number of typographical mistakes is truly astounding. Only a fraction of them has been registered at the end. The lack of accentuation is another serious blemish which renders the chapters on accent quite valueless. Imperfect attempts have sometimes been made to indicate the accent at least in Uvaṭa's commentary (see pp. 42ff.), which must have escaped the notice of Dr. C. Kanhan Raja, for he expresses regret (p. vi) that nothing could be done to indicate the accent, Pandit Venkatrama Sarma, who had begun the publication, having paid no heed to accentuation. Dr. Raja reluctantly follows Pandit Sarma in the practice of indicating sandhi-changes by the sign>. But he need not have been apologetic at all about it, for the proper sign to use to indicate sandhi-change is> and not=. The value of the book might have been greatly enhanced if proper reference to both Mādhyandina and Kāṇva text had been given to all the examples cited in the commentaries.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Published by the Committee, 1936 (G.S. Press, Madras), pp. xxv+500.

A tribute of honour has been paid by his numerous friends, admirers and pupils to *Rājasêvâsakta* Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., formerly Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, by presenting him, to commemorate the unique services he has rendered to the cause of South Indian historical research, this Commemoration Volume of papers and essays contributed by Indological scholars both in India and abroad, on the occasion of completing his sixty-fifth year on the 15th April, 1936.

Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a veteran teacher, a prolific writer, and a successful editor. But above all, he is a scholar.

As to the Volume under review, which is thick and runs to over five hundred closely printed pages, it has been edited by Prof. V. Rangacharya, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari and Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar, and its printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. With a photograph of the Professor, and a few pages in the beginning on the life and works as also on the appreciations of his, it contains no less than seventy papers by a corresponding number of writers, mostly distinguished, and amongst whom are included the names of (the late) Prof. Jarl Charpentier, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. Moritz Winternitz, Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, MM. Dr. R. Shamasastry, Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Shastri, Dr. K. R. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Vidyavacaspati Vidyasagara P. P. S. Sastri, Prof. C. Kuhnan Raja, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Prof. V. Rangacharya, Principal P. Sheshadri, Dr. P. J. Thomas, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Rao Bahadur MM. R. Narasinhacharyar, Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, Prof. P. K. Acharya, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Dr. Andreas Nell, Dr. K. N. Venkatasubha Sastri, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, Dr. B. A. Saletore, Dr. Rashid Ahmad and Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji.

The seventy essays and papers have been arranged in six sections, viz.: (I) General Indian History, (II) South Indian History, (III) Religion and Philosophy, (IV) Language, Learning and Literature, (V) Art and Archæology, and (VI) Greater India. In my opinion the following papers are of outstanding merits :—

(1) *The Sasanian Conquest of the Indus Region*, by the late Prof. Jarl Charpentier, (p. 11);
(2) *Satiyaputra of Asoka's Edict II*, Mr. M. Govinda Pai, (p. 33);
(3) *South India as a Centre of Pali Buddhism*, by Dr. B. C. Law, (p. 239);
(4) *I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vâkhyapadiya*, by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, (p. 285);
(5) *Historical Dramas in Indian Literature*, by Prof. Moritz Winternitz, (p. 359);
and (6) *Hindu Law in Java and Bali*, by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, (p. 445).

The editors have taken the care of adding some necessary notes to some papers. The volume is appended with a chronological Bibliography of the writings of Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

N. N. Das Gupta.

INDIA ANALYSED, edited by Freda M. Bedi and B. P. L. Bedi (London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd.), three volumes, 1933-34. Five shillings the volume, 200+176+222 pages.

In Vol. I, India's position in the world is discussed by Sir Alfred Zimmern and in the League of Nations by Prof. C. A. W. Manning. To what extent the International Labour Office of Geneva has served to internationalize Indian affairs forms the subject of Dr. Lanka Sundaram's paper. Prof. A. B. Keith has contributed a paper on India *vis-à-vis* the British Commonwealth. To the international aspect of the Indian constitution attention has been drawn in the chapter coming from Mr. C. W. Jenks.

Some of the chapters are strong in facts. Mr. Jenks's viewpoint will appear interesting to many. But since the volume is described as international, one might expect one or two chapters given over to the impacts of American, Japanese, German and other developments on transformations in India's politics.

Vol. II deals with economic ' realities '. The peasant is described by Prof. Brij Narain, the labourer by Mr. B. Shiva Rao, the manufacturer by Dr. P. P. Pilai, and the trader by Dr. Vera Anstey. On the potentialities of industrial development Prof. V. G. Kale has a paper.

The statistical data about agriculture, manufacture and foreign trade are substantial so far as they go. ' Phenomenal progress ' in industrial undertakings has been recorded by Pillai. He has pointed out, at the same time, that the ' rate of progress has not been commensurate with the size of the country ' (p. 85). In this context can be placed Kale's statement that India has ' an economic system (barring a few notable exceptions ') similar to that which prevailed in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ' (p. 145). Naturally, therefore, as Anstey makes it clear, India's chief industrial weaknesses are to be found in the lag in her production of machinery, plant, tools, iron and steel goods and ' chemicals '.

The labour conditions might have been treated somewhat statistically. But the poverty of the peasant has been well described in Brij Narain's essay. The analysis of farm accounts in the Punjab as presented by him is instructive. In 1927-28 the average net income per man per day is described as being about seven annas. But he has furnished no price-schedule. He quotes a Dutch work of the seventeenth century J. V. Twist's *Generale Beschrivinghe van Indien* (1638, p. 63) to say that ' one-half and sometimes three-fourths was the king's share in Gujrat '. One should like to know what was the average income per man per day in those days—in cash or kind.

Among the economic ' issues ' which constitute the topics of Vol. III we have the problem of ' social services ' in the perspective of taxation discussed by Mr. A. N. Maini. The paper of Dr. B. R. Rau deals with foreign investment, that of Prof. Brij Narain with the rate of exchange. India's public debt has been discussed by Prof. K. T. Shah. The question of ' agricultural protection ' has been raised by Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee.

The Third Volume is given over to the ' problems ' or ' issues ' as indicated above, and naturally Indian economic thought to-day is pluralistic enough to be able to offer just the antipodes of the views collected here. Against the present ratio and the export of gold Brij Narain has strong views. He is an exponent, indeed, of the traditional Indian standpoint. All the same, he has cared to admit that the ' linking of the rupee to sterling helped up only for a few weeks or months '. The present reviewer happens to take a rather unconventional stand in regard to both these questions (cf. his *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems*, second edition, 1934) and to believe that neither the ratio Re.=1*s*. 6*d*. nor the gold export has been harmful to India.

According to Rau ' a careful scrutiny by the Federal Reserve Bank, which would be made at the time of rediscounting the eligible commercial paper, would automatically raise the standard of banking ' (p. 65). This is reasonable. As for foreign capital, his paper does not appear to exhibit antipathy (p. 89). But it does not seem to be precise enough either. Our economists are as a rule prejudiced against it. According to the present reviewer, however (cf. *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy*, 1934), India will have to depend on foreign capital for quite a long time in the interest of industrialization in spite of the progress in the growth of ' Indian ' capital.

Miani complains that the proportion of ' indirect ' taxes to total revenue is higher in India than in the United Kingdom (p. 25). He believes in ' direct ' taxes as being ' progressive '. This is an interesting attitude in view of the fact that in India as a rule we are sicklied o'er with the ideal of diminution of taxes.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

While poverty furnishes the general *milieu* of economic India Mukerjee's stress on the diverse improvements in agriculture would not fail to be recognized as reassuring. Among others he mentions, for instance, the substitution of rice and maize for cheaper millets and of cereal for gram and oil seeds. The spread of double-cropping is another very important item referred to by him (p. 172). The attention of economists deserves to be directed to these aspects of Indian agriculture in order to ascertain the past changes in the standard of living of the people as well as its probable future.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, 1935, pp. 505, price Rs. 5.

This volume presents not in an unattractive appearance the collected speeches and writings, that lay hitherto scattered, of one of the best known public men of India of our times, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. In every sphere of his activity he stands pre-eminent.

In accordance with his wide and varied interests, his speeches and writings, as collected in the present volume, have been classified into six parts—Administrative, Political, Financial, Social, Personal, and Miscellaneous. As Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has rightly observed in the *Foreword*, 'The subjects are various and such as to appeal to readers of every taste and every opinion. Not many are the public men of India who have taken pains to place before the reading public so much and such systematized material.' This is not, however, a place for opening any criticism of his views and opinions that have found expression in respect of all these matters, but even a hurried perusal of the pages of this volume is apt to bear emphatic testimony to his learning and acumen of a very high order, and even those who do not see eye to eye with him in matters political, social or the like cannot fail to admit it. His language is always restrained, and he has in him a plenty of decent humour which is manifested in many of his writings and speeches. He has been characterized as 'a keen and devoted student of the Victorian literature', which is fully justified by his mastery of diction and wide learning.

The publisher has assured us that the omission of an Index in this edition will be repaired if a second edition is called for. I would suggest also to put the title of a speech or essay on each right-hand side page, in the second edition which is, I believe, to come out soon.

N. N. DAS GUPTA.

INDIAN ASTROLOGY (Ashoṭottari and Viṃshottari Dashās)—by Ramnaklal R. Mody, B.A., LL.B., with a foreword by Dr. Vasant G. Rele, published by the author from Zavery House, Hughes Road, Bombay No. 7. 48 pages cloth bound volume. Price Rs. 3.

The entire book is an effort to explain the difference in the span of human life in the two dashās and the author has very intelligently succeeded in proving that the span of life in the two systems although apparently different are not really so. This is due to the use of solar year in the Ashṭottari system and the lunar year in the Viṃshottari system. The small difference has been explained in the 'Addendum'. This, we are afraid, is not much of a discovery, as this fact was known to many of the Indian astrologers from a long time. This, however, is the first book in English that has explained the subject and that too in a very simple and direct manner. But the real value of the book lies in its preface where the author has recognized 'the profoundity of knowledge and vision displayed by the venerable rishis of old in propounding these Dashas'.

The foreword by Dr. Rele, however, strikes a rather discordant note, 'There is no gainsaying the fact that Hindu Astrology needs to be explained on a scientific basis'. His conception of *Scientific* basis is of course *modern scientific* basis based upon observation and experiment. This, we have already pointed out, will not be able to remove 'the veil of mystery' for which he has been anxiously waiting. The mystery can only be explained and understood by the same process that was followed by the ancients, e.g., 'Yoga'. Even if the veil of mystery cannot be removed, the subject can be reverently approached and studied not as a critic but as a student to get results. The author, we are sure, has got the proper frame of mind for the study and may attain even better results.

P. C. RAY.

UTTARARĀMACARITA (La Derniere Adventure de Rāma), drame de Bhavabhūti, tradient et annate par Nadine Stschoupak. Paris, 1935.

This is the fourth volume in the excellent 'Collection Emile Sénart', which purposes to provide the French public with the masterpieces of Sanskrit literature, furnished with a French translation and profuse explanatory notes. Advanced students of Sanskrit language and literature will be agreeably surprised to find a mass of valuable information scattered throughout this excellent volume, and I know of no other work in which all that is essential to know about Bhavabhūti has been presented within such a short compass and with such perfect clarity as in the introductory chapter of this book, the value of which has been further enhanced by three indexes—of metres, proper names, and words.

B. K. GHOSH.

THE ṚGVEDA AS LAND-NÁMA-BÓK, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, London, 1935.

The aim of the illustrious author of this book seems to be to find additional support for the theory started by Scharban in his *Idee der Schöpfũng* (reviewed by the present writer in IHQ., 1934) that scene described in the Ṛgveda as facts are in fact mainly imageries only, and that *agre* means '*in principio*'. The entire body of Vedic mythology has thus to be reinterpreted in the light of imageries underlying the attributes in the RV. The author has also tried to show that even such conceptions as those of *nau, setu, vajña,* conceal behind them a deeper significance which can be apprehended only in the light of such imageries.

B. K. GHOSH.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XIV, Pt. IV.

An itinerary in Khotanese Saka by H. W. Bailey.

Aryan Path, June, 1936.

1. India's Trishula in the last century by Dr. R. K. Mookerjee.

The author has shown in this paper the parts played by Rajah Rammohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Ramakrishna, the three religious reformers, in the religious history of India.

Bulletin de L'École Française d'extrême-Orient, Tome XXXIV, 1934, *Fasc. I.*

Barabudur by Paul Mus.

It is a very interesting paper dealing with all the aspects of the notable Buddhist sculptures at Barabudur in Java.

Calcutta Review, April and May, 1936.

1. Śaivism and Associate Cults of Central Java by H. B. Sarkar.
2. Anthropomorphism and Mysticism in Religion by N. C. Das Gupta.

Epigraphia Indica, July, 1933.

1. A Sarada Inscription from Hund by D. R. Sahni.
2. Jethwai Plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Queen Sīlamahādevī, Saka-Samvat 708 by D. R. Bhandarkar.
3. The Jesar Plates of Silāditya III : Valabhi Samvat 357 by the Late Mr. R. D. Banerji.
4. The Bayana Inscription of Chittralekha : V.S. 1012 by the Late Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1936.

1. Pre-Canonical Buddhism by A. B. Keith.
2. The Eastern Cālukyas by D. C. Ganguli.
3. The Bhāvaśataka, is it an old work ? by M. Winternitz.
4. The Date of the Fall of Nadia by Adris Banerji.

Jaina Gazette, June, 1936.

Mahāvīra and the Occident by T. L. Vaswami.

Journal of Indian History, December, 1935.

1. Chronology of Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas by M. Govind Pai.
2. Date of Kadamba Mṛgesavarman by D. C. Sircar.
3. Date of Rājādhirāja II by V. V. Aiyar.
4. Humayun, the Prince—1508–30 by S. K. Banerji.
5. Portraits of the Greater Moghuls by B. B. Ichaporia.
6. The Army of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh by S. R. Kohli.

Journal of Oriental Research, October–December, 1935.

1. The Advaitavidyāmukura by S. S. S. Sastri.

   The author gives an account of the contents of the manuscript of the Advaitamukura as now available in the Mysore Library.

2. The Origin of the Sāmaveda by K. A. Nilkanta Sastri.
3. Accentual variation in relation to Semantic variation by C. R. Sankaran.
4. Pūrvamīmāṁsāviṣayasaṅgrahadīpikā by T. R. Chintamani and T. V. R. Dikshitar.
5. Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa by A. Venkatasubbaiah.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, 1935, *No.* 3, *Letters.*

1. The Kaḷabhra Interregnum: What it means in South Indian History? by S. K. Aiyangar.
2. The Caḍaka Festival in Bengal by K. P. Chattopadhyaya.
3. Location of Land granted by Nidhanpur Grant by N. K. Bhattasali.
4. The Cult of Kālārkarudra (Caḍakapujā) by Chintaharan Chakravarty.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, April, 1936.

1. A Sumerian Custom and its Historic Indian Parallels by B. A. Saletore.
2. An Assamese Source of Moghul History by K. L. Barua.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, March, 1936.

Dantapura and Pālūru in Northern Ganjam by C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1936.

Occupation of the Straits of Malacca, 1636–1639.

Journal of the Polynesian Society, March, 1936.

The Sikayana Language: A preliminary grammar and vocabulary by A. Capell.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1936.

1. Hindi Folk Songs by A. G. Shirreff.
2. The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna by Giuseppe Tucci.
3. A New (?) Contemporary History of Aurangzeb's Reign by S. R. Sarma.

Mahā-Bodhi, May, 1936.

Anatta or No-Soul by Bhikkhu Nārada.

Man in India, October–December, 1935.

1. The Makers of the Rajmahal Hills by S. Sarkar.
2. Prehistoric and Protohistoric finds of the Raichur and Shorapur Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's State by the Late Captain L. Munn.

New Review, June, 1936.

The Cession of Bombay by J. H. Gense.

An account of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1661 is given in this article.

Poona Orientalist, April, 1936.

1. The Lion Capital of the Pillar of Asoka at Saranatha by B. N. Sharma.
2. Some Historical and Quasi-historical Incidents in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra by B. A. Saletore.
3. Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya (text and Eng. tr.) by Ganganath Jha.

Young East, Vol. 5, *No.* 4, *Winter*, 1935.

1. The Place of Compassion in Mahāyāna Buddhism by B. L. Suzuki.
2. Some Parallels between Buddhist Thought and Conceptions in Modern Science by Rolf Henkl.

Obituary Notice

In the death of Babu Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., we have lost a sincere friend and an able contributor to our *Indian Culture*. He was a reputed scholar of Jainism. He wrote several Jain books. His *Epitome of Jainism*, and *Jain Inscriptions*, in three volumes, are the most valuable contributions to the study of Jainism and will be long remembered by those interested in the subject. Besides, he was a Zamindar of Azimganj in the District of Murshidabad, and the first graduate and lawyer among the Jains in Bengal. He had a very valuable collection of ancient Indian coins, inscriptions, paintings, sculptures, and manuscripts, which are still preserved in the *Kumar Singh Hall* adjoining his residence. He used to spend much of his time in reading and writing books and articles. He was a fine gentleman, always humble and God-fearing. We offer our sincere condolence to the members of his family, and we deeply mourn his loss which is not only a great loss to Jainism, but also to the *Indian Research Institute* which is indebted to him from its very inception. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta, and
Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

IV

THE ŚRĪKṚṢṆA-SAṂDARBHA

By S. K. DE

The interest of this Saṃdarbha is more theological than philosophical. Its chief object is to apply the principles established in the three Saṃdarbhas described above to the personality of Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, and present him as the highest personal god of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Its theme is to maintain that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnate being, but the deity himself manifested in his perfect form as the Bhagavat. In other words, having established the concept of Bhagavat, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to show in a definite way that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat as the Advaya-jñāna-tattva of its theology. From the point of view of the cult and sect, therefore, this is the most important and central Saṃdarbha, the other three preceding Saṃdarbhas being preliminary to it.

At the outset Jīva Gosvāmin refers to the distinction established in the previous Saṃdarbhas between the concepts of the Paramātman and the Bhagavat, and deals again briefly with the distinctive character (Svarūpa), function (Karma), form (Ākāra) and place of habitation (Sthāna) of the Paramātman. It has already been demonstrated by him that the perfection or Pūrṇatva of the Paramātman is relative (*apekṣita*) to that of the Bhagavat, but this relative perfection is now explained by stating that it is the eternal source (*āśraya*) and the germinal ground (*udgama-sthāna*) of the various Avatāras, as well as of the whole phenomenal creation. From the Paramātman spring the two Puruṣas, the Primal and the Secondary, who become the source of the series of incarnate divine forms, just in the same way as the sun is the source or ground of its own rays. In other words, the incarnations are related to the Paramātman-Puruṣa as parts to the whole, and in their unmanifest state they lie in an indiscrete and germinal form in him. In this connexion, there is a discussion in detail of the twenty verses from the *Bhāgavata* (i, 3, 6–26), which give a general list of the authentic appearance, partial (Aṃśa) or complete (Aṃśin), of the supreme deity. These Avatāras have already been considered by Rūpa

Gosvāmin in his *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*[1]; but there is some discrepancy in the order of enumeration, Jīva Gosvamin following strictly the order of the *Bhāgavata*. They are :

1. Catuḥsana, 2. The Varāha, 3. Nārada, to whom is attributed the Sāttvata Tantra, 4. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, 5. Kapila, 6. Dattātreya, 7. Yajña, 8. Urukrama (Ṛṣabha), 9. Pṛthu, 10. The Matsya, 11. The Kūrma, 12. Dhanvantari, 13. The Mohinī, 14. The Narasiṃha, 15. The Vāmana, 16. Paraśurāma, 17. Vyāsa, 18. Rāma, 19-20. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, 21. The Buddha, 22. Kalki.

The last verse i, 3, 26 adds that the Avatāras are numberless, like the ripples on an inexhaustible reservoir ; and this statement, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is meant to include such Manvantara-Avatāras, not included in the above list, as Hayagrīva, Hari, Haṃsa, Pṛṣṇigarbha, Vibhu, Satyasena, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita, Sārvabhauma, Viṣvaksena, Dharmasetu, Sudhāman, Yogeśvara, and Bṛhadbhānu, as well as Yuga-Avatāras like Śukla, Rakta, etc.

All these appearances, with the exception of Nos. 19 and 20, viz. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, are Aṃśas or Kalās (partial manifestations) of the Puruṣa (*ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ*) ; but among the Aṃśa-Avatāras a further distinction is made of the Āveśa-Avatāras. The Catuḥsanas, etc. are instances of the Āveśa or 'possession' by the Jñāna-śakti, Nārada, etc. by the Bhakti-śakti, and Pṛthu, etc. by the Kriyā-śakti of the supreme deity. In some cases there is a direct possession by the deity (Svayam-Āveśa), and these Avatāras have therefore often declared themselves as 'I am the Bhagavat' in the scriptures. In the Avatāras like the Matsya, there is a direct partial manifestation (*sākṣād aṃśatvam*). The term Aṃśatva is meant to indicate that though these appearances partake directly of the divine selfhood (*sākṣād bhagavattā*), the selfhood is said to be manifested partially, because of the invariably partial manifestation in them of the divine Śaktis, in accordance with the invariable divine will in the particular case (*avyabhicāri-tādṛśa-tadicchāvaśāt sarvadaikadeśatayābhivyakta-śaktyādikatvam*). But as the part (Aṃśa) can never be the whole (Aṃśin), the Avatāra can never be the deity himself in his perfection. The so-called Vibhūti-Avatāras, who consist of the great Ṛṣis, the Manus, the Devas, the sons of the Manus and Prajāpati, are included in the term Kalā, which also means a part, but which indicates the manifestation of a small amount of divine energy (*alpa-śakti*), as distinguished from the great energy (*mahā-śakti*) displayed in the Āveśa-Avatāras. The difference between the Āveśa- and Kalā-Avatāras is thus one of degree only, illustrated by the analogy of iron which receives different degrees of the quality of fire by contact, but which in its real nature remains as iron. These are really cases of Jīvas who are inspired specifically in various degrees by divine energy; but the Aṃśa-Avatāras like the Matsya are direct, if incomplete, manifestations of the divine self.

---

[1] This has been dealt with, along with the general doctrine of Avatāra of the Bengal school, by the present writer in an article contributed to the Kuppusvami Commemoration Volume.

Having thus enumerated the various limbs or constituent parts (aṅga) of the Paramātman, the *Bhāgavata* verses cited above conclude by a half-verse which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, distinctly lays down the general character of the Avatāras, and emphatically distinguishes and determines Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Bhagavat himself. As the rest of the topic is concerned with the establishment of this important theme, it is necessary to quote the half-verse here and summarize Jīva Gosvāmin's explanation of the same in the light of the theological views of his school. The verse (i, 3, 28) concludes the list of Avatāras with the statement [1]:

ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam

'These are the Aṃśas and Kalās of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself.'

As this assertion stands at the end of the list of Avatāras, it implies, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, that the appearances mentioned in the list are the various Aṃśa- or Kalā-Avatāras of the Puruṣa; but Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma), who is enumerated as the twentieth in the list, is the Bhagavat himself, who is not an Avatāra, but the Avatārin or the very source of the Avatāras themselves as the substratum of the Paramātman-Puruṣa. This position is elaborately maintained, partly by an explication of this and other texts of the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures, and partly by reconciling those texts from Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava sources which are inconsistent or contradictory.

In accordance with the rule that the predicate must not be uttered without a mention of the already known subject (*anuvādam anuktvaiva na vidheyam udīrayet*), Kṛṣṇa who is already known as the twentieth in the list (i, 3, 23) is the Anuvāda or the already known subject, and the Bhagavat is the Vidheya or the predicate, mentioned here (i, 3, 28) for the first time with reference to Kṛṣṇa. It is clear therefore that 'being the Bhagavat' (Bhagavatva) is predicated of Kṛṣṇa, and not 'being Kṛṣṇa' (Kṛṣṇatva) of the Bhagavat (*kṛṣṇasyaiva bhagavattvalakṣaṇo dharmaḥ sādhyate, na tu bhagavataḥ kṛṣṇatvam*). In other words, the phrase means that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat, and not that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇasyaiva mūlāvatāritvaṃ sidhyati, na tu prādurbhūtatvam*). If the meaning proposed was not meant, then the phrase would have been *bhagavāṃs tu kṛṣṇaḥ svayam*, instead of *kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*. The word *svayam* also indicates that Kṛṣṇa is not a mere manifestation of the Bhagavat, and excludes the possibility of the Bhagavattā being merely imposed (*adhyāsa*) upon Kṛṣṇa.

---

[1] The second half of the verse, viz. *indrāri-vyākulaṃ lokaṃ mṛḍayanti yuge yuge* ('in different Yugas they gladden the world harrassed by the enemies of Indra') is, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, not relevant to the discussion, as it refers to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa, and not to Kṛṣṇa, mentioned in the first half of the verse. It is taken as syntactically connected with the first *pāda* of the verse, being separated from the second *pāda* by the particle *tu* (*tu-śabdena vākyasya bhedanāt*).

A doubt may arise from the fact that the name of Kṛṣṇa is included in the list itself along with those of other genuine Avatāras, and that such a mention among the Avatāras in verse 23 is seemingly in conflict with the present concluding statement in verse 28 that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the supreme god himself. But this is not a real inconsistency and can be reconciled by the application of the well-known Mīmāṃsā rule of interpretation that, of two statements or injunctions, that which is made first is to be considered weaker and therefore annulled by that which is made afterwards (*paurvāparye pūrva-daurbalyaṃ prakṛtivat* vi, 5, 58). Or, the two apparently conflicting statements may be reconciled by regarding the second statement (viz. that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself) as a piece of Śruti or instruction by direct authoritative statement. As such, it is of greater force than the first statement in the Avatāra-list in verse 23, which is a mere Samākhyā or laudatory enumeration; for the Mīmāṃsā rule (iii, 3, 14) lays down that of the several means of determining the real sense, Śruti (revealed word), Liṅga (power of words to express their sense), Vākya (syntactical connexion of words in a sentence), Prakaraṇa (context), Sthāna (sequence of place), and Samākhyā (enumeration or related sense), each succeeding one has a weaker force than the preceding owing to the remoteness of meaning (*śruti-liṅga-vākya-prakaraṇa-sthāna-samākhyānāṃ samavāye pāra-daurbalyam, artha-viprakarṣāt*). Of these recognized means of interpretation Śruti is defined by Jīva Gosvāmin as direct instruction (*sākṣād upadeśaḥ*), which is not dependent on anything else (*sākṣāttvaṃ cātra nirapekṣatvam ucyate*), implying that Sūta here deliberately makes the concluding statement as a piece of direct instruction, which lays down, irrespectively of any other preceding statement, that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself.

That this Śruti or direct instruction is emphatic and unambiguous (*sāvadhāraṇa*) is indicated by the employment of the particle *tu*, which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is to be taken here in the sense of the emphatic *eva*. This affirmative and determining Śruti, therefore, makes it imperative that such other Śrutis as speak of Mahānārāyaṇa and other deities as the supreme Bhagavat are to be understood as implying that their Bhagavattā, unlike that of Kṛṣṇa, is not absolute but relative (*guṇībhūta*). Even if the particle *tu* be taken as meaning 'but' in the sense of an alternative, it serves to differentiate Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat from the Paramātman-Puruṣa, as well as from the partial manifestations of Paramātman-Puruṣa already enumerated (*tu-śabdo'ṃśa-kalābhyaḥ puṃsaś ca sākṣād bhagavato vailakṣaṇyam*).

It is also pointed out that the conflicting verse 23 included in the Avatāra-list,

rāma-kṛṣṇaviti bhuvau bhagavān aharad bharam

which states that 'the Bhagavat, viz. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, removed the burden (by appearing) on the earth', also specifically employs the term *bhagavat* with reference to Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma, who is thus also not an Avatāra). As the term is not so employed with reference to any other Avatāra in the whole list, Kṛṣṇa is to be taken not as a partial manifestation or an incarnate being, but as the supreme deity himself in his own person. There may be an objection that the act of removing the burden of the world is proper only to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa and should not have been mentioned in connexion with Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity. This anomaly is reconciled by the theory that when the Bhagavat in his perfection manifests himself, the Aṃśa-Avatāras also enter into him (*śrīkṛṣṇe avatarati tat-tad-aṃśāvatārāṇam api praveśaḥ*) and make their simultaneous appearance; for the parts always remain with the whole. The acts which are performed not by the Bhagavat himself but by these Aṃśa-Avatāras who remain absorbed in him, are merely imposed upon (*āropa*) the Bhagavat. The reason why the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Avatāra-list is to indicate that even in his own essential character (*svarūpastha eva*), he sometimes becomes visible, like an Avatāra, to the whole world (*kadācit sakala-loka-dṛśyaḥ*) in order to cause the wonder of peculiar bliss to his own exclusive servants (*parijana-viśeṣāṇām ānanda-viśeṣa-camatkārāya*) by fostering a certain sweetness of his Līlā of birth etc. (*kam api mādhuryaṃ nija-janmādi-līlayā puṣṇan*). The mention, therefore, is meant only to show Kṛṣṇa's infinite grace to the world, and not indeed to show that Kṛṣṇa is an Aṃśa-Avatāra. The word Avatāra applied at all to Kṛṣṇa must mean generally a descent of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa in his own character (Svarūpa) into phenomenal glory (*prākṛta-vaibhave'vataraṇam*).

By this method of argument based on the interpretation of the sacred scripture of the school, Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to establish that the *Bhāgavata* statement about Kṛṣṇa's absoluteness as the Bhagavat is a positive, unambiguous and emphatic Śruti which must prevail over all other statements. It is, therefore, a definitive assertion of the Paribhāṣā kind, which lays down an authoritative rule or proposition determining the sense of the whole work (*pratijñākāreṇa granthārtha-nirṇāyakatvāt*). A Paribhāṣā is further described as that which is meant to bring certainty in the midst of uncertainty (*aniyame niyama-kāriṇī*). As such, it occurs only once, and not repeatedly, as specifically defining a thing; but its singularity has the force of controlling and determining the sense of a plurality of other texts (*vākyānāṃ kotir apyekenaivāmunā śāsanīyā*). It is thus a Mahā-vākya or a great proposition, like the phrase *Tat tvam asi*; and the proper Śāstric method would be to explain every other proposition, which appears inconsistent or contradictory, in the light of the significance of such a Mahā-vākya (*viruddhāyamānānām etad-anuguṇārthatayaiva vaiduṣī*). It is also maintained that this Paribhāṣā statement not only controls all other *Bhāgavata* texts but also conflicting texts in other Purāṇas, which must be interpreted in such a way as not to appear inconsistent with it. The reason for this is that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the previous Saṃdarbhas, is the most authentic and infallible scripture, superseding the authority of every other Śāstra (*sarva-śāstropa-mardaka*), and this particular Śruti or Mahā-vākya occurs in that work purposely to determine the highest spiritual truth (*paramārtha-vastu-paratvāt*) in a definite and indisputable manner. It is like the emphatic and indisputable command of a king to his followers; and it has been repeatedly utilized as such, for reconciling conflicts, by authoritative commentators like Śrīdhara Svāmin.

Jīva Gosvāmin thus admits that, notwithstanding this single authoritative statement, there are many texts in the *Bhāgavata* and elsewhere, in which Kṛṣṇa appears to be spoken of as a partial aspect or Aṃśa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat. These texts fall into two groups, viz. those occurring respectively in the *Bhāgavata* itself, and in other Purāṇas and Itihāsas. Jīva Gosvāmin contends that with reference to both these classes of texts, the Mahā-vākya considered above prevails, and they must therefore all be interpreted accordingly. Some of these texts are discussed in detail by him, e.g. *Bhāgavata* iv, 1, 58 (*harer aṃśāvihāgatau*), x, 1, 1 (*aṃśenāvatīrṇasya viṣṇoḥ*), x, 2, 13 (*jagan-maṅgalam acyutāṃśam*), x, 2, 35 (*diṣṭyāmba te kukṣigataḥ paraḥ pumān aṃśena*), x, 8, 19 (*nārāyaṇa-*

samo guṇaiḥ), x, 20, 40 (*babhau bhūḥ . . . . . kalābhyāṃ nitarāṃ hareḥ*), x, 43, 20 (*avatīrṇāvihaṃśena*), etc. In all these and such other verses, the presence of words like *aṃśa* or *kalā* appears to indicate a contrary idea of Kṛṣṇa as a partial aspect of Hari, Nārāyaṇa, etc.; but the texts are reconciled by the ingenious explanation that the terms *aṃśa* or *kalā* do not refer to Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat himself directly but to those partial aspects or incarnations who remain absorbed in him and manifest themselves to the phenomenal world simultaneously with the Kṛṣṇa's appearance, in accordance with the well-known fact that parts can never exist without the whole. Commentarial ingenuity is also shown sometimes by adopting particular ways of grammatical or syntactical analysis of words or phrases,—a device which is not unknown in Indian philosophical literature in general. The interpretation, for instance, of the phrase *nārāyaṇa-samo guṇaiḥ*, employed with reference to Kṛṣṇa in one of the above passages (x, 8, 19), is made favourable to Kṛṣṇa's case by rejecting the sense 'equal to Nārāyaṇa in his attributes' (*nārāyaṇasya samo guṇaiḥ*) obtained by Tatpuruṣa Samāsa, and by accepting, by means of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa, the sense 'to whom Nārāyaṇa bears a resemblance by his attributes' (*nārāyaṇaḥ samo yasya guṇaiḥ*).

There are also some passages in which Mahākāla or some such deity is represented as the supreme being; but such a view is inconsistent with the general purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which is characterized by the Mahā-vākya cited above. Such passages, therefore, are as a matter of course rejected. The Purāṇas which give expression to such views belong to the Tāmasika class of Purāṇas, which are inferior in authority to the *Bhāgavata*, the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, and which cannot, therefore, establish the superiority of such deities as Mahākāla to Kṛṣṇa. It is next shown that even in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which are admittedly Sāttvika, there are passages or legends which appear conflicting, e.g. the legend narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma sprang respectively out of a piece of black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa. Such a legend is not entirely rejected, but is consistently explained. It is shown that a literal interpretation cannot be given to the legend, for it is absurd to suppose that a god who is not subject to old age could possess white hair. A symbolical meaning, therefore, is found of the legend. The word *keśa* (hair) is interpreted to mean lustre (*aṃśu*), and the white (*sita*) and black (*kṛṣṇa*) lustres serve figuratively to indicate the prowess of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa as emanations (Vyūha) of the supreme deity, while Nārāyaṇa as a partial aspect of Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa shows these lustres at Kṛṣṇa's will to the gods.

What is said above will give us a rough idea of the method of interpretation and argument followed by this great apologist of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. Partly by the direct testimony, and partly by a reconciliation, of various texts culled from the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Padma-purāṇa*, and *Bhāgavata*, as well as by an unceremonious rejection of texts which celebrate other sectarian deities like Śiva, he gradually builds up a series of favourable texts round the central Mahā-vākya, which is elaborately shown to declare emphatically the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa. We are told that we must not make light of such a method, for in the *Vedānta-sūtra* Vyāsa employs a similar method for reconciling conflicting texts with one particular Mahā-vākya. In such cases what is to be considered is not the number, whether large or small, of texts on the subject, but their comparative strength or weakness (*vākyānāṃ durbala-balīstatvam eva vicāraṇīyam, na tu bahvalpatā*), for it is seen in the world that a thousand men can be vanquished by a single person (*dṛśyate ca loke ekenāpi yuddhe sahasra-parajaya iti*).

Jīva Gosvāmin next seeks with a similar method to establish the Bhagavattā of Kṛṣṇa by showing that Kṛṣṇa is to be regarded as the source not only of the Puruṣa-Avatāra and of the Līlāvatāras who proceed from the Puruṣa, but also of the Guṇāvatāras, viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. He is thus superior to the recognized Trinity of the Purāṇic mythology and religion. No doubt, these Avatāras, being aspects of Kṛṣṇa's manifestation, are each of them *pūrṇa* or perfect, but Kṛṣṇa is *pūrṇatama* or the most perfect. In Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat there is the fullest display of all the divine Śaktis, but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hlādinī Śakti or attribute of bliss, which absorbs and supersedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. As such, therefore, Kṛṣṇa as the highest embodiment of erotic Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might (Aiśvarya) is displayed. Jīva Gosvāmin also discusses in detail the authoritative opinions on this subject of the great interlocutors of the *Bhāgavata*, viz. Vidura and Maitreya (iv, 17, 6-7), Parīkṣit and Śuka (i, 19 ; ii, 1, etc.), Vyāsa and Nārada (i, 5 ; i, 6, 2 ; i, 7, 6-7 ; etc.), Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa (ii, 7), Śaunaka and Sūta (i, 1 f.). These great teachers and their listeners in the *Bhāgavata* (Mahā-vaktṛ-śrotṛ) agree in regarding Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat. Kṛṣṇa is the theme generally of the entire *Bhāgavata*, consisting of 18,000 verses, but the subject is especially dealt with in Skandhas I, X, and XI, in the dialogues of Brahmā and Nārada, of Vidura and Uddhava, and of Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira in Skandas II, III, and VII respectively, as well as in isolated passages like iv, 1, 58 ; iv, 17, 6 ; v, 6, 18 ; vi, 8, 20 ; end of ix ; xii, 11, 26, and in the Anukramaṇikā section (xii, 12) of the work. In this way Jīva Gosvāmin takes upon himself the task of marshalling a formidable array of *Bhāgavata* passages in support of the Mahā-vākya, which he designates as the king of all utterances (*vacana-rājasya senā-saṃgrahaḥ*), and attempts to show that Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat is not only the principal theme of the work in more than half the number of verses comprised in it, but this theme being exclusive to it, it receives the name of the *Bhāgavata*. This claim is recognized also in the other Purāṇas; for instance, the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's name figuratively as the moon churned from the nectar-sea of Śuka's speech (*śuka-vāg-amṛtābdhīnduḥ*). Passages, which in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, are typically representative of the view expressed in the Mahā-vākya, are also discussed and explained in detail, e.g. ix, 24, 55; x, 14, 30; x, 3, 7; x, 20, 36; i, 2, 79, etc. It is repeatedly laid down that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the first Saṃdarbha, is the paramount Śāstra of all Śāstras (*sarva-śāstra-cakravartitvam*), and there are passages in the work itself (e.g. x, 57, 20) which indicate that it supersedes other Śāstras (*apara-śāstropamardaka*). In the work itself we have also the statement that it was composed by Vyāsa after obtaining the beatific vision. All these facts make the *Bhāgavata* the most trustworthy guide in matters of worship, so that if other gods are extolled in other scriptures, the ultimate supremacy of Kṛṣṇa, who is declared and praised in the *Bhāgavata*, is beyond doubt. Once this position is accepted, it is easy to explain that such deities as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva, who are celebrated in the *Padma-purāṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* and *Vāsudeva-Upaniṣad*, are merely henotheistically conceived as the supreme god, but they are really various aspects of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat. Texts other than those from the *Bhāgavata* are also cited to prove the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa, e.g. from the *Mahābhārata*, including the *Gītā* (xv, 15; xiv, 27), the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, *Padma-purāṇa*, *Brahma-saṃhitā*, and from the list of one hundred and eight names of Kṛṣṇa given in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc.

In this connexion, Jīva Gosvāmin discusses the main purport of the *Gītā* which, in his opinion, is the inculcation of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, and not of Vāsudeva, as the highest god. From the evidence of this, as well as of other sacred texts, he proceeds to demonstrate that the supreme god can have no other essential form than the form of man (*narākṛti*), which is exhibited by the two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and not by the four-handed Vāsudeva, who represents only an Aiśvarya form of Kṛṣṇa himself. Some are of opinion, however, that the theophanic omnipresent form (Viśvarūpa), which is described in the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, is the real form of the supreme god, but our author considers this to be incorrect. The Viśvarūpa, he thinks, is subordinate to the Kṛṣṇa-rūpa, for it is Kṛṣṇa who at his will reveals the Viśvarūpa ; and we are told that after showing the terrible omnipresent form he shows again his own form to Arjuna (*svakaṃ rūpaṃ darśayāmāsa bhūyaḥ*). This clearly indicates that his own real form (svakaṃ rūpam) is not the Viśvarūpa (*viśvarūpaṃ na tasya sākṣāt svarūpam iti spaṣṭam*), but the human form (narākṛti, even with four hands) which is directly shown thereafter as his own (*narākāra-caturbhujasyaiva svakatva-nirdeśāt*). It is childish babbling which contends that the glory of the Viśvarūpa is declared by the indication that to perceive it Arjuna was specially endowed with divine vision (*tad-darśanārtham arjunaṃ prati divya-dṛṣṭi-dāna-liṅgena tasyaiva māhātmyam iti tu bāla-kolāhalaḥ*). On the contrary, Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that it is the manlike form (*narākṛti*) of Kṛṣṇa that is not perceptible to mortal vision, but perceptible only to the particular vision which comes from the inherent Śakti of the Bhagavat (*prākṛta-dṛṣṭer apyakaraṇatvād bhagavac-chakti-viśeṣa-saṃvalita-dṛṣṭer eva tatra karaṇatvāt*). This view is established by several texts cited from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa* ; and it is shown that it is difficult even for the so-called divine vision (*divya-dṛṣṭi*) to perceive the essential Kṛṣṇa-form of the deity which is not easily visible even to the gods (*tac ca narākṛti para-brahma divya-dṛṣṭibhir durdarśam*). It was vouchsafed to Arjuna for daily sight because he had the Lord's special grace as his intimate Associate or Parikara ; but Arjuna had to be endowed with divine vision in order to see his other Viśvarūpa, which was assumed for the particular theophanic exhibition. That this human form is the intrinsic form of the deity is also proved by the description of Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa (cowherd) in the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and other scriptures ; and the first great preliminary verse (*mahopakrama*) of the *Bhāgavata*, as well as its last all-concluding verse (*sarvopasaṃhāra*), also bears out the position that Kṛṣṇa is the highest being, having a form similar to that of man.

In this connexion, Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to set at rest doubts arising from certain vaguely understood texts with regard to the essential form of Kṛṣṇa, which in these texts is so diversely described as to raise the presumption of its being an impermanent phenomenal form. These texts, in his opinion, should be interpreted in such a way (*anyathaiva dṛśyam*) as to rebut this unworthy presumption. In its essence the Vigraha of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa consists of the three attributes of Sat, Cit, and Ānanda, but some of these texts describe the appearance of the Vigraha diversely as having two or four (sometimes even six or eight) hands. All these appearances, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, are real; but since the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures describe the divine form as similar to that of man (*manuṣya-liṅga*), this similarity is best displayed in the two-handed form alone (*dvi-bhujatva eva śrī-kṛṣṇatvaṃ narākṛti-kaivalyaṃ mukhyam*). This is, of course, in reply to those who hold that the Absolute is unconditioned and therefore formless and attributeless, but that in its appearance to the seeker it sometimes conditions itself and assumes form, which is thus not real and eternal. The reality and eternity of the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form, similar to that of man, is sought to be established by considering, in the first place, whether great and reliable worshippers have had actual visions of it as the essential divine form, and secondly, whether such a form is known to exist really and eternally in any of the divine Dhāmas or residences of the Lord. Jīva Gosvāmin contends that the sacred and revealed texts furnish enough testimony of great sages and devotees who had a direct beatific vision of the two-handed form as the only real form. It is on the basis of this recorded intuition of the sages (*vidvad-anubhava-śabda-siddha*) that this essential character of the Bhagavad-Vigraha has already been established and illustrated in the second Saṃdarbha. The scriptures also reveal that the Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally, even before its manifestation to the phenomenal world in the Dvāpara Age, and sported in this form in Vṛndāvana. In the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, both the two-handed and the four-handed forms are mentioned as objects of devotional meditation, although in the Āgamas the two-handed form alone is spoken of; but everywhere the similarity to the human form is made clear. It is admitted that Kṛṣṇa in his infinite power is known to have displayed other forms, e.g. the Viśvarūpa shown to Arjuna or to Yaśodā, which theophanic forms included the entire universe with its creatures, endless Nārāyaṇas, endless Vaikuṇṭhas, Dhāmas, and Parikaras. But Kṛṣṇa is known to have resumed his essential form immediately after these theophanies; and it is noteworthy that even in the four-handed form seen by Arjuna the similarity to the human form (*manuṣya-rūpatvam*) is emphasized in the *Gītā* verse: *dṛṣṭvedaṃ mānuṣaṃ rūpam*, etc. If the Śrutis sometimes describe the divine form as without hands or feet (*apāṇi-pāda*), or as having a thousand hands and feet, they only mean, as Jīva Gosvāmin has already pointed out, to indicate that his form with its hands and feet is similar indeed to that of a human being, but it is not the same, because it is non-phenomenal (*aprākṛta*). It is clear that all these elaborate arguments are meant to establish that the philosophical Absolute, conceived as a religious concrete, is a personal god who has to be meditated upon and worshipped. For that reason and to that extent, a form must be assigned to him; he can indeed be worshipped in various forms, but the best form is that which bears similarity to that of man. But there was perhaps a much narrower sectarian reason for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form as the most essential form of the divinity. The attempt was meant to show that although Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa manifested in the four-handed form is worshipped by some sects, Kṛṣṇa as the two-handed son of Nanda, who is the object of meditation and worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

On the colour of the deity there is some vagueness. The complexion is usually described as dark-blue like that of the rain-cloud; but the word *śyāma* (dark) has not been interpreted uniformly. Some take it to mean dark-blue, but others, including our author, think it to be the colour of the Atasī flower (common flax), which is described as showing a mixture of white, yellow, and green. Such uncertainty in the description of the divine complexion, in terms of the sensuous colours of the universe, is of course explained as inevitable; for in a matter like this exactitude is impossible. Other prominent characteristics of Kṛṣṇa, well known from Purāṇic descriptions, are his eternal youth, of which the essential form is adolescence (Kaiśora), and the possession of a Veṇu, Vaṃśī, or Muralī. Of this last characteristic various symbolical interpretations are given, such as the sweet and transcendental power of musical attraction of the Śaktis to the deity. This power of attraction is found by the *Gautamīya Tantra* in the derivative sense of the name of Kṛṣṇa itself, of which the etymology is given from the root *kṛṣ*, 'to draw'. The Kṛṣṇa-form is said to possess infinite beauty and sweetness; and the sacred texts delight to describe, in language bordering on sense-devotion and eroticism, the unspeakable loveliness of his personal appearance. The eyes of the god resemble the full-blown lotus-leaves, his cloth is yellow like lightning, garlands of flowers decorate his breast, and various ornaments increase the natural beauty of his person. All these details of his dress, decoration, ornament, and appearance are to be gathered from the accounts given in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra; but the real form and dress of the deity, as already noted, resemble that of a Gopa or cowherd, although of course the word Gopa receives at the same time the symbolical sense of a protector or sustainer.

From the establishment of the proposition that Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is the Mahā-Vāsudeva, it follows that Balarāma is Mahā-Saṃkarṣaṇa, the second of the four Vyūha emanations of the supreme deity. Hence it is not correct to say that Balarāma is only an Āveśa-Avatāra, or as some maintain, an Avatāra of Śeṣa. On the contrary, Śeṣa himself is an Avatāra or Aṃśa, being a Pārṣada (Associate), of

Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is thus different (*anyatva*) and far superior to Śeṣa in divine energy (*śaktyatiśayatva*). Since Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are mentioned as dual deities (*yugalatayā*), their equality of appearance (*sama-prakāśatva*) is undoubted. Jīva Gosvāmin cites several texts to show that in Balarāma the divine characteristics of the Bhagavat are all to be found (*bhagaval-lakṣaṇāni tatra śrūyate*), but such is not the case with Āveśa-Avatāras like Pṛthu. This means that Balarāma is Saṃkarṣaṇa himself, and not an Avatāra of Saṃkarṣaṇa, and is thus one of the direct primary forms or emanations of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. It is for this reason that the sacred texts describe him as Svarāj, or existing independently by himself as a form of the supreme divinity.

In this way the other two older Vyūha-forms, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who are also mythologically Kṛṣṇa's son and grandson, are shown to be aspects or emanations of the supreme god Kṛṣṇa. It is not necessary to enter into the details of this dogma which has only a theological interest; it would be enough to indicate that, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, the Purāṇic legend, which speaks of Pradyumna as an incarnation of Kāma slain by Śiva's wrath, represents an one-sided and therefore misleading view (*ekadeśa-prastāva-mātram*); for Śrutis like the *Gopāla-tāpanī* distinctly state that Pradyumna is included eternally in one of the four Vyūhas of Kṛṣṇa. As an ordinary Prākṛta deity, Kāma cannot be so included. The real explanation is that Kāma, who was burnt to ashes by Śiva's wrath and became eternally bodiless thereby, had no capacity of regaining his own body; it was then that Pradyumna, as an Aṃśa of Vāsudeva, entered into Kāma and brought him back to life. Or, one may explain by saying that the real Kāma, as an Aṃśa of Vāsudeva, could not and was never burnt by Śiva's anger, what was burnt was the Prākṛta Kāma. By a similar method of interpretation, Aniruddha is established as the direct fourth Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa. The explanations are indeed ingenious, but the very fact that Jīva Gosvāmin often supplies two or more alternative explanations or offers a choice of meanings shows that his interpretations are mere conjectural efforts at reconciliation of conflicts; they attempt commentarial ingenuities but entirely ignore the historical significance of most of these older theological or mythological conceptions.

Having established in his own way the direct divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the highest Bhagavat, it is indeed superfluous to show that all the attributes of reality and eternity (*nityatva*), lordship (*vibhūti*), etc. pertaining to the Bhagavat become established in Kṛṣṇa as a matter of course. But for further strengthening his own position and for removing the erroneous views of the ignorant, Jīva Gosvāmin briefly deals with this topic, and shows from the evidence of the sacred texts that all the highest divine attributes of the Bhagavat have been predicated of Kṛṣṇa.

If there were any doubt regarding Kṛṣṇa's reality and eternity (*nitya-sthiti*) as the highest god, then the Śāstras, which are worthy of the greatest confidence (*parāpta*), would not have given instructions regarding his worship (*tatra tāvad ārādhanā-vākyenaiva sā sidhyati*) and deliberately displayed the intention of deceiving (*vipralipsā*). The Advaita-vādins, however, deny that there is an absolute reality called Kṛṣṇa; they say that this name and form have been imposed upon the unconditioned Brahma for the convenience of the dualistic ideas of worshippers. This, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, is not correct, because imposition (*āropa*) can be imagined only on a thing which is conditioned in form and attribute, but not on a substance which is infinite in form and attribute (*āropaś ca paricchinna-guṇa-rūpa eva vastuni kalpyate, mānanta-guṇa-rūpe*). Jīva Gosvāmin repeats that the Nityatva of Kṛṣṇa is established by Mahad-anubhava or intuition of great sages, who are known to have received the direct vision of the deity and its desired effects (*dṛśyate ca upāsakānāṃ sākṣātkāras tat-phala-prāptiś ca*). This is admitted even by Srīdhara Svāmin; for, otherwise, how could Kṛṣṇa be an auspicious and desirable object of meditation (*dhyāna*) and thought (*dhāraṇā*)? This *Sākṣātkāra* or beatific vision has reference not merely to the images or symbols of the deity, for movements and appearances of the deity have been directly described in the sacred texts (*gati-vilāsāder varṇitatvāt*). It is because of this reality of the deity himself that it is possible for devotees to have such a vision in symbols like the Śālagrāma stone. That devotees have realized Kṛṣṇa as such (*śuddha-nirdeśa*) is indicated by the well-known Mantra of 18 syllables (*aṣṭādaśākṣarī*) which prescribes Kṛṣṇa, along with his Parikaras, as the object of worship. Even the *Baudhāyana Dharma-śāstra* has a similar indication, and the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Śruti clearly declares the view. But enough of collecting a mass of evidence to prove what, in the opinion of our author and his school, admits of little doubt. Jīva Gosvāmin, therefore, concludes by stating pointedly that those who dare think otherwise of Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, are people who are deluded by the effect of eternal sin (*anādi-pāpa-vikṣepa*), and such people are evil-minded and perverse (*durbuddhi*).

For this reason Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to dilate upon the topic, but only briefly illustrates with reference to Kṛṣṇa such Bhagavat elements of Vibhutva or Lordship as Prākṛta-vāstvātiriktatva (the state of surpassing phenomenal objects), Sva-prakāśatva (self-luminosity), Svayaṃ-rūpatva (identity of form and essence), etc. But the question of Kṛṣṇa's Dhāma (abode) and Parikara (retinue) engages greater attention and occupies him in the rest of the Saṃdarbha. The Dhāma of the Bhagavat as an expression of his divine self-hood or power (Svarūpa-prakāśa or Svarūpa-vibhūti) has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* ; an attempt is now made to show that this is also the Dhāma of Kṛṣṇa. The details of the cosmography are somewhat fanciful and confusing, but they follow generally the Purāṇic account. It is not necessary to go into these details, but it appears that the Dhāma of Kṛṣṇa, as that of the highest god, is located as the highest, existing independently (*svatantratava*) above and beyond the Dhāmas of all other major or minor deities (*sarvopari-sthāyitvam*). The Brahmāṇḍa is described as consisting of fourteen Bhuvanas, viz. seven Lokas (Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa, Svarga, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya) and seven Pātālas (Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala, and Pātāla). Outside these there are eight sheaths or Āvaraṇas of Prakṛti, beyond which there is the enveloping ocean called Kāraṇa-samudra or Virajā. Above this is situated the Siddha-loka, which is the abode of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma. Above this Loka lies the Para-vyoma, of which the presiding deity is Nārāyaṇa, who is an appearance (Vilāsa-mūrti) of Kṛṣṇa. In this Para-vyoma the infinite Avatāras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa reside with their respective Associates, and each has a separate Vaikuṇṭha, so that the Para-vyoma is the aggregate of the infinite Dhāmas of the different partial manifestations of the Bhagavat. The three creative emanations or Vyūhas of the Paramātman-Puruṣa, viz. Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha lie eternally on three oceans respectively, viz. Kārṇodaka, Guṇodaka, and Kṣīrodaka. But set beyond all these inferior Dhāmas, lies the Goloka or Mahā-vaikuṇṭha, which is the exclusive abode of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, as well as of his Parikaras, who are his own people (*sva-jana*) and possess intrinsic affinity with him (*sajātīya*). But, like the deity himself, the Dhāma has also the power of pervading both the phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects (*sa golokaḥ sarva-gataḥ śrīkṛṣṇavat sarva-prāpañcikāprāpañcika-vastu-vyāpakaḥ*), and of appearing in diverse forms. When the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāma, along with his Parikaras, makes its simultaneous appearance ; but like the Bhagavat, again, it never loses its non-phenomenal character, for his Dhāma and his Parikaras are, like himself, beyond Prakṛti and really constitute peculiar expressions of his own intrinsic energy (*bhagavat-prakāśa eva*). By the Bhagavat's inscrutable power (*acintya prabhāva*), therefore, his highest Paradise, which is situated beyond all the Lokas, also exists on the phenomenal earth. The terrestrial Goloka or Vṛndāvana is thus not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka or Vṛndāvana, and the Lord Kṛṣṇa exists eternally in both places with the same Associates. Just as the Vigraha of the Bhagavat is conceived after the image of man, so this school conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa. Jīva Gosvāmin seeks to establish this dogma on the testimony of the Purāṇas, which give an account of the Dhāma of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. In the descriptions given in the *Padma-purāṇa* or the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, for instance, we find that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is described as a sublimated replica of the earthly haunt of Kṛṣṇa, with its river Yamunā, its Gopa-Gopīs, its trees, plants, and animals. But the term terrestrial must not be taken to imply that the earthly residence is phenomenal; it is as much non-phenomenal as the celestial abode, only it makes its appearance in the phenomenal world. It is maintained, therefore, that the Gokula or Vṛndāvana which exists on earth as the residence of Kṛṣṇa in a non-phenomenal form also exists simultaneously as the Goloka above every other Loka (*ata eva vṛndāvanaṃ gokulaṃ eva, sarvopari virājamānaṃ gokulatvena prasiddham*); the only difference is that in the earthly Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa stays both in his Manifest (Prakaṭa) and Unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlās, but in the unearthly Goloka he stays in his Unmanifest Līlā. Even the word Goloka is interpreted as equivalent to the word Gokula as the abode of cows and cowherds (*go-gopa-vāsa-rupam* or *gopānāṃ svaṃ lokam*); and as the appearance of Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa is the most essential form of the divinity, his Parikaras, as his Sajātīyas, are also Gopas in both the places. If one objects that there cannot be such simultaneous appearance of Dhāmas in two different places, it is replied that the Dhāmas possess the character of the Vigraha of the Bhagavat which is capable of making such appearances (*śrī-vigrahavad ubhayor prakāśā-virodhāt*). This is confirmed by the fact that in the scriptures the two Dhāmas are described as possessing the same names, forms, and attributes (*samāna-guṇa-nāma-rūpatvenāmnātatvāt*). As his Dhāma is an expression of the deity's most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), it is described as the place where there is only an excess of intrinsic divine bliss (*svarūpānanda-sukhotkarṣa*). It is also noted that just as in the Manifest (Prakaṭa) Līlā the deity can at his will limit himself to the finite and the phenomenal, even though retaining his infinite and transcendental attributes, so his Loka simultaneously retains its earthly and divine character. If one objects to such a simultaneity, it is replied that the power of the Lord is beyond thought. In other words, there is a mystical interlapping of the infinite and the finite, of the phenomenal and the transcendental. This is said to be illustrated by the legend

(*Bhāgavata*, x, 13) of Brahmā's mistake in stealing the divine cows of Vṛndāvana from the charge of the divine cowherd.

Having established the essential identity of Goloka and Gokula (=Vṛndāvana) and the excellence of Kṛṣṇa's Paradise as an expression of his highest divine energy, Jīva Gosvāmin adduces scriptural evidence to show that the Kṛṣṇa-loka consists of three partial appearances in three places, called respectively Dvārakā, Mathurā, and Gokula, according to the difference of his Līlā and his Parikaras (*sa eva lokas tal-līlā-parikara-bhedenāṃśa-bhedād dvārakā-mathurā-gokulākhya-sthāna-trayātamaka iti nirṇitam*). In other words, the same Dhāma appears in three aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference in the manifestation of the deity (*prakāśa-bheda*) and his Parikaras, i.e. according to the difference of the particular Līlā which takes place in each. On the earth also these Lokas are reputed to have their replicas which possess identical names and forms (*anyatra bhuvi prasiddhānyeva tat-tad-ākhyāni sthānāni tad-rūpatvena śrūyante*). These earthly replicas are not mere geographical localities but, as already noted, they are non-phenomenal (*prapañcātīta*), eternal (*nitya*), supernatural (*alaukika*) and eternally occupied by the Bhagavat (*bhagavan-nityāspada*). These places are also not mere sacred places of worship or pilgrimage (*upāsanā-sthānāni*) where the deity remains in a subtle form (*sūkṣma-rūpatā*), or in the form of an image (*śrīmat-pratimā-rūpatā*), but they are expressly declared to be the actual (*sākṣāt*) places of personal residence of the deity (*tatra vāsasyaiva kaṇṭhoktiḥ*). It is already made clear that these two sets of Lokas are in their essence identical, but one set is said to be a replica (*prakāśa-viśeṣa*) of the other because of a certain difference in their respective manifestation (*prakāśa-bhedenaiva tūbhaya-vidhatvenāmnātāni*). That these Lokas, whether on earth or beyond the earth, possess the same characteristics is testified to by the fact that even to-day great devotees of the Bhagavat have actually seen the divine Kadamba, Aśoka, and other trees and objects (*viśeṣatas tādṛgalaukika-rūpa-bhagavan-nitya-dhāmatve tu divya-kadambāśoka-vṛkṣādayo'pyadyāpi mahā-bhāgavataiḥ sākṣāt-kriyanta iti prasiddhā-vagateḥ*). The proof here, as elsewhere, is the Vidvad-anubhava which is laid down as the best of all proofs (*sarva-pramāṇa-cūḍāmaṇi-bhūto vidvad-anubhava evātra pramāṇam*). As to the Prakāśas or appearances of the Lokas referred to above, three kinds of Prakāśas are distinguished, viz.: (1) Aprakaṭa or Unmanifest, in which by a peculiar power of remaining invisible (*antardhāna-śaktyā*) the particular Loka remains on the earth without actually touching it (*pṛthivīsthe'pi tām aspṛśann eva virājate*), i.e. the earth in this case remains untouched by the Loka or the deity, even though they remain on it ; (2) Prāpañcika or Phenomenal, in which the particular Loka becomes visible to phenomenal beings (*prāpañcika-loka-gocaraḥ*) and descends graciously to the earth by actually touching it (*kṛpayā pṛthivīṃ spṛśann evāvatīrṇaḥ*) ; and (3) Prakaṭa or Manifest, which occurs when in the Prāpañcika Prakāśa the Bhagavat himself descends along with his Parikaras. As he touches the particular Loka by his descent, he thereby touches the earth. It is only in the Prakaṭa Līlā, therefore, that there can be a Prakaṭa Prakāśa of the Loka ; in this case alone the Bhagavat may be said to touch the earth actually and become an object of phenomenal appearance along with his Parikaras.

About the Parikaras or Retinue of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa in these eternal Dhāmas, it is laid down that in Dvārakā and Mathurā they consist of the Yādavas, and in Vṛndāvana or Gokula they consist of the Gopa-Gopīs. Like the Dhāmas and like the Bhagavat himself, they are also real and eternal (*nitya*) and possess a common character (*sādhāraṇya* or *tat-sāmānya*). The resemblance to the deity consists not in intrinsic divine qualities but also in temperament (*prakṛti*), dress (*veśa*), and diversion (*līlā*). Since they grow out of the Bhagavat and form integral parts, their inherent as well as external character is not imposed upon them like the quality of greyness imposed upon the sky. It may be asked that if they are eternal and inseparable Associates or Servants of the Bhagavat himself, how is it that we have descriptions of the Yādavas being wounded in the battle-field, or of the Gopas having lost consciousness from the effects of the poison of the Kālīya lake ? The reply is that these are instances of activities suitable to human appearance, displayed in the same way as are done by the Bhagavat himself (*tad bhagavata iva naralīlaupayikatayā prapañcitam iti mantavyam*). Sometimes there is also an actual mixing up of the phenomenal world in the Prakaṭa Līlā (*kvacit prakaṭa-līlāyāḥ prāpañcika-loka-miśratvād yathārtham eva tad-ādikam*), and some of the occurrences described are therefore actual (e.g. the slaying of Śatadhanvan). The account of the destruction of the Yādavas up to the end of Arjuna's confusion and defeat in *Bhāgavata* XI must be taken as describing not real but illusory (*māyika*) occurrences ; the Yādavas were not actually destroyed, nor was Arjuna actually defeated, but the occurrences were arranged as an illusion by the Bhagavat, who is ever benevolent to Brāhmaṇs, to demonstrate that the curse of a Brāhman can never remain unfulfilled (*brahma-śāpānivartyākhyāpanaiva*). A similar instance is cited from the *Bṛhad-Agnipurāṇa* in which it is related that the Sītā, who was stolen by Rāvaṇa, was not the true Sītā, who was concealed by Agni in his own Dhāma, but only an illusory Sītā created by Agni whom Sītā worshipped. The destruction of a Parikara of the Bhagavat, like that of the Bhagavat himself, is absurd; hence it is reasonable to hold that the Yādavas were never actually destroyed, but that they simply disappeared to their Loka (*tasmāt teṣvanyathā-darśanaṃ na tāttvika-līlānugatam, sa-śarīraṃ tu teṣāṃ sva-loka-gamanam atīva yuktam*). The Parikaras of the Bhagavat are true Vaiṣṇavas; and of true Vaiṣṇavas it is said that there is no fetter of Karma nor birth (*na karma-bandhanaṃ janma vaiṣṇavānāṃ ca vidyate*); their action and birth, therefore, like those of the Bhagavat himself, are brought about entirely by the divine will (*tādṛśānāṃ bhagavata iva bhagavad-icchayaiva janmādi-kāraṇam*).

In the same way Jīva Gosvāmin seeks to establish that the Gopa-Gopīs are also eternal Parikaras of the Bhagavat and possess non-phenomenal form, dress, and diversion. If the Gopīs are sometimes described as giving up their perishable body, made up of the three Guṇas (*guṇamaya-deha*), or if the relation between them and Kṛṣṇa is depicted in terms of the relation between a lover and his mistresses (*jāra-buddhi*), such texts are to be interpreted otherwise. In this connexion, *Bhāgavata* VI, 29, 10 is discussed,[1] and an ingenious spiritual explanation is given of the verse. The phrase *jāra-buddhi* is interpreted to imply that the Gopīs merely thought of Kṛṣṇa as a lover without, however, actually attaining him as such, for such a relation did not exist (*jāra iti yā buddhis tayāpi tan-mātreṇāpi saṅgatāḥ, na tu sākṣād eva jāra-rūpeṇa prāptāḥ*). The phrase is meant not for an actual fact, but only to suggest the nature of their intense feeling of worship (*bhajanasya prābalayaṃ vyañjitam*), which was like that of a mistress for her lover (*tad-bhāva-puraskāreṇa*); for such a feeling is unimpeded and completely free (*tathāvidha-bhāvasyāti-nirargalatvaṃ darśitam*). Again, as the Gopīs thought of Kṛṣṇa as the beloved (*kāntatayā*), there can be no question of their giving up their phenomenal body (*guṇa-maya deha*), which cessation happens only on the attainment of Brahma. The phrase *jahur guṇa-mayaṃ deham* must, therefore, be taken in a different sense. It refers to the night of the Rāsa when the Gopīs went to sport with Kṛṣṇa, although each Gopa thought, through the Lord's Māyā, that his wife was staying by his side. The phrase *guṇa-maya deha* refers to this illusory form (*māyika deha*) which the Lord created and into which the Gopīs entered (*tat-kālika-kalpito yo guṇa-mayo dehas tatra praveśaḥ*). The phrase *sadyaḥ prakṣīṇa-bandhanāḥ* refers only to the overcoming of such obstacles, as living with relatives, in the way of their union with Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-prāpti-virodhi*

---

[1] *tam eva paramātmānaṃ jāra-buddhyāpi saṅgatāḥ* |
jahur guṇa-mayaṃ dehaṃ sadyaḥ prakṣīṇa-bandhanāḥ ||

guru-jana-madhya-vāsādi-rūpam). An alternative explanation is also given that the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as Sādhaka-carī (i.e. who became Gopīs beloved of the Lord through their force of worship or Sādhana),[1] and not to the Gopīs, like Rādhā, who are Nitya-siddhā or eternally beloved of Kṛṣṇa. The forms of the former are not eternal (asiddha-dehaḥ); they left their phenomenal body for the non-phenomenal and passed from the Manifest (Prakaṭa) to the Unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlā.

If Vṛndāvana is Kṛṣṇa's eternal residence and if the Gopa-Gopīs are his eternal Parikaras, then how is it that the phases of Kṛṣṇa's birth, childhood, adolescence, etc. are described in the Līlā at Vṛndāvana, just like those of phenomenal beings? The reply to this has already been given in connexion with the question of the birth, etc. of the Bhagavat; but the *raison d'etre* of such a display of Līlā as has a mundane form is given here to be the fact that it causes great bliss to his devotees (*etādṛśa-laukika-līlayaiva hi prapanna-jana-vṛndasya paramānando bhavati*). The acts like birth and childhood in the Līlā are said to be intrinsic to the divine self (*bhagavad-vigrahe śiśutvādayo vicitrā eva dharmāḥ svābhāvikāḥ santi*), and are therefore non-phenomenal, even if they resemble phenomenal acts (*prapañcavad bhāti, na tu prapañca-rūpam*). Hence Kṛṣṇa appeared to be born like a phenomenal being but was not actually born in that manner; for Kṛṣṇa is reputed eternally to be the son of Nanda and Yaśodā without actually entering into the womb of Yaśodā or even of Devakī (*ata eva garbha-praveśādikaṃ vināpi tayoḥ putratayā prasiddhiḥ*). The theory is thus not one of immaculate conception but of immaculate birth which is eternally incident to the divine self in his peculiar Līlā. Hence it is explained that the Lord, having a Vigraha which consists entirely of Sat, Cit, and Ānanda, made his appearance in the phenomenal world not through actual human birth as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, but by entering into their minds (*sac-cid-ānandavigrahasya tasya tan-manasyāveśa eva*). It is made clear, however, that the form of Kṛṣṇa as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī is not identical with his form as the son of Yaśodā and Nanda. Though Vasudeva and Devakī were Parikaras of Kṛṣṇa in his Aprakaṭa Līlā, their status was much lower, in respect of their stage of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, than that of Nanda and Yaśodā. Hence Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to Vasudeva and Devakī in his sweet intrinsic form of a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of Vasudeva with four hands. Subsequently he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana, where he assumed his real intrinsic form. This is supported by the *Gītā* text in which Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being is supposed to refer to his partial or lower manifestation of Vāsudeva by saying that he is 'Vāsudeva among the Vṛṣṇis' (*vṛṣṇīnāṃ vāsudevo'smi*). We are told that Nanda and Yaśodā were not ordinary human beings but eternal Parikaras of the deity, who obtained this higher favour and bliss by that particular form of devotional love known as Vātsalya or parental feeling (*vātsalyābhidha-prema-viśeṣenaiva śrī-kṛṣṇaḥ putra-tayodeti*). All this is in the Manifest (Prakaṭa) Līlā, but in the Unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlā the relation of parent and son, established through the Vātsalya-rasa, exists eternally between Nanda-Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa (*anādito vātsalya-rasa-siddha-pitṛ-putra-bhāvo vidyate*). That such is the relation is testified to by the realization of sages. This good fortune Nanda and Yaśodā enjoyed even to the exclusion of Vasudeva and Devakī; but there is no other particular reason for this good fortune but their devotion and the Lord's grace, and it came about, like the Lordship of the Lord itself, without any reason (*tayos tādṛśa-mahodaye kāraṇam nāsti*). But the semblance of a reason (*kāraṇābhāsa*) is afforded for the understanding of ordinary human beings by the Purāṇic story that Nanda and Yaśodā were originally the Vasu called Droṇa and his wife Dhārā who obtained the boon of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti from Brahmā. It is, therefore, their attitude of Bhakti in the form of Vātsalya which alone must be considered as the reason for the relationship, for the Lord delights to sport with his devotees in the form in which they desire him most. It is repeated in this connexion that the ways of Jñāna and Tapas are inferior to that of Bhakti and can attain Kṛṣṇa only in his partial aspect of Brahma; but it is Bhakti to Kṛṣṇa in his eternal sport as a Gopa which is the highest good (*puruṣārtha*); it brings to the Bhakta the indescribable divine bliss which is denied to the Jñānin and the Yogin.

---

[1] This theory is based upon the description given in the *Padma-purāṇa* that certain Ṛṣis as well as the Upaniṣads became desirous of enjoying the wonderful sport of Kṛṣṇa, and by their merit became Gopīs of Vṛndāvana for that purpose.

With regard to Kṛṣṇa's exploits of killing demons, etc. in his Prakaṭa Līlā, it has already been explained that it is never the business of the Bhagavat himself to relieve the burden of the world; the exploits were accomplished by the Avatāras who simultaneously entered into him at the time of his appearance. But the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa can at his will act like phenomenal beings in his Prakaṭa Līlā, which may admit of a touch of phenomenal acts and occurrences.

It has been said that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa eternally sports in his three Dhāmas, viz., Dvārakā, Mathurā, and Vṛndāvana, which are represented as three aspects of one and the same reality. If this is so, how is it that in the sacred texts the progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā, and finally to Gokula is described? The answer to this puzzle is furnished by the supposition that all this is described only with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in his Prakaṭa Līlā in the phenomenal world (*mathurādi-parityāgādyuktir avatāre prāpañcika-jana-prakaṭa-līlāpekṣayaiva*) ; but the Aprakaṭa Līlā, which is not revealed to the phenomenal world, eternally goes on in these Dhāmas (*aprakaṭā tu līlā nityam eva vidyata eva*). This explanation necessitates an exposition of this theory of phenomenal and noumenal appearances of the deity, or his Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā, to which Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention.

It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English, but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss (Ānanda) and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis or Energies, and excludes all ideas of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word ' sport '. We are told that the term *daivata* in relation to Kṛṣṇa is derived from the verbal root *div* which means ' to shine ' as well as ' to play ' ; and the verb *krīḍ* or *ram* is generally found associated with the deity in the sense of sport. The Līlā or beatific sport may be Manifest or Prakaṭa and Unmanifest or Aprakaṭa according as it can or cannot be apprehended directly by phenomenal beings (*prāpañcika-lokāprakaṭatvāt tat-prakaṭatvāc ca*). The testimony of the texts shows that both the Līlās are *nitya*, i.e. real and eternal. As a matter of fact, one and the same eternal Līlā appears in twofold ways on account of the limitations of the phenomenal Jīva. As the real nature of the Jīva is suppressed by the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva is thereby debarred from witnessing it, the Līlā is unmanifest ; but when the deity in his infinite grace and love to his devotees directly reveals himself in the phenomenal world, the self-same Līlā becomes manifest. The Aprakaṭa or Unmanifest aspect of the Līlā, therefore, is free from all contact of the phenomenal world and its objects, and the eternity of Līlā is explained to mean that its characteristic flow is unimpeded and has, like time itself, no beginning, middle, or end (*kālavad ādi-madhyāvasāna-pariccheda-rahita-svaprabhāva*). It is also marked by the same incidents and characteristics (as for instance, continually holding royal court in lordship over the Yādavas and the Gopas, tending cows and other diversions) as also mark the Prakaṭa Līlā (*yādavendratva-vrajayuvarājatvādyucitāhar-ahar-mahāsabhopaveśa-gocāraṇa-vinodādi-lakṣaṇā*). The Prakaṭa Līlā also in the same way, like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat, is not subject to the limitations of time (*śrī-vigrahavat kālādibhir aparicchedyaiva*) ; but in it there is, through the intrinsic will-power of the Svarūpa-Śakti of the deity (*bhagavad-icchātmaka-svarūpa-śaktyaiva*), a beginning and an end (*labdhārambha-samāpanā*), as well as a mixture of phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects (*prāpañcikāprāpañcika-loka-vastu-saṃvalitā*) and an appearance of incidents like Kṛṣṇa's birth and death (*tadīya-janmādi-lakṣaṇā*). Jīva Gosvāmin informs us that Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa Līlā, which was once witnessed by some eminently fortunate phenomenal beings, is even to-day revealed partially to men like himself (*prakaṭa-līlānugatah prakāśāḥ prākṛtair api kaiścid bhāgya-viśeṣodayavadbhir dadṛśe, saṃpratyasmābhir api tad-aṃśo dṛśyate*).

The Aprakaṭa Līlā, again, is described as having two aspects. It may, in the first place, be what is realized in a limited way by the meditation prescribed by the sacred Mantras (*mantropāsanāmayī*), or, secondly, it may be what is fully revealed by the flow of inherent Rasa or devotional sentiment (*svārasikī*). The former has a limit fixed by the particular time or place suitable to the particular Līlā, which forms the object of the Mantra (*tad-ekatara-sthānādi-niyata-sthitikā*), and its character is also determined by such Svarūpa, Dhāma and Parikara of the deity as are prescribed for meditation by the particular Mantra (*tat-tan-mantra-dhyānamayī*). In this respect the infinitely varied Līlā is restricted to a particular divine act or sport as given in a set formula or meditation-symbol; but this is necessary to the devotee in a preliminary stage when he is not yet accustomed to meditate upon and realize the endless forms of the Līlā. The Svārasikī, on the other hand, is not merely something which is recorded in the Mantra or presented for meditation; the deity sometimes in his grace to the devotee actually reveals the Līlā which is hidden from the vision of the ordinary mortal. In some cases, what is limited by the somewhat mechanical Mantra becomes a living and natural realization (*mantropāsanāmayītve'pi svārasikyām eva paryavasati*). The Svārasikī aspect of the Aprakaṭa Līlā is not limited to a particular divine act or sport, but it is varied at will according to the occasion (*yathāvasaraṃ vividhecchāmayī*). In its continuity and expansiveness as a stream of Līlā, the Svārasikī has been compared to the Ganges, while the Mantropāsanāmayī, which is born out of it and is limited in its scope, has been compared to a lake or series of lakes circumscribed out of the stream.

Such simultaneous assumption of different divine forms at different places by the deity has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* as a natural result of the inherent divine power; but such manifestation or Prakāśa is not like the reflection in the mirror (*pratibimba*), but like a halo (*bimba*) issuing out of the ultimate substance. The existence of reflection in the mirror is conditioned by the existence of the mirror; the reflection appears also in a reversed form and cannot be actually felt by such senses as touch; but the halo issuing out of a substance appears at will (*yathecchaṃ udayeta*) by its inherent power (*svābhāvika-śakti-sphurita tvam*), can be directly felt by touch and other senses (*sākṣāt sparśādi-bhāvena*) and does not differ in its essence from the substance. This analogy shows the reality of the different Prakāśas, each of which partakes of the character of divine perfection (*sarveṣāṃ prakāśānāṃ pūrṇatvam*). It follows that these Prakāśas are not mere endless replicas of the same form, all having the self-same mode and sequence of acts; on the contrary, each has, by the unthinkable power of the deity, a separate reality and existence as well as the capacity for independent action. The proof of all this lies in the fact that varied Prakāśas of this character have been described in the *Bhāgavata*; and if they were not true, they could not have caused delight to the learned people.

In different Prakāśas, therefore, there are varied acts, and the effect of this is to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss (Rasa) in each case. To support the peculiar Rasa in each Prakāśa, therefore, there are in each a difference of conceit (*abhimāna-bheda*) and a mutually exclusive knowledge of each other (*parasparam ananusandhānam*), along with a difference in the mode of action (*kriyā-bheda*). In other words, the actors in one Prakāśa are unaware of what is happening in the other, even if they themselves appear in both; and in each Prakāśa they are possessed of the conceit that they are appearing only in that particular Prakāśa in the particular manner. This theory of the exclusive individuality of each Prakāśa makes it possible to understand that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation from his beloved in one Līlā may be union in another. Thus in the Prakāśa at Vṛndāvana at the termination of Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa Līlā at that place, it appears as if a separation occurs between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it really does not occur; for even if Kṛṣṇa appears to be separated from his Parikaras in the Prakaṭa Līlā, he is ever united with them there in the Aprakaṭa Līlā, into which he enters simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's eternal Aprakaṭa Līlā, which goes on in all the three Dhāmas; but since it is sometimes manifested and sometimes hidden from the view of phenomenal beings, there are apparent separations in the Prakaṭa Līlā. Thus, both the manifest and the unmanifest Līlās can go on in the same Dhāma as in different Dhāmas; and when the deity is not manifestly present in the Prakaṭa Līlā, he is to be regarded as present in the unmanifest form of the Aprakaṭa Līlā. It can be shown from the sacred texts that in the same place and at the same time the Gopīs, in their double capacity in the Prakaṭa and the Aprakaṭa Līlās, have felt the bliss of union and sorrow of separation. All this may appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions like union and separation have no essential validity in the Līlā of the inconceivably perfect being. This theory enables our author to reconcile and explain such contradictions in manifestation as are sometimes found recorded in the sacred texts, e.g. separation from the Gopīs at the end of the Prakaṭa Līlā at Vṛndāvana, as well as from the Yādavas at the end of the Prakaṭa Līlā at Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padma-purāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is also explained in the same way.

The different Prakāśas of Kṛṣṇa are each characterized by different aspects of his divine self. The aspects respectively of Aiśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion), and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty) may be emphasized in the one or the other. In the manifestation at Vṛndāvana, however, all these aspects are displayed, but most of all the Mādhurya. It has already been shown in the second Saṃdarbha that Mādhurya as an aspect of the divine Hlādinī Śakti constitutes the highest essence and differentia of the Bhagavat. This Mādhurya is prominent in a superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, and we have here, therefore, the highest and best manifestation of the divine self. As an expression of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa always remains at Vṛndāvana in his beautiful adolescent form (*kiśora-mūrti*), whether in his Prakaṭa or in his Aprakaṭa Līlā; for it is recorded in the *Bhāgavata* that throughout the whole period of adolescence in his Prakaṭa Līlā he remained constantly at Vṛndāvana (*pūrṇa-kaiśora-vyāpinyeva vraje prakaṭa-līlā jñeyā*); and even after that he continued to remain in that adolescent form in his Aprakaṭa Līlā there. Hence, Kṛṣṇa's adolescent form must be regarded not only as the prominent form round which all his sports centre, but it must be accepted as the only real form both in his Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā. This eternal youth and beauty he manifests only at Vṛndāvana throughout in his Prakaṭa as well as in his Aprakaṭa Līlā; and as this is the supreme Prakāśa of Kṛṣṇa, Vṛndāvana is the best of all Dhāmas, the true Goloka.

Having explained the character and place of divine sport, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to consider the relation between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. He makes an elaborate attempt to interpret the doubtfully erotic texts as possessing a deeply spiritual meaning. His main thesis is that the Gopīs obtained the Lord as their Pati (husband), and not as a Jāra or Upapati (lover). He thereby subscribes to the Svakīyā-vāda of his master Rūpa Gosvāmin and discredits the Parakiyā-vāda advocated by later theorists. Even if the word *jāra* is used in some passages, the *jāra-buddhi* of the Gopīs merely indicates a mental attitude of intense longing and not an actual fact. From the episode of the Kātyāyanī-vrata, it is clear that these maidens desired to obtain Kṛṣṇa as their husband (x, 22, 2), and Kṛṣṇa must be taken to have fulfilled their wish, for they are distinctly called wives of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-vadhū*) in the *Bhāgavata* (x, 33, 7). But apart from this usual method of verbal interpretation of texts, the general line of argument adopted by Jīva Gosvāmin is that it is conformable to the Rasa-śāstra as well as logical (*siddhānta-rasaśāstrayoḥ sammatā*) to regard the Gopīs as the Svakīyā (and not Parakīyā) of Kṛṣṇa. It is reasonable to suppose that men wish for an object which does not bring calamity in its train, but union with a secret lover is always full of trouble and cannot very well be taken as a final end with the Gopīs (*jāra-bhāvamayaḥ saṃgamaś ca sadaiva sopadravaḥ, tasmād asau paryavasāna-puruṣārthatve tat-tac-chāstra-sammato na syāt*). The Rasa-śāstra does not approve of any union with the wife of another person. As such a union is unlawful and impious, its vulgarity obstructs the principal sentiment or Rasa (*adharma-mayatva-pratītau tvaślīlatayā vyāhanyata eva rasaḥ*) ; it is impossible to admit it in the Mādhurya Rasa of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. Hence Jīva Gosvāmin's own guru, Rūpa Gosvāmin, has boldly effected a regular marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at the Nava Vṛndāvana in Dvārakā in the tenth Act of his *Lalita-mādhava*. The impiety of union with a woman other than one's own arises under two circumstances, viz. when the woman is the married wife of another (*parakīyatva*), and when she has been enjoyed by another person (*para-sparśa*). Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to show from an explanation of *Bhāgavata* texts that both these faults do not at all attach to the Gopīs. They were never actually married or even bodily touched by the Gopas ; for on the occasion of their marriage or daily intercourse with the Gopas, they were in fact concealed by the Māyā-śakti of Kṛṣṇa and their illusory forms were substituted. If they are sometimes found giving the Gopas the name of husband, this is in accordance with the outward usage of the world, but not in accordance with their own inward vision (*kvacit tābhir eva tu yat pati-śabdaḥ prayuktas tad bahir loka-vyavahārata eva, nāntar-dṛṣṭitaḥ*). They had, therefore, no husband except Kṛṣṇa. Sometimes it appears from the texts (e.g. x, 31, 13) that the Gopīs had children, but the word ' children ' in such texts must not be understood to apply to their own children but to those of their relatives ; for, according to the Rasa-śāstra, their having children would not be a case of real Rasa but a case of mere semblance of Rasa (Rasābhāsa) on account of the violation of the rule of propriety (*anaucitya-pravṛtta*). The Gopīs, therefore, are Kṛṣṇa's real and eternal beloved (*nitya-preyasī*), union with whom as their only husband does not constitute the fault of adultery; in fact, they are aspects of his own Svarūpa-śakti with whom, as the Śaktimat, he is represented as sporting eternally (*anādita eva tābhiḥ kridāśālitvena svīkṛtatvāt tac-chakti-rūpāṇāṃ tāsāṃ saṃgame vastuta eva para-dāra-doṣo'pi nāsti*).

It has been shown in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* that the term Bhagavat is applied to the supreme deity as the possessor of the Svarūpa-śakti, and that the Svarūpa-śakti is known as his divine consort Lakṣmī. In the present Saṃdarbha it has been determined that Kṛṣṇa is this Bhagavat; it now remains to determine the Svarūpa-śakti of Kṛṣṇa in his various Dhāmas and Līlās. In the two Dhāmas, Mathurā and Dvārakā, the general designation of the Svarūpa-śakti is Mahiṣī, given collectively to the sixteen thousand queenly wives of the royal Kṛṣṇa. They are thus collectively identical with Lakṣmī as aspects of his Svarūpa-śakti. Of these, eight are his Paṭṭa-mahiṣī or chief queens; and each of them represents symbolically one or other aspects of the Śakti, e.g. Satyabhāmā = Bhū-śakti, Yamunā = Kṛpā-śakti, etc. But in these two Dhāmas, as Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself, so Rukmiṇī as his most beloved is Lakṣmī herself (*svayaṃ lakṣmī*). In Dvārakā the Mahiṣīs were all present in the Prakaṭa Līlā; but in Mathurā even if they were not present in Prakaṭa Līlā, the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Śruti tells us that Rukmiṇī, and by implication all the Mahiṣīs, were present in the Aprakaṭa Līlā. In Vṛndāvana, the appearances of Kṛṣṇa's Svarūpa-śakti are the Vraja-devīs or Gopīs. They are special expressions of Kṛṣṇa's highest Hlādinī Śakti, and are therefore generally superior to the Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā and Mathurā. There are gradations, however, among the Gopīs according to the various degrees of manifestation of the Śakti in them; and this is symbolized by the difference of their feelings for Kṛṣṇa as well as by the difference of Kṛṣṇa's own manifestation to them. These gradations are represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the erotic-emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā as the greatest beloved is said to have attained, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of Mahābhāva and obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. If the *Padma-purāṇa* tells us that some of the Gopīs attained the rank by their being worshippers in their previous birth (*pūrva-janmani sādhakatvam*), the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as Sādhakacarīs; it does not apply to those who, like Rādhā, are Nitya-siddhā or eternally perfected. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is prominently displayed a particular essence of the erotic sentiment (*prema-rasa-sāra-viśeṣa*), which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa (*hlādinī-sāra-vṛtti-viśeṣa*). Owing to the plentiful display of this Śakti in them, there is the highest realization of the Bhagavat's bliss in them (*tat-prācurya-prakāśena śrī-bhagavato'pi tāsu paramollāsa-prakāśo bhavati*), by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them (*tena tābhī ramaṇecchā jāyate*). The names of the eight chief Gopīs are enumerated from the dialogue of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira in the Malla-dvādaśī episode of the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa*, viz. Gopālī, Pālikā, Dhanyā, Viśākhā, Dhyānaniṣṭhikā, Rādhā, Anurādhā, Somābhā, to which are added the two Tārakās; but in the Prahlāda-saṃhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa* the eight names are given as Lalitā, Śyamalā, Dhanyā, Viśākhā, Rādhā, Śaivyā, Padmā, and Bhadrā. But from the Āgamas it is known that the number is one hundred crore.

In the *Prīti-saṃdarbha* it will be further shown that Rādhā represents among the Gopīs the highest degree of the supreme love (*premotkarṣa-parākāṣṭhā*). In Vṛndāvana, therefore, Rādhā is Lakṣmī. Just as in Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat there is the fullest display of the divine energy, so Rādhā represents this energy to the fullest degree. In other words, Rādhā as the Antaraṅgā Mahāśakti of Kṛṣṇa symbolizes his most intrinsic and highest selfhood. As such she is entirely identified with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti; and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's eternal amorous sports with Rādhā. The relation is of course not one of absolute identity but one of difference as well as non-difference, like the relation of the flame to the fire, or of the scent to the flower. It follows therefore that Rādhā may be taken as the highest type of the Bhakta, the highest Parikara or Servant, as well as his closest consort. The other Gopīs are in reality her various aspects or emanations; for she is the Gopī *par excellence*, in whom there is the bliss of love (*premānanda*) in its highest stage of the ecstatic Mahābhāva, which is unattainable by other Gopīs. When the *Bhāgavata* says that Kṛṣṇa loves to sport with one Gopī even though there are other Gopīs, it implies the supremacy of Rādhā (*satīsvanyāsu ekayā ityanena tatrāpi paramamukhyatvam*), although Rādhā is not directly mentioned there by name. Jīva Gosvāmin now concludes the *Srīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* by ingeniously interpreting the first preliminary and pre-eminent verse (*mūrdhanya-śloka*) of the *Bhāgavata* as applying to Rādhā, in the same way as he has already interpreted and applied it to Kṛṣṇa alone. In the phrase *tad dhīmahi* (may we attain that) of the verse, the neuter singular usage of the relative pronoun *tat* (that) is intended, in our author's opinion, to indicate generally, without any distinction of sex, the essential identity (*aikyenaiva vivakṣitam tad iti, ata eva sāmānyatayā parāmarśan napuṃsakatvam*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the Śakti and the Śaktimat. Hence the appearance of Kṛṣṇa coupled with that of Rādhā (*rādhayā yugalitas tu kṛṣṇaḥ*) at Vṛndāvana is the most wonderful of all the blessed and wonderful manifestations of Kṛṣṇa (*paramādbhuta-prakāśaḥ*). The term *yugalita*, however, must not be taken to imply absolute identity or merging but a relation of identity in non-identity.

Thus, in the first four Saṃdarbhas the Sambandha-tattva is explained; and in this particular Saṃdarbha the Tattva is described the appearance of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in pair as the most perfected form of deity, who is the Sambandhin (*tasminn api saṃbandhe śrī-rādhā-mādhava-rūpeṇaiva prādurbhāvas tasya saṃbhandhinaḥ paramaḥ prakarṣaḥ*).

THE LOST ĀRYĀ OF THE SĀṂKHYA-KĀRIKĀ

By M. Ledrus, S.J.

Gauḍapāda's *Bhāṣya* on the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā* opens with a couplet in *āryā* metre, which is found also at the beginning of the *Māṭharavṛtti*, with a slight difference (Cfr. Appendix). The text as found in the *Māṭhara* seems to be the earlier one, and runs as follows :

kapilāya namas tasmai yenāvidyodadhau jagati magne |
kāruṇyāt sāṃkhyamayī naur iha vihitā prataraṇāya ||

The cumulative weight of the following reasons inclines one to consider this *āryā* as the first couplet of the *Kārikā*.

(1) It is well known that though the *Kārikā*, in its actual reading, contains only 69 *āryās*, their traditional number is seventy, so much so that the name *saptati* is commonly given to the treatise, as in the historical appendix[1] of the *Kārikā* (*ā.* 72), and in the conclusion of the *Māṭharavṛtti* ; the *Jayamaṅgalā*, another recently published commentary, calls itself '*saptatikāyāsṭīkā*', etc.[2]

---

[1] The *āryās* 70–72 (70-73 in *Māṭhara*) give a historical outline of the Sāṃkhya tradition (*sampradāya*), some sort of a statement of the authenticity of the treatise. The 69th *āryā* is a compendium of Sāṃkhya doctrine and reads naturally as the conclusion of the treatise :—

puruṣārthaṃ jñānam idaṃ guhyaṃ paramārṣiṇā samākhyātam |
sthityutpattipralayāçcintyante yatra bhūtānām ||

[2] B. G. Tilak suggested that the lost *āryā* followed the 61st *āryā*, 'because the commentary on the 61st couplet is not on one couplet, but on two couplets. And if the symbolical phrases in this commentary are taken and a verse is written, it will run as follows :—

kāraṇaṃ īçvaram eke bruvate kālam pare svabhāvaṃ vā |
prajāḥ kathaṃ nirguṇato vyaktaḥ kālaḥ svabhāvaç ca ||

And this verse fits the anterior and posterior context. I think that some one has subsequently omitted this āryā, as it supports atheism. But as this ultra-critical man who has omitted the original couplet, forgot to delete the commentary on the verse which was omitted, we can now reconstruct that verse.' (*Gītā Rahasya*, English Translation, Vol. I, p. 221 ; Poona, 1935).

It is rather unlikely that the commentary would have been left untouched by the critic who suppressed the *āryā*. Besides, the *āryā* is entirely constructed by Tilak. His suggestion does not seem to have found credit. (Cfr. S. K. Belvalkar, *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. V, 1924, pp. 161-162.—V. V. Sovani, *A Critical Study of the Sankhya System . . .*, in *Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. VII, 1931, p. 432.

One point in this connection deserves special attention. The *Gauḍapāda* expressly stops at the 69th *āryā* of the actual text, and leaves *āryās* 70–72 without comment. Still the commentary concludes with these verses :

sāṃkhyaṃ kapilamuninā proktaṃ saṃsāravimuktikāraṇaṃ hi |
yatraitāḥ saptatir āryā bhāṣyaṃ cātra gauḍapādakṛtam ||

Whether these verses are by Gauḍapāda or another hand [1] it is clear that the author of the concluding verses of the *bhāṣya* counted 70 *āryās* (*etāḥ saptatir āryāḥ*) where we now read only 69 if the text begins with *duḥkhatraya* . . .. He does not say, 'Here is the *Saptati*', but expressly 'Here are the 70 *āryās*'. It is unlikely that he would have been mistaken in the numeration. It seems therefore that in his estimation there *are* actually 70 *āryās* of Īçvarakṛṣṇa to be found within the limits of the *Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya.*

As a matter of fact, besides the 69 *āryās* generally considered as the body of the *Kārikā*, there are two initial *āryās* in *Gauḍapāda* ; the second, compared with *Māṭhara's* text, proves to be a transformation of a *çloka* (Cfr. Appendix). There remains therefore the one *āryā* of salutation to be considered.

(2) That the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, in its actual tenor, has no salutation is perhaps not quite abnormal. But Vācaspati Miçra, in his *Tattvakaumudī* points out that the opening word '*duḥkha*' is unsuitable, because it is not propitious (*maṅgala*). He finds of course an excuse in that the verse deals with the *suppression* of *duḥkha* [2] ; but he himself was probably aware that such a justification was far fetched.[3] Let us therefore note that *duḥkha* was felt by the great commentator to be an unsuitable word to begin a treatise with. This is not without weight in a typically classical work like the *Kārikā*.

(3) On the other hand, the above salutation is not suitable in the mouth of the *bhāṣyakārin*, whilst it reads quite naturally if written by the author of the *Kārikā*. For it refers directly and only to Kapila. If the salutation were the commentator's, mention

---

This long and difficult passage of the commentary on *āryā* 61, which is found also in *Māṭhara* and *Paramārtha*, looks rather like one of those discussions deliberately discarded by the *Karikā*, as we are told in the appendix (72) : *paravādavivarjitāḥ.* Perhaps the discussion was taken over from a commentary on the primitive *sūtras* and inserted in this passage of the original commentary on the *Kārikā.*

[1] As suggested by Pandit B. Tripathi in the *Benares Sanskrit Series* Edition.

[2] *yadyapi duḥkham amaṅgalaṃ tathāpi tatparihārārthatvena tadapaghāto maṅgalam eveti yuktaṃ çāstrādau tatkīrtanam iti.*

[3] In any case the later *Sāṁkhyasūtras* prefixed a propitious *atḥa* to *trividhaduḥkha* . . ..

should have been made of Īçvarakṛṣṇa himself, as in the first *çloka* of the *Māṭharavṛtti*. Of course, the following *çloka* indicates that the commentary is made by the author of the salutation, but we shall see later that the original commentary was most probably written by Īçvarakṛṣṇa himself. Vācaspati, not being aware of this, as he had in hand—as it seems—only the commentary already known as *Gauḍapāda* and asserted as such in the conclusion, corrected the salutation, as well as the rest of the *Gauḍapāda*, and gave us a suitable salutation for a commentator :

kapilāya mahāmunaye munaye çiṣyāya tasya cāsuraye |
pancaçikhāya tatheçvarakṛṣṇāyaite namasyāmaḥ ||

(4) There are, besides, positive indications that the salutation is an original part of the *Kārikā*. For the three oldest synoptic commentaries, *Māṭhara, Paramārtha, Gauḍapāda,* reproduce the terms and ideas of the salutation in the introduction to the first *āryā* ; and, moreover, those ideas are essentially connected with the same *āryā*.

The salutation has the name of 'Kapila' : his person is described in the three commentaries. The expression '*yenāvidyodadhau jagati magne*' is explained by : '*andhe tamasi majjaj jagad idam adrākṣīt* (*Māṭhara*) ; . . . *ālokya* (*Gauḍapāda*) ; '*Voyant l'humanité plongée dans d'aveugles ténèbres*' (*Paramārtha*). The expression '*kāruṇyāt*' is represented by '*tad avalokyāsya kāruṇyam udapādi*' (*Māṭhara*); '*satkāruṇyo*' (*Gauḍapāda*) ; '*il éprouvait pour elle une grande compassion*' (*Paramārtha*). '*Sāṃkhyamayī naur*' is developed by *Māṭhara* into a series of comparisons ; perhaps these are not part of the original text, but they show at least that the commentator had this simile as part of the *Kārikā ; Gauḍapāda* has '*pañcaviñcatitattvānāṃ jñānam uktavān*'.

It seems reasonable to conclude from these considerations that the insertion of the salutation as the first *āryā* of the *Kārikā* has a substantial ground of probability. A comparative criticism of the three synoptic commentaries leads to the following reconstruction of Īçvarakṛṣṇa's original text :

kapilāya namas tasmai yenāvidyodadhau jagati magne |
kāruṇyāt sāṃkhyamayī naur iha vihitā prataraṇāya ||

namaskṛtya tu taṃ tasya vakṣye jñānasya kāraṇam |
hitāya sarvaçiṣyāṇām alpagranthasamuccayam ||

duḥkhatrayābhighātāj jijñāsā tadabhighātake hetau |
dṛṣṭe sā'pārthā cen naikāntātyantato'bhāvāt ||

asyā āryāyā upodghātaḥ kriyate | iha hi bhagavān brahmasuto maharṣiḥ kapilo nāma sāṃsiddhikadharmajñānavairāgyaiçvarya-sampanno'ndhe tamasi majjaj jagad idam adrākṣīt | tad avalokyāsya kāruṇyam udapādi | 'aho khalvidaṃ jagad anādikāla-sambaddhaṃ nisargād eva andhe tamasi vartata' iti | sa evaṃ vicintayan āsurisagotraṃ brāhmaṇaviçeṣaṃ varṣasahasrayājinam avagatya vācam ity uvāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasta-dharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'rame bho' iti | sa evam ukto munir nirgamya bhūyo'pi dvitīye varṣasahasre pūrṇe pratyāgatya tathaivābhyuvāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'rame bho' iti | athāsau mahāyogīndras tathaiva nirgamya tṛtīye varṣasahasre sampūrṇe abhyetyovāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'na rame bho' iti | atha sa bhagavatā uktaḥ 'katham' iti | punar āha āsuriḥ 'duḥkhatrayābhighātad' iti . . .

It remains to outline a critical history of the salutation.

Īçvarakṛṣṇa's *Kārikā* looks like a compilation of early *Sāṃkhya-sūtras* arranged in scholastic verses.[1] The first *sūtras* apparently dealt with the person of Kapila. These were set into a salutation by Īçvarakṛṣṇa. The same *sūtras* were essentially connected with the text *duḥkhatraya, &c.* The commentary on this text contained an introductory (*upodghāta*) anecdote of Āsuri's conversion; it was originally a comment on the text assumed into the salutation, to the effect that Āsuri's *jijñāsā* proceeded from the oppression of the three *duḥkhas*. Then followed the analysis of *duḥkhatraya, &c.*

Īçvarakṛṣṇa did not comment ex professo on the salutation, which is in keeping with his conciseness. Instead he had it followed by a transitional çloka-comment explaining his intention. It is possible that even from the time of Īçvarakṛṣṇa the *Sāṃkhya* school was no more existent, for he expressly states that his work is intended for *all* students, that is for students of all schools. The *Kārikā* was in fact circulated among the various orthodox and heterodox schools, Buddhists, Jainas, Bhāgavatas, and Vedantins, all of whom more or less adapted the text to their own convenience. The *Gauḍapāda* is the text of the Vedantins; it depends on an earlier text, the same from which the *Paramārtha* and the *Māṭhara* are derived. But while Paramārtha in general *suppressed* passages from the original, and Māṭhara *supplemented* passages of his own, Gauḍapāda *modified* the text, most unskilfully, indeed, but to such an extent that his commentary could stand as an original work.

---

[1] Not less than 44 couplets, observes E. A. Welden (*I metri delle Sāṃkhya*) *Kārikās*, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, 1912, Vol. VIII, Appendix-offend against the rules of the *āryā* metre (p. 2). It is true that authors would not generally consider as a mistake the 30 cases of a short syllable in the last catalectic foot. The other metrical mistakes, however, especially the occurrence of the caesura in the middle of a word, and other defects of style and grammar clearly demonstrate '*uno scrittore inesperto, che va costruendo in forma metrica una materia che aveva a mano*' (p. 3). This previous work in *sūtra* form might perhaps be the Ṣaṣṭitantra. Cfr. *āryā* 72 and '*Sāṃkhyānāṃ tarkagranthāḥ ṣaṣṭitantroddhārarūpaṃ māṭharabhāṣyaṃ sāṃkhyasaptatināmakam* . . . (Guṇaratna, *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* on Haribhadra Suri's *Ṣaḍdarçanasamuccaya*, p. 109. Calcutta, 1905).

This new attribution of authorship was expressly stated in the conclusion; and the introductory *çloka* had also to be modified in consequence, as it evidently pointed to the unity of authorship of the *Kārikā* and the *Bhāṣya.* This incidentally confirms that *Gauḍapāda* was aware that the salutation was Īçvarakṛṣṇa's.

Such was the text that came to Vācaspati; it was practically impossible to him, in view of those changes and of the poverty of Gauḍapāda's commentary, to suppose that it was originally composed by the learned author of the *Kārikā.* On the other hand, the prose-commentary began at *duḥkhatraya,* and the transformation of the *cloka* now created the impression that the salutation was part of the *Bhāṣya.* Vācaspati therefore considered the salutation as Gauḍapāda's, and composed a more appropriated one. In fact, it is the confrontation of *Gauḍapāda* with *Māṭhara* that suggests the problem of the first *āryā.*

There is no salutation in the text of Paramārtha, as found in Takakusu's translation. It would be worthwhile to examine the various Far-Eastern versions in that respect. If it avers that the salutation has been dropped from the original text of Paramārtha, this might be explained by its relative unimportance in Buddhist schools, and by the fact that a salutation to others than 'all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas' was not quite *çiṣṭācāraprāptam.* The uncommented salutation had no traditional importance for those who studied the *Karikā* merely from the technical point of view.—Whilst for us it has the importance of being most classical and frequently imitated.

There was not the same inconvenience in a Bhāgavata school, on account of its direct relation to Sāṃkhya doctrine and mythology. The *Māṭharavṛtti,* which was, at least in last resort, in the possession of a *Bhāgavata* school, therefore respects the original tenor of the text, only prefacing a *çloka* of salutation to Īçvarakṛṣṇa.

APPENDIX.

MĀṬHARA TEXT.

sarvavidyāvidhātāram ādityastham sanātanam |
nato'smi parayā bhaktyā kāpilam jyotirīçvaram [1] ||

kāpilāya namas tasmai yenāvidyodadhau jagati magne |
kāruṇyāt sāṃkhyamayī naur iha vihitā prataraṇāya [2] ||

namaskṛtya tu taṃ tasya vakṣye jñānasya kāraṇam |
hitāya sarvaçiṣyāṇām alpagranthasamuccayam [3] ||

duḥkhatrayābhighātāj jijñāsā tadabhighātake hetau |
dṛṣṭe sā'pārthā cen naikāntātyantato 'bhāvāt ||

asyā āryāyā upodghātaḥ kriyate— [4]
sthānaṃ nimittaṃ vaktā ca çrotā crotṛprayojanam |
sambandhādyabhidhānaṃ ca upodghātaḥ sa ucyate ||

iha hi bhagavān maharṣiḥ sāṃsiddhikadharmajñānavairagyaiçvaryasampanno bhagavataḥ purāṇapuruṣasyāvatāro jagadanujighṛkṣayā prajāpateḥ kardamasya putraḥ svāyambhuvasya manor duhitari devahūtyāṃ kapilo nāma babhūva | sa tena guṇapuruṣāntaropalabdhirūpeṇa jñānenāpārapāraṃ didarçiṣayā hastāvalambeneva kālāhidaṃdaçyamānajagataḥ sudhāmaṇineva duççikitsyasya bhavavyādher apanayanāya samyagauṣadheneva avidyāndhakārapradhvaṃsanapradīpeneva muktimārgavirodhimohavṛkṣavivraçcanakuṭāreṇeva'munā' vabodhena sampanno'ndhe tamasi majjaj jagad idam adrākṣīt | tad avalokyāsya kāruṇyam udapādi | 'aho khalvidaṃ jagad anādikālasambaddhaṃ nisargād eva andhe tamasi vartata' iti |

---

[1] *Īçvaram* apparently stands for *Īçvarakṛṣṇam*. *Ādityastham* contains perhaps an allusion to *Māṭhara's* name, as *Māṭhara* is also the name of a mythological courtier of the sun. The *Māṭhara* as a distinct commentary is not yet mentioned by Alberuni; the first reference is found in the Jain author Guṇaratna (XIV cent.).

[2] *Sāṃkhyamayī* is here an adjective qualifying *naur*; the expression is equivalent to *jñānamārga*, as appears from the following *çloka* (*tasya jñānasya*). *Iha* may mean 'in this treatise' or 'in this world'; *iha* is a current equivalent of *atra* to begin a treatise with. Māṭhara seems to give the meaning 'in this world', *iha hi* . . . introducing the legend of Kapila's puranic *avatāra*.

[3] *Grantha* here means 'couplet'; *alpagranthasamuccaya* reads as 'a small collection of couplets'. *Vakṣye* means reciting in the broad sense, implying interpretation or comment on the text recited. The translation of the *çloka* reads quite naturally: 'And having paid homage to him I shall recite, for the benefit of all students, a small collection of couplets that shall be instrumental to that knowledge.'

[4] Normally the *upodghāta* or 'introduction' of a passage comes before the text commented. The remark, which is found in the three synoptic commentaries, is not therefore useless, though perhaps itself an interpolation. *Upodghāta* is translated by '*origin*' in Paramārtha, as the passage in fact provides the legendary origin of the *āryā*, and perhaps its original context in the *sūtra* period. The following *çloka* is evidently an interpolation, as well as several parts of the passage quoted.

athāsau mahāyogī 'katham asya varākasya andhe tamasi vartamānasya viçvasyānugrahaḥ kārya' iti samutpannakāruṇyo manasi cintām āpede | sa evaṃ vicintayan āsurisagotraṃ brāhmaṇaviçeṣaṃ varṣasahasrayājinam adhikāriṇam avagatya brahmopadeçavidyayā 'tandrito bhūtvā vācam ity uvāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'rame bho' iti | sa evam ukto munir īṣadaniṣpannavivekavairāgyo'yam iti vyavasya nirgamya bhūyo'pi dvitīye varṣasahasre pūrṇe pratyāgatya tathaivābhyuvāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'rame bho' iti | athāsau mahāyogīndras tathaiva nirgamya tṛtīye varṣasahasre sampūrṇe abhyetyovāca 'bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa' iti | sa tam uvāca 'na rame bho' iti | atha sa bhagavatā uktaḥ 'katham' iti | punar āha āsuriḥ 'duḥkhatrayābhighātād' iti . . .

GAUḌAPĀDA TEXT.

Çrīgaṇeçāya namaḥ |

kapilāya namas tasmai yenāvidyodādhau jagati magne |
kāruṇyāt sāṃkhyamayī naur iva vihitā prataraṇāya [1] ||

alpagranthaṃ spaṣṭam pramāṇasiddhāntahetubhir yuktam |
çāstraṃ çiṣyahitāya samāsato'haṃ pravakṣyāmi [2] ||

duḥkhatrayeti | asyā āryāyā upodghātaḥ kriyate | iha bhagavān brahmasutaḥ kapilo nāma tad yathā

sanakaçca sanandanaçca tṛtīyaçca sanātanaḥ |
āsurih kapilaçcaiva voduḥ pañcaçikhastathā ||

ityete brahmaṇaḥ putrāḥ sapta proktā maharṣayaḥ |

---

[1] *Iha* has become *iva*; which makes *naur iva* an apposition to *sāmkhyamayī*, now a substantive; the form and gender of which is no more easily accountable.

[2] *Vakṣye* has become *pravakṣyāmi*, which indicates more definitely a commentator's task, especially when determined by *çāstram*. The rest of the modifications seem to aim at attenuating the too evident connection of authorship between the *āryā* and the *çloka* as found in *Māṭhara*. The unskilful *āryā* now reads as a mere introduction to the commentary; it does not however state that the preceding salutation is from *Īçvarakṛṣṇa*, and therefore the salutation may now be supposed to be part of the commentary itself, in spite of its impropriety. *Sarvaçiṣyahitāya* was not suitable in an *āryā*, as the metre requires two long syllables instead of *sarva*; this was therefore replaced by *çâstraṃ*. On the contrary Māṭhara could have said *çāstraṃ çiṣyahitāya* without mistake in the *çloka*, if he had copied it from the *Gauḍapāda* text. *Grantha* here means 'book'.

kapilasya sahotpannāni dharmo jñānaṃ vairāgyam aiçvaryaṃ ceti | evaṃ sa utpannaḥ sannandhe tamasi majjaj jagad ālokya saṃsāraparamparyeṇa satkāruṇyo jijñāsamānāya āsurisagotrāya brāhmaṇāyedaṃ pañcaviṃçatitattvānāṃ jñānam uktavān yasya jñānad duḥkhakṣayo bhavati,

pañcaviṃçatitattvajño yatra tatrāçrame vaset |
jaṭīmuṇḍī çikhīvāpi mucyate nātra saṃçayaḥ ||

tad idam āhuḥ, duḥkhatrayābhighātājjiñāseti . . .

PARAMĀRTHA TEXT (*bakakusu*)

' duhkhatrayā. . . .'

J'explique ici l'origine de cette stance. Il y avait autrefois un sage ermite nommé Kapila, né du ciel, doué de qualités innées : loi, connaissance, impassibilité, existence par soi-même, ces quatre ensemble constituant son individu. Voyant l'humanité plongée dans d'aveugles ténèbres, il éprouvait pour elle une grande compassion. 'Hélas ! ils vivent et meurent dans d'aveugles ténèbres ! ' Songeant ainsi il regarda le monde et découvrit Asuri, brahmane d'origine, qui sacrifiait régulièrement au ciel depuis mille ans. Se dissimulant, il approcha du brahmane et lui adressa ces paroles : ' O Asuri, tu t'amuses à mener la vie d'un maître de maison ! ' Ayant dit, il se retira sans recevoir de réponse. Après mille autres années, il revint et répéta les mêmes mots. En les entendant, le brahmane répondit : ' O honoré du monde, en effet je jouis de la vie de maître de maison.' L'ermite l'écouta, mais s'en retourna en silence. Quelque temps après, il revint, répétant les mêmes mots et reçut la même réponse. Kapila demanda : ' Peux-tu te maintenir pur et vivre la vie d'un brahmacārin ?' —' Je le puis ', répondit Asuri. Làdessus il renonça à l'habitude de sa famille et commença les observances ascétiques comme disciple de Kapila.

On pourra demander : ' Dans quel but est faite l'investigation du brahmane ? 'La réponse est : *En raison de la gène causée par les trois sortes de douleurs. . . .*

RĀJPŪTS

By BISHESHWAR NATH REU

We know from the Hindu ' Shāstras ' that in the beginning, the Aryans had no caste system among them, but it was introduced later to facilitate the social and the industrial developments of the society. By its introduction particular kind of work was entrusted to the particular group of people, specially suited for the purpose, and this was the basis of the caste system in India.[1]

Like other ' Shāstras ', the ' Bhāgavata ' [2] and ' Mahābhārata ' [3] also support this theory.

It is likely that the people of the old school may see in this statement a suggestion of the modern ideas but this is not so.

In support of this, we quote here from a book named ' Samarāngaṇa Sūtradhāra ' [4] compiled by Rājā Bhōja, the famous Paramāra ruler of Malwa. He ruled from about 1010 to 1053 A.D. (1066 to 1110 V.S.) and besides being a patron of learning is considered to have been himself a scholar of repute :—

' Brahmā, for maintaining peace and order on the earth made Prithu the first ruler of the people and he too for the sake of administrative convenience and efficiency divided them in four " Varṇas " or castes.'

' People who were God-fearing, pious, scholarly and able, were designated as " Brāhmaṇas ", those who were courageous, energetic, strong and able to protect others were named as " Kshatriyas " ; persons who were wise, desirous of wealth, reliable, smart and kindhearted were styled as " Vaishyas " and men lacking in a sense of respect, religion, truth and purity were called " Shūdras ".'

The purpose of quoting these lines here is simply to show that these divisions of varṇas or castes, in the beginning, were based on the quality, work and the nature of the individuals[1] and they had no connection with birth.

---

[1] ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ।
Rigvēda—Purushasūkta.

[2] एक एव पुरा वेदः प्रणवः सर्ववाङ्मयः ।
देवो नारायणो नान्यः एकोऽग्निर्वर्ण एव च ॥

[3] एकवर्णमिदं पूर्वं विश्वमासीद् युधिष्ठिर !
कर्मक्रियाविभेदेन चातुर्वर्ण्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

[4] Adhyāya 7, Shlōka 1–17.

In our opinion this system might have served at that time, to avert the clash of interests and the hard competition which threaten our society this day.

Further for the sake of individual development, the period of our life was also divided into four parts called four 'Āshramas'.

Leaving this question of 'Varṇas' and 'Āshramas' in general, we take up now the question relating to 'Kshatriyas' in particular.

According to the 'Vedic' and 'Paurāṇic' literature, the Kshatriyas were divided into two dynasties, one of which was named Solar or 'Sūryavamsha' and the other Lunar or 'Chandravamsha'. On the basis of the close study of the Aryan languages of India, scholars are of opinion that the two different stocks of the Aryans migrated to India in two different periods and to differentiate them from each other, they were called the Solar and the Lunar stocks. But later a third division known as Fire dynasty or 'Agnivamsha' also sprang forth among them.[2]

The first mention of this dynasty or division is found in 'Navasāhasānka Charita' of Padmagupta composed in the later half of the 11th century A.D. It states that Vashishṭha, a sage, to get back his cow from Vishvāmitra, his rival, created a warrior from his fire altar at mount Abu, and as this warrior killed his enemies and brought back his cow, the sage named him as Paramara or the destroyer of the enemy.

On the basis of the above story, we presume that, to get rid of his enemies, a descendant of Vashishṭha, purified (by a sort of penance) a clan of Kshatriyas whose forefathers had embraced Buddhism. But Halāyudha a contemporary of Padmagupta, in his 'Pingala Sūtravritti' mentions Rājā Munja of the Paramāra dynasty as belonging to the 'Brahma-Kshatra Kula'[3] or a combined Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya dynasty.

---

[1] चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।

Bhagavadgītā, Adhyāya 4, Shlōka 13.

[2] The Inscription dated V.S. 1166 (1109 A.D.) of Gōvindachandra contains:—

प्रध्वस्ते सूर्यसोमोद्भव विदित महाक्षत्रवंशद्वयेऽस्मिन् ।

....उद्धर्तुं धर्ममार्गान् प्रथितमिह तथा क्षत्रवंशद्वयं च ॥

This shows that even at that time there were only the following two famous divisions among Kshatriyas:—

(1) Solar and (2) Lunar.

[3] Owing to the use of this word some scholars presume that originally they were Brāhmaṇas of Vashishṭha's stock or Gōtra and afterwards were converted as Kshatriyas. At present the Paramāras call themselves as descendents of Vikramāditya, the famous (but fictitious) ruler of Malwa.

The book named 'Prithvīrāja Rāsō' also contains a reference to this Fire dynasty. The author of 'Rāsō' taking Paramāra, Chālukya (Sōlankī), Paḍihāra (Pratihāra) and Chauhāna as having originated from the fire altar of Vashishtha calls their descendants as Agnivamshīs. This is the main reason for which the Indian [1] and foreign scholars consider these four clans as non-Kshatriyas and descendants of a foreign and non-Aryan dynasty called Khazar or Gurjara. They also presume that these non-Kshatriya dynasties after undergoing a sort of penance were reckoned as Kshatriyas by the Brāhmaṇas.

But firstly the accounts of Prithvīrāja, his relatives and his contemporaries as given in the 'Rāsō' do not correspond to historical facts. Secondly according to the 'Rāsō' Mahārāval Samarasimha of Mewar was killed in 1192 A.D. (1249 V.S.) while fighting on the side of Prithvīrāja. In fact Samarasimha ascended the throne of Mewar after 1267 A.D. (1324 V.S.) and breathed his last in 1302 (1359 V.S.). Thirdly the 'Rāsō' [2] mentions in the form of a prophecy, the victory of the king of Mewar over Delhi after 1620 A.D. (1677 V.S.). Under such circumstances, the accounts of 'Rāsō' cannot be accepted as authentic.

As a matter of fact these divisions of Kshatriyas are merely the imaginative creations of the poets intended to show the superiority and antiquity of the dynasty. For had it not been so in each and every record (inscriptions and copper grants) of the well-known Kshatriya rulers these divisions would have been surely mentioned. But it is not so. Moreover wherever the mention of these divisions is found they are confusing in the extreme. If at one place a certain clan of Kshatriyas is mentioned as 'Sūryavamshīs' at another the same branch is said to have belonged to the Chandra or the Agni Vamshīs.

We have already given some such proofs about the Paramāra clan, here some similar proofs for the other clans will be given presently.

In the inscription, of V.S. 1133 (1076 A.D.) of Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukyas (Sōlankīs) are recorded as Chandravamshīs. But in 'Bilhaṇa's Vikramānkadēvacharita' and in the inscription of Haihaya (Kalachuri) Yuvarājadēva II, found from Bilhari, they are said to have sprung from the handful of water of Brahma and Drōṇa respectively.

---

[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL, pp. 7–36.

[2] सोरेसे सत्योत्तरै विक्रम साक वदीत।
दिल्लीधरमेवातपति लैंहि खग्गबलजीत॥

Samaya II, Chhanda 44, p. 265.

In the inscription of Pratihāra king Bhōja,[1] found at Gwalior, the Pratihāras (Paḍihāras) are referred to as Sūrya Vamshīs, while in the inscription [2] of Pratihāra Bāuka, dated V.S. 894 (837 A.D.), they are mentioned as descendants of Brāhmaṇa Harishchandra and his Kshatriyā wife Bhadrā.

In the inscription of Chauhāna Lumbhā (dated V.S. 1377 1320 A.D.), found at mount Abu, Chauhānas are said to have belonged to the Chandra-Vamsha. But in the inscription of Vīsaldeva IV they are mentioned as 'Sūrya-Vamshīs'.

Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not advisable for scholars whether local or foreign to rely upon 'Prithvīrāja Rāsō' and to presume that these four dynasties are being the descendants of the foreign and non-Aryan Gurjara (Khazar) stock.

Now we quote, in brief the points on the basis of which the Rājpūts are considered as non-Aryans :—

(1) That in the 'Harivamsha' [3] and in the 'Vishṇu Purāṇa' [4] ; the Haihayas (Kalachuris) are classed with Shakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Kāmbōjas ; hence it is probable that the former also belonged to the foreign non-Aryan stock.[5]

(2) That Bāṇa in his 'Harshacharita' mentions simultaneously the victories of Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneshvara over Gurjaras and Huns, hence, it seems that the Gurjaras were also foreigners and came to India along with Huns.

(3) That in the inscription of Pratihāra Mathanadēva, dated V.S. 1016 (960 A.D.) found at Rājōr (Alwar State) Mathanadēva is stated to have belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra clan. Further in the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes of the south, the Pratihāras of Kannauj are designated as Gurjarēshvaras while in the writings of the Arabs they are called as Juzrs. All these facts go to show that the Pratihāras were the offshoots of the Gurjaras.

(4) That the Gurjaras themselves belonged to a foreign stock known as Khazars, who in the sixth century A.D. inhabited the borderland of Europe and Asia. Some scholars are of opinion that they came to India in the time of Kanishka, while other think that

---

[1] He ruled from about 843 to 893 A.D. (900 to 950 V.S.).

[2] In the beginning of the same inscription a hint has also been made that the Pratihāras were descended from Lakshmana, who was a door-keeper to his elder brother Rāmachandra.

[3] (Bengal) Vs. 764–776.

[4] Amsha IV, 3, V. 16ff.

[5] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL, p. 19.

they migrated to India along with the Huns. The province conquered by these Gurjaras came to be known as Gurjar or Gujrat.[1]

(5) That some of the Sassanian typed coins, found in the North-Western India, contain the legends in both the Nāgarī and Pahlvī characters. In the Nāgarī is written :—' Shrī Vahmana Vāsudēva ' while in the Pahlvī—' Tukān Zāulastān Sapardlakshān '.[2] Some scholars taking the word Vahaman for Chāhamān consider this Vāsudēva of the coin as the first known ruler of the Chāhamāna dynasty. Further they take ' Sapād Lakshān ' inscribed on the coins to mean the Himalayan hilly tract known as Siwalaks and also think that the Chāhamānas were Khazars or the Gurjaras who migrated to India along with the Huns and settled in the aforesaid hilly tract. As these coins of Vāsudēva resemble those of Khusru II (Parviz), struck in the 37th year of his reign, it is assumed that the time of the former comes to about 627 A.D. (684 V.S.).

Let us examine these arguments in the light of the facts available from other sources :—

(1) That in the old records of Haihayas (Kalachuris) they are mentioned as Chandravamshīs or belonging to the Lunar dynasty and in the ' Purāṇas ' they are stated to be pure Kshatriyas, hence they being only mentioned in ' Harivamsha Purāṇa ' along with Yavanas, Pāradas and Kāmbōjas cannot be taken to be foreigners.

Moreover, Manu,[3] the famous law-giver of India has counted even these Yavanas, Pāradas and Kāmbōjas among the Kshatriyas :—

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणाऽदर्शनेन च ॥ ४३ ॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्र द्रविडाः काम्बोजाः यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराताः दरदाः खशाः ॥ ४४ ॥

That the Kshatriya clans known as Paundrakas, Chaudras, Dravidas, Kāmbōjas, Shakas, Pāradas, Pahlwas, Chinas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khashas due to their gradual ignorance of the religious rites and their disassociation with the Brāhmaṇas came to be known as ' Vrishalas ' (Shūdras).

---

[1] Mr. C. V. Vaidya presumes that as due to the connection of ' Mahārāshṭrī ' language one province of India was called Mahārāshṭra in the like manner due to the connection of Gujrātī language another province of it came to be known as Gujrat. The language known as Mahārāshṭrī was used in India even at the time of Vararuchi, who flourished in the fourth century B.C.

[2] In an another type of this king's coins the Pahlvī legend runs as below :— Saf varsu Taf (Shrī Vāsudēva) Wahman X Multan Malka.

[3] Manusmriti, Adhyāya 10.

(2) That in fact Bāṇa by putting 'Gurjara prajāgarah' along with 'Hūṇa hariṇa Kēsarī' and 'Sindhurāja-Jvarō'[1] mentions only the inhabitants of the Gurjara country, hence it is not advisable to drag there the Gurjaras or the Khazars of the foreign origin. Further the migration of the Khazars in India has not yet been proved by the historians.

(3) That the adjective (Gurjara) used in the Rājōr inscription is not meant to denote the Pratihāras as belonging to the Gurjara clan but simply as the inhabitants or the rulers of the province. At that time a large part of Rajputana was called Gurjaratrā[2] or Gujrat and its capital was Bhinmal.[3] It is also probable that the mention of the residential province, in the records of the Pratihāras of Bhinmal, was meant to distinguish them from the Pratihāras who went to Kannauj.

The Pratihāras after defeating the Chāvaḍās[4] established their kingdom at Bhinmal. They then extended their sway up to Bharoch as is evident from the copper grant, dated V.S. 813 (756 A.D.) of Bhartivaḍḍha, a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa I (Nāgāvalōka). Further at the close of the 8th century A.D. they conquered Kannauj and made it their new capital. Under these circumstances, we see no reason to wonder if, in the records of Rāshṭrakūṭas and those of the Arab travellers, they are designated as Gurjarēshvaras or Juzr respectively.

(4) That firstly the migration of the Khazars to India is not proved by the known history; secondly in the copper grant[5] of Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III of Bharoch, dated Kalachuri Samvat 456 (762 V.S.–705 A.D.) the Gurjaras are said to have been descended from Mahārāja Karṇa; and thirdly Hiuen-Tsang, the well-known Chinese pilgrim, who came to India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. had stated that the rulers of Bhinmal, the capital of Gurjara country, and that of Valabhī, were Kshatriyas.

---

[1] Harshacharita, Uchchhvāsa 2, p. 243.

[2] Copper grant of Pratihāra Bhōjadēva, dated V.S. 900 (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, p. 211).

[3] Hiuen Tsang's travels.

[4] Some people are of opinion that the Chāvaḍās too were Gurjaras. But the copper grant dated Kalachuri Samvat 490 (796 V.S.=739 A.D.) of Chālukya (Sōlankī) Pulakēshirāja of Lāṭa States:—"सौराष्ट्र चावोटकं मौर्य गुर्जरादिराज्ये"।

This shows that at that time the Gurjaras and Chāvaḍās (Chāpōtkaṭas) were considered as belonging to the two different clans.

Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part I, p. 109.

[5] Indian Antiquary Vol. XIII, p. 77.

The Badagūjaras are also Kshatriyas as they make their matrimonial alliances only with other pure Kshatriyas.[1]

(5) That the opinions of the scholars differ much on this point. General Cunningham takes this 'Vāsudēva' of the aforesaid coins to be a Huna. While Mr. Rapson considers him a Sassanian. Similarly some historians presume that the second word of the Nāgarī legend of the coins is 'Chāhamāna' while others read it as 'Vahamana'.

Moreover the time of Chāhamāna Vāsudēva as given by Rājashēkhara Sūri in the geneology, attached to his 'Prabandha-kōsha'[2] is V.S. 608 (551 A.D.), but the period fixed for the aforesaid coins by scholars is V.S. 684 (627 A.D.).

We learn from the history that Gūvaka I was the seventh descendant of Vāsudēva. The inscription, dated V.S. 1013, found at Harshanāth, states that Gūvaka due to his chivalrous nature acquired the title of a 'Knight' at the court of Nāgāvalōka. In the inscription of Chauhāna Bhartivriddha, dated V.S. 813 (756 A.D.), he (Bhartivriddha) is said to have been a feudatory of Nāgāvalōka. This shows that Bhartivriddha and Nāgāvalōka were contemporaries and lived about V.S. 813. Now if we deduct 25 years for each ruling prince (i.e. 200 years for 8 kings) the time of the beginning of the reign of Vāsudēva comes near to the period fixed in 'Prabandha-Kōsha'.

Further the kingdom of the Chauhānas was first established not in Sind or Multan but at Ahichchhatrapura, wherefrom they proceeded to Shākambharī (Sāmbhar). General Cunningham, on the basis of the description of Ahichchhatrapura found in the travels of the aforesaid Chinese pilgrim, locates this town near Ramnagar about 20 miles west of Bareilly.[1] According to 'Mahābhārata' this Ahichchhatrapura was the capital of north Pānchāla country.

---

[1] Though in the olden times 'Anulōma vivāhas' (Marriage of higher 'Varṇa' males with the lower Varṇa females) were prevalent among Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas yet later this was disallowed. To support this we quote here from the writings of Megasthenes who visited India in the 3rd centruy B.C.

'No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exchange one profession or trade for another.'

Ancient India (Megasthenese & Arrian), Mc.Crindle, pp. 85-86.

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who came to India in the first half of the 7th century A.D. writes:—

'The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. . . . .'

Yuan Chwang (by Thomas Watters), Vol. I, p. 168.

Further the children born of the occasional 'Anuloma vivahas were considered as belonging to the mother's 'Varṇa' (caste). For instance—the children of Rāthōḍ Mūhaṇ who were born of his Kshatriya wife were called as Mūhaṇōt Kshatriyas, while those born of the Vaishya wife were considered as Mūhaṇōt Vaishyas.

[2] This Kōsha (Dictionary) was compiled in 1405 V.S. (1349 A.D.).

Moreover the scholars, instead of accepting the word 'Sapādalakshān' on the coins is to mean a Himalayan tract containing 125 thousand peaks or ranges, think that it has here been used for a tract containing 125 thousand villages.[2] The country ruled by Chauhanas, which included the provinces of Sāmbhar, Nāgaur and Ajmēr, etc. is called 'Savālakh' even to this day. Therefore no one can believe that the Chauhānas belonged to the Gurjara race or they migrated towards Rajputana from the Himalaya.

The same is the position of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Guhilas, etc. belonging to the other Kshatriya clans.

Mr. V. A. Smith, on his theory of the sudden appearance of the Rājpūts in the 8th or the 9th century A.D. has advanced the theory that they are foreigners and belong to the non-Aryan races.[3] But how far he is justified can be ascertained from the following facts :—

(*a*) That in the 5th century A.D. one of the Rājpūt clans known as Rāshṭrakūṭas were ruling in the Deccan, and at the end of the same century they were overthrown by another Rājpūt clan called Sōlankīs (Chālukyas).

(*b*) That the copper grant of Sōlankī Trilōchanapāla, dated Shaka Samvat 972 (1107 V.S.=1051 A.D.) states that before their migration to the Deccan, the Rāshṭrakūṭas had their sway over Kannauj[4] and the words Rathika, Ristika, etc. found in the edicts of Ashōka prove that the Rāshṭrakūṭas existed even about 250 B.C.

(*c*) That Guhila (Guhadatta) the founder of the Guhil clan of Mewar was ruling in the later half of the sixth century A.D.; and Bāpā Rāval, one of his descendants was the master of Mewar in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

---

[1] In the eastern part of Rohilkhand.
Yuan Chawang (by Thomas Watters), Vol. 1, p. 332 and Ancient Geography of India, p. 359.

[2] 'Skandapurāṇa' (which is supposed to be composed in the 9th century A.D.) states that there were 1,25,000 villages under Sāmbhar, Mēwār, Karnāṭak, etc.

[3] Mr. V. A. Smith considers that the Chandēls, the Rāṭhōrs and the Gāharwālas are the descendants of aboriginal tribes like Gōnds, Bhars and Kharwars. But in fact it is not so. For Rāṭhōrs and Gāharwālas please see our 'History of Rāshṭrakūṭas' and 'Bhārata-kē-Prāchīna Rājavamsha,' Vol. III.
The Inscriptions of Chandels state them as 'Chandra-vamshīs'.

[4] कान्यकुब्जे महाराज ! राष्ट्रकूटस्य कन्यकाम् ।
लब्ध्वा सुखाय तस्यां त्वं चौलुक्याप्नुहि संततिम् ॥ ६ ॥

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 201.

Further is it not strange that simply because the present Kshatriya rulers call themselves Rājpūts,[1] Mr. V. A. Smith and others hold them as the offshoots of non-Aryans? But Rājpūt is a corrupt form of 'Rājaputras'. And as the descendants of the younger sons of the present Rājpūt rulers, after a certain number of generations are called 'Ṭhākurs' and as the younger sons of the chiefs of Oudh or their descendants use along with their names the title of 'Kunvar', in the like manner it is probable that the younger branches of these Kshatriya rulers, to distinguish themselves from the ordinary Kshatriyas, might have adopted this title of 'Rājaputra'. Further in course of time partly due to the increase in the number of such 'Rājaputras' by the rise and fall of the several ruling families and partly due to the changes in their domestic conditions, this group of Kshatriyas might have come to be known as Rājpūts, while the ordinary Kshatriyas by adopting different occupations submerged into the different clans.[2]

Col. Tod in his history of Rājasthān[3] states that in the Mughal army there were one hundred thousand Rāṭhōr warriors and we presume that a large number of them was of the descendants of Rāō Sīhā, the founder of the Marwar ruling family. This also supports our theory of the increase in the number of 'Rājaputras'.

Pāṇini, the famous grammarian, who flourished in the sixth century B.C. has given a rule in his Sanskrit grammar named 'Ashṭādhyāyī':[4]

"गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ्।"

In it he has advised the use of an affix called 'वुञ्' where the multitude of such 'Rājaputras' is meant.

---

[1] The author of the 'Shabdakalpadruma' has quoted the following half couplet from the 'Pārāshara Smriti':—

"वैश्यादंबष्टकन्यायां राजपुत्रः प्रजायते।"

But it is not traceable in the printed copy of the said 'Smriti'. Hence it is possible that some one acquainted with modern Rāvaṇā Rājpūts might have inserted this in the book.

[2] The subclans found in the different sub-castes of the people of Rajputana also support it.

[3] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (edited by Crooke), p. 105-106.

[4] Adhyāya 4, Pāda 2, Sūtra 39.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ashvaghōsha, the famous poet of the second century of Vikrama era has used this word (Rājaputra) in his poems called ‘ Saundarānanda Mahākāvya ’ [1] :—

“ केचिदिक्ष्वाकवो जग्मू राजपुत्राः विवत्सवः । ”

The poet Kālidāsa had made use of this word in his drama called ‘ Mālavikāgnimitra ’.[2]

“ मया राजपुत्रशतपरिवृतं वसुमित्रं गोप्तारमादिश्य... । ”

Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote his ‘ Harshacharita ’ [3] about 620 A.D. (677 V.S.) has also used the word Rājaputra.

In ‘ Mahābhārata ’,[4] the famous Hindu epic, we find repeated use of this word for Kshatriyas :—

एते रुक्मरथा नाम राजपुत्राः महारथाः ।
रथेष्वस्त्रेषु निपुणा नागेषु च विशांपते ! ॥ २० ॥
भैक्षचर्या ततः प्राज्ञस्तस्य सद्धर्मचारिणः ।
तथा वैश्यस्य राजेन्द्र ! राजपुत्रस्य चैव हि ॥

Ibna Khurdādbā, who in 912 A.D. (H.S. 300=V.S. 969) wrote his book named ‘ Kitābul Masālik-Ul-Mamālik ’,[5] states :—

There are in all seven clans in India :—Sabfria, 2. Brahma. 3. Kataria, 4. Sudaria, 5. Baisura, 6. Sandalia, and 7. Lahuda.

(1) Sabfria.—This is the highest clan from which the rulers are selected.

(2) Kataria.—People of this clan can drink only three cups of wine. Their daughters can be married to Brāhmaṇas. But the Brāhmaṇas cannot marry their daughters to these Katarias.

These descriptions show that even at that time there were two divisions among the Kshatriyas. One was called Sabfria—‘ Sukshatriya ’ or Rājaputra, because the rulers were selected from this division and the other was Kataria—ordinary ‘ Kshatriya ’. The matrimonial alliances of the Brāhmaṇas with the daughters of these Katarias undoubtedly prove that these Katarias too were of pure Kshatriya blood.

It is also probable that in the times of the Mohemmadan rulers these Rājaputras, having been considered as holding a higher status then those ordinary pure Kshatriyas, might have been called Rājpūts.

---

[1] Sarga 1, Shlōka 18.

[2] Anka 5, p. 103.

[3] (पुष्पभूतिस्तु) अपरेद्युः उत्थाय कतिपयैरेव राजपुत्रैः परिवृतो भैरवाचार्यं द्रष्टुं प्रतस्थे ।”
(Uchchhvāsa III, p. 241.)

[4] Drōṇa Parva, Adhyāya 112; and Shānti Parva, Adhyāya 64.

[5] Elliot’s History of India, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

At the time of the census of 1901 A.D. Mr. H. Risley the famous ethnologist after examining the straight and thin noses, the long skulls, and the tall bodies of the Rājputs, had certified that they undoubtedly belonged to the Aryan race.

Now we will consider this problem from another view point :—

According to the aforesaid scholars even if we take it for granted that the Rājpūts were the descendants of Shakas, Kushans and Huns who coming from the north, invaded India, the theory of their Aryan descent is not weakened in any way. On the strength of the data found in 'Rāmāyaṇa', 'Mahābhārata', 'Smritis', 'Purāṇas' and records, as collected by the modern research scholars, it is clear that there was a time when the descendants of the Aryans of India in their northern conquest acquired the land of Shakas, the Northern Tibet and the lands of Kushans and Huns in the Central Asia.

In this manner several Aryan rulers belonging to the solar and the lunar dynasties had founded fresh colonies or kingdoms outside India. The mention of the kingdoms of the sons of Bharata at Gāndhāra and that of Prachētā to the north of India as well as the conquest of Pātāla (America) by Arjuna are sufficient proofs to support this.

In the old records also we find a mention of the victory of our rulers over 'Trivishṭapa' which according to the modern historians was the name of Tibet.

In the records, written in the 'Kharōshṭhī' alphabets and unearthed by Dr. Stien in Chinese Turkistān, the use of Prākrit language and the appearance of the Aryan titles like Mahānubhāva, Mahārāja, Bhaṭṭāraka, Vamshamaṇi show that the place was once colonized by the Aryans.[1]

We give below some specimens of the language used and the titles found in the said records :—

प्रिय देवमनुष्यस प्रियदर्शनस प्रियभ्रतु ।

महनुभव महरय जिटुघवंष्मण देवपुत्रस मसे ।

In the like manner the images of the Hindu gods and the Sanskrit inscriptions found in the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, etc. prove that at a time they were also under the influence of the Aryans. The traces of 'Maya' culture discovered at America may also be regarded as the remains of the past Aryan influence.

---

[1] On the basis of these facts the modern scholars call this land by name of Serindia.

The Chinese called the tract lying between India and China by the name of 'Shen-tu'[1] (i.e. a part of Sindhu),[2] because it was once under the sway of the Aryans of India.

Under these circumstances, there should be no hesitation in accepting the Shakas, the Kushans, and the Huns, as the descendants of the Aryans, who migrated to their respective countries. Though as stated above, Manu has called the Paundrakas, Chaudras, Dravidas, Kāmbōjas, Yavanas, Shakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas Kirātas, Daradas and Khashas as 'Vrishalas' or irreligious, simply because they migrated to the countries outside India where no Brāhmaṇas were available to perform the religious ceremonies, yet he himself has accepted their Kshatriya origin. Further we cannot give much weight to the word 'Vrishala' used by Manu as we see that the Brāhmaṇas, due to the jealousy, had declared even the Indian provinces of Magadh and Kalinga as well as the people living there as unholy, simply because the majority of the inhabitants there followed Buddhism or Jainism. For all these reasons, it is not advisable to consider the Rājpūts as descendants of Shakas, Kushans or Huns inspite of the proofs adduced to the contrary which go to show that even the Shakas, Kushans and Huns were the descendants of the Aryans, who migrated to the north of India.

We give below some more facts in support of this theory :—

Coins struck by the Shaka kings contain the marks of Sun, Moon and Ganges. The language used in their coins and inscriptions is Prākrit.[3] Their names mostly resemble the Indian names, as can be judged from the following :—Rūdrasimha, Svāmī Satyasimha, Svāmī Rudrasēna, etc.

State Museum Lucknow
7030

On the Kushan coins the images of 'Shiva' and his bull or of the king offering sacrifice to the Fire-Altar are found. The language written on them resembles Prākrita.[4] Their titles are also similar to those of the Indian kings as quoted below :—

Mahārāja, Rājātirāja (or Rājādhirāja) Īshvara, Mahēshvara and Dēvaputra. The name of one of the Kushan kings was 'Vāsudēva' which is purely an Indian or Aryan name.

---

[1] In the time of 'Han Wu Ti' (apparently about 123 B.C.) 'shen-tu' was not far from the western border of the Chinese empire.

Yuan Chwang (by Thomas Watters), Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

This name (Shen-tu) was given to this country about 4 or 5 hundred years after Ashōka. The Romans called this further India as trans Gangetic India.

[2] We learn from the travels of Yuan Chwang that about 630 A.D. a Kshatriya king ruled at Kapis (Kāfiristān).

Yuan Chwang (by Thomas Watters), Vol. I, pp. 122-123.

[3] अप्रतिहतचक्रस रजबुलस ।

[4] महरजस रजदिरजस सर्वलोगईश्वरस महिश्वरस हिमकपिशस ।

Coins of Huns have the marks of trident and bull. The language inscribed on them is Sanskrit,[1] and the titles borne by those kings are similar to those of the epithets of the Indian kings given below :—
Vrishadhvaja and Mahārāja.

The name of one Hun king was Mihirkula, who was a staunch Shaivite.

Mention of the Huns among the 36 clans of the Kshatriyas is found in the 'Kumārapālacharita' which was composed in the 15th century of the Vikrama era and the author of 'Rājataranginī' also enumerates the Kshatriya clans as 36.

Col. Tod comparing the similarity of some of the customs among the Rājpūts and the Scythians opines that both of them belonged to the same non-Aryan race of Scythians or Shakas. But this supposition is quite unwarranted for we have already cited some facts to show that even the Shakas themselves were Aryans. And therefore it is not strange if some of the customs of the Rājpūts and the Scythians are similar.

Before concluding this paper we wish to crave the attention of those scholars to this subject who consider the present Rājpūt rulers as non-Aryans and express the hope that if they think their opinion to be well-founded they will be pleased to let us know how and when those old Kshatriya clans, who ruled in India for a considerable period, disappeared from the surface of the earth ?

(1) If they think that due to the acceptance of Buddhism or Jainism those Kshatriyas lost their caste distinction we are not prepared to believe this because the Lichchhavīs of Vaishālī and the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I of the Deccan who followed Buddhism and Jainism respectively, retained their 'Varṇa' or caste distinction unmolested.

(2) If they are of opinion that foreign invaders totally destroyed the Kshatriyas, this is also far away from the truth, because after the death of the Hun king Mihirkula in 542 A.D. (V.S. 599) India was free from any effective foreign invasion for about 475 years[2] (or up to the conquest of the Punjab by Mehmud of Ghazni), while the records[3] of the Lichchhavī Kshatriyas prove that they were ruling in India up to 754 A.D. (811 V.S.).

There are some people who quote the following sentence from the 'Pārāshara Smriti' :—'कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः' and try to prove that according to this in 'Kaliyuga' or in the fourth and the last circle of the Hindus, there remain only two 'Varṇas', the Brāhmaṇas and the Shūdras. But taking all the facts given above into consideration this theory too becomes unacceptable.

---

[1] विजितावनि रवनिपति श्रीतोरमाणदेव जयति ।

[2] Though the Arab invaders took Sind in the eighth century A.D. yet all the other provinces of India were free from their influence.

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, pp. 163 and 167.

THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF PUNNĀṬA

By B. A. SALETORE

The history of the ancient kingdom of Punnāṭa is gathered from the remarks of foreign geographers, Jaina literature, copper-plate grants of the Punnāṭa kings themselves, and stone and copper-plate records of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas. Particular political interest attaches itself to this ancient kingdom inasmuch as it was the earliest Karnāṭaka State, and it formed the cradle of the activities of the founders of the present royal family of Mysore.

Of its antiquity there cannot be any doubt. Punnāṭa was the same as the Pounnata of Ptolemy, who informs us that beryl was found in that country. But Ptolemy says that it was one of the inland centres of pirates.[1]

Jaina tradition connects it with the advent of the Jainas under the famous Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakevalis. This is confirmed not only by epigraphical evidence but also by the statement of a Jaina author of A.D. 930. The well-known rock inscription found on Candragiri to the south of the Pārśvanātha *basti* is of special importance in this connection. It is in Sanskrit in characters that may be definitely assigned to about A.D. 600.[2] This rock inscription records the migration of the Jainas under Bhadrabāhu to the south. Among the many interesting statements in that epigraph is the following: That Bhadrabāhu-svāmi, of the illustrious line of Jaina teachers (named), who by virtue of his severe penance had acquired the essentials of knowledge, having by his power of discerning the past, present, and future, foretold in Ujjaini a period of twelve years of dire calamity (or famine), the whole *saṅgha* leaving the northern regions, took its way to the south. And the

---

[1] Ptolemy's geographical works range from A.D. 140 to A.D. 169. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, II, p. 83; McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 367. On the importance of the beryl read Walhouse, *I.A.*, XII, p. 13. Padiyūr or Pattiyāli in the Dhārāpuram tāluka of the Coimbatore district was the place where so late as A.D. 1819 beryl was found. The Coimbatore district was always a part of the Mysore State down to the end of the nineteenth century A.D. Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Intr. p. 5.

[2] Rice was of opinion that the 'characters belonged to not later than the fifth century (A.D.)' *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 5. Drs. Leumann (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, VII, p. 382) and Fleet (*Epigraphia Indica*, IV, p. 25) maintained that the characters were of the seventh century A.D. But see *E.C.*, II, p. 1 (Rev. ed.).

Ṛsi company arrived at a country counting many hundreds of villages, completely filled with the increase of people, money, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes, and goats (*mahāpuruṣa-saṅtati-samayadyotita-anvaya Bhadrabāhu-svāminā Ujjayinyāṃ-aṣṭāṅga mahā-nimitta-ṭattvajnena-traikālyadarśinā-nimittena dvādaśa-saṁvatsara-kāla-vaiṣmyaṃ-upalabhya kathite sarva-saṅgha-uttarāpathāt-dakṣiṇāpathaṃ prastitaḥ ārṣeṇeva janapadaṃ aneka-grāma-śata-saṅkhyaṃ-udita-jana-dhana-kanaka-sasya go-mahiṣā-jāvikala-saṅkīrṇṇaṃ prāptavān*).

The province which the *saṅgha* made their abode was no other than Punnāṭa. In the first place, we may note that the wealth of the tract which the *saṅgha* reached according to the direction of Bhadrabāhu, as is mentioned in the above Candragiri rock inscription, is to be traced to the fact that, as Ptolemy informs us, the beryl was found there. Indeed, the testimony of the above epigraph only adds to that of Ptolemy, that it was a rich country.

This is further proved by an inscription of the Punnāṭa kings itself which we shall cite presently. This record praises the kingdom of Punnāṭa thus: 'Its fame was sung by the learned in several countries; its villages were full of wealthy people who possessed she-buffaloes, cows, horses, woollen blankets, gems, gold, silver, pearl, and coral; it was ornamented with annual crops of rice, wheat, barley, etc.; its inhabitants were constantly engaged in marriage and other festivities; it was adorned by the rivers Kāverī and Kapinī whose banks on both sides were thickly covered with fruit and flower gardens; it was resplendent like the Vidēha country.'[1]

As regards the tradition of Bhadrabāhu having directed his *saṅgha* to come to this particular region, it is borne out by the Jaina author Hariṣeṇa who in his *Bṛhatkathākośa*, a work dated A.D. 930, says that the *saṅgha* went by the Guru's (*i.e.* Bhadrabāhu's) direction to the Punnāṭa country, situated in the south (*Saṅgho'pi samasto-guru-vākyataḥ daksiṇāpatha-deśastha-Punnāṭa-viṣayaṃ yayau*).[2]

We may incidentally note that, leaving aside all the other evidence in regard to Bhadrabāhu, it seems sure that his migration to the south may have happened prior to any of the Punnāṭa records mentioned in the following pages, *i.e.* prior to the third century A.D., since no mention is made whatsoever of the Jainas having come to the Punnāṭa country after that century.

Punnāṭa was also known as Punnāḍa, Punnāḍ, Pūnāḍ, Punnaḍ, Punnāḍu, Padināḍ, a Ten Thousand Province in the early ages, and Hadināḍ in the sixteenth century A.D., and Hadināru in which corrupt form it still survives to the present day. Punnāṭa lay to the extreme south of the modern Mysore State. As Padināḍ it included the Yeḷandūr and Nañjanaguḍ tālukas of the same State. But as a Six Thousand Province it seems to have embraced all the country draining to the south of the Kabbanī river.[1]

---

[1] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1917, pp. 40-41.

[2] Hariṣena, *Bṛhatkathākosa*, cited by Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 10, and *ibid.*, n. 1; *E.C.*, IV, Intr. p. 4.

The capital of this ancient kingdom was 'the immense great city of Kittūr' on the Kapinī (Kabbanī) river in the Heggaḍedevanakōṭē tāluka. The kingdom itself was generally called in early times a *viṣaya*, although in one record it is called a *rāṣṭra*. Unfortunately only two epigraphs bearing directly on the Punnāṭa kings have been found, other notices of these rulers being gathered from the stone and copper-plate grants of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas. Rice discovered two bits of stone in the Aradēśahaḷḷi in the Dēvanahaḷḷi tāluka, Mysore State. One of these in 'very old characters' speaks of 'Punnāṭarasarāmagandin Siya (Siṅgha ?) . . .', and the other of 'Punnāḍan-āḷa'.[2] Nothing definite, of course, can be hazarded on the strength of these indistinct records; but it is not improbable that the language of the people and of the rulers was Kannaḍa itself. The word Punnāṭa or Punnāḍa being in that case derived from *Pū-nāḍu* or the 'Land of Flowers'. This is however merely a conjecture.

Before we discuss the copper-plate grants of the Punnāṭa kings, it is interesting to observe how the antiquity of Punnāṭa vouchsafed for by Ptolemy is further borne out by the Candravaḷḷi stone inscription of Mayūraśarma. In this stone epigraph, assigned by Dr. M. H. Krishna on valid grounds to *circa* A.D. 258, it is said that Mayūraśarma defeated (the rulers of) Trekuṭa, Ābhira, Pallava, Pāriyātra, Sakasthāna, Sayindraka, Punāṭa and Mokāri.[3] The evidence of this earliest record of the founder of the Kadamba line, proves beyond doubt that Punnāṭa was indeed a political unit in the middle of the third century A.D.

Only two copper-plate grants of the Punnāṭa kings, as remarked above, have been till now discovered. The earlier of these is the Komāraliṅgam plate of king Ravidatta discovered by Sewell, noticed by Rice and commented upon by Fleet.[1] It gives the following genealogy of the Punnāṭa kings: Kāśyapa Rāṣṭravarma, his son Nāgadatta, his son Bhujagādhirāja, who married the daughter of Siṅgavarma, Bhujaga's son being Skandavarma, whose son was the Punnāṭa Rāja Ravidatta, the donor of the grant. Ravidatta with the permission of Ceramma, made a grant of the village of Puṅgisoge in Kundugur in the Punnāḍu-*viṣaya* to a learned Brahman named Dvivipra, from his victorious camp at Kīrttipura.[2] The epithet *vijayaḥ* applied to the name of the ruler Kāśyapa Rāṣṭravarma (i.e. Rāṣṭravarma of the Kāśyapa *kula*, as will be pointed out presently),[3] in the same Komāraliṅgam plate, suggests that he had some enemies to contend with; while the fact of Ravidatta's having 'now been governing the earth for a long time' shows the latter as having been in the enjoyment of his principality for quite a long time.

---

[2] *Ibid.*

[1] *E.C.*, IV, Intr. p. 4.

[3] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1929*, p. 50 *seq.* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's reading as given in his *History of India*, 150 A.D.—300 A.D., p. 221, seems hardly convincing. A careful examination of the photograph of the Candravaḷḷi inscription as given by Dr. Krishna will show that the word *Punāṭa* does exist in the epigraph, although as Dr. Krishna confesses, 'The third letter of punāṭa has the suspicion of an upward curve at the centre of its bottom' (*Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1929*, p. 53). Mr. Jayaswal's reading, while it fits in with his own theory, cannot be made to square with the known facts of Karnāṭaka-Tamil history. According to Mr. Jayaswal this inscription is to be assigned to A.D. 300.—B. A. S.

The Punnāṭa kings were neither suzerains nor *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*. They were merely *rājās*. Whether 'The addition to the first name (in the case of Rāṣṭravarma) may point out to a suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakutas', as Rice opined,[4] is highly doubtful, since we do not know of any Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony over the southern part of Mysore in the third century A.D. Fleet remarked that 'In the description of these persons (as given in the Komāraliṅgam plate), there is nothing to indicate anything higher than feudal rank'.[5] This is true, the more so because the Komāraliṅgam record does not give any higher *biruda* than *rājā* to the Punnāṭa kings. Further, as Fleet remarked, the fact of Ravidatta's having made the grant with the permission of Ceramma suggests that the latter was his overlord.[6] As to who this figure was, we cannot find out.

But it seems that the Punnāṭa Rājās were not feudatories of the ordinary type. This is made out from the fact that the third king from Kāśyapa Rāṣṭravarma is called in the same Komāraliṅgam plate *nṛpaśrī Bhujagādhirāja*. This *biruda* seems to suggest, not that he was merely an *illustrious* ruler, as Fleet maintains, but that he was a wealthy (i.e. powerful) king, and an *adhirāja* as well. It was because he was a powerful ruler that his son's daughter was, as will be pointed out at once, given in marriage to a well-known Gaṅga monarch. Indeed, this Punnāṭa-Gaṅga alliance shows that the Punnāṭa kings were of some consequence. The epithet *śrīmān* (the illustrious) prefixed to the name of Ravidatta shows that he was a prominent king. Further, the fact of Ravidatta having been in his victorious camp at Kīrttipura, which is called 'the best of towns', suggests again that it was more than a feudal centre. There is some justification to the praise given to the capital of the Punnāṭa kings in this record, when we remember that it may have been the centre of a province noted for its wealth, as is proved by the evidence of Ptolemy and the inscriptions, from the second century of the Christian era. We shall see presently that Kīrttipura will maintain its greatness even in later times when it will be styled a *mahānagara.*

---

[1] Sewell, *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, II, p. 226 *seq.*; *I.A.*, V, p. 135; Rice, *I.A.*, XII, p. 13; *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 360; Fleet, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 365-366.

[2] While editing the same record in the *I.A.*, XII, p. 13, Rice made Singidatta son of Nāgadatta; while Fleet added the name of Pumāṭa Rāja after Skandavarma and before Ravidatta. Both are inadmissible.—B. A. S.

[3] We may observe here that most of the early dynasties of southern and western India prefixed their *gotra* to their names. Thus the early Gaṅgas belonged to the Kāṇvāyana-*gotra*, the Pallavas were of the Bharadvāja-*gotra*, the Vākāṭakas of the Viṣṇuvṛddha-*gotra*, and the Kādambas were of the Mānavya-*gotra*. The fact that one of the most prominent of the Punnāṭa kings is said to have belonged to the Tāmra-Kāśyapa-kula, or *gotra* as it is given in Ravidatta's grant, only adds to their claims of being considered an ancient line of kings.—B. A. S.

[4] *I.A.*, XII, p. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 365-366.

[6] *Ibid.*

The age to which the Komāraliṅgam plate of Ravidatta has to be assigned may now be discussed. Rice believed that this record 'must belong to early in the sixth century (A.D.)'.[1] Fleet not only rejected this date but condemned the record as 'a worthless document utterly useless for any historical purpose'.[2]

Fleet's arguments against the historicity of this grant were the following: In the first place, the abrupt beginning of the grant thus—*tad anujayati* (after that victorious is). Secondly, its corrupt Sanskrit portion. Thirdly, its wonderful mixture of verse and prose. And lastly, its abrupt transition from Sanskrit to old Kannaḍa.

These arguments are however insufficient to dismiss the Punnāṭa genealogy given in the Komāraliṅgam plate as unhistorical.[3] The discovery of another Punnāṭa grant and the contemporaneity of one of the Punnāṭa kings mentioned both in the Komāraliṅgam plate and in the other Punnāṭa grant, and confirmed by the records of the Gaṅga kings,—these settle beyond doubt the historicity of the Punnāṭa rulers. The other record of the Punnāṭa kings is a copper-plate grant found in Māṁbaḷḷi in the Yeḷandūr tāluka. The writing used is Haḷa Kannaḍa but the language throughout is in Sanskrit prose, excepting the three introductory verses which are in Sanskrit verse.

---

[1] *I.A.*, XII, p. 13, *op. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 365-366, *op. cit.*

[3] The most substantial argument is that relating to the abrupt beginning of the record. But there are some historical epigraphs which likewise begin abruptly. Thus the Jūṇāgad rock inscriptions of Skanda Gupta of the years 136, 137 and 138; the Tālguṅḍa pillar inscription of Kākusthavarma, and the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II. Fleet, *Corpus Insciptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 61; *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1911*, para 70; *I.A.*, VIII, p. 241.

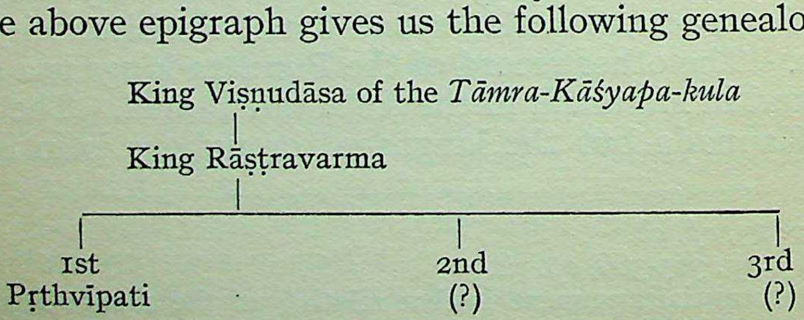
This copper-plate is of special importance in the history of Punnāṭa. It gives the name of the progenitor of the Punnāṭa line; it mentions the name of the queen of Rāṣṭravarma, the *kula* to which Rāṣṭravarma belonged, and the name of his eldest son; it confirms the description of the wealth of Punnāṭa as given in the Candragiri rock inscription of Bhadrabāhu; and finally, it gives us the religion of the Punnāṭa kings.

The record opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Viṣṇu who is described as bearing the refulgent discus, and as reclining on the serpent couch illuminated by the jewels of the hoods. This indicates that the Punnāṭa kings were Vaiṣṇava in religion.

The second verse mentions a king named Viṣṇudāsa, who had a retinue of conquered kings and who firmly established *dharma*. In the third verse we are introduced to king Rāṣṭravarma, who was a full moon in the sky (of) the *Tāmra-Kāśyapa-kula*, and whose commands were borne as flower garlands on the heads of conquered kings. Here follows a description of the Punnāṭa-rāṣṭra over which Rāṣṭravarma ruled, already cited in an earlier context.

The record then gives details of Rāṣṭravarma and his sons. The former never swerved from the path of justice, was well versed in the training of horses and such other arts, and was a joy to the *Tāmra-Kāśyapa-kula*. He had three sons by his queen named Prajāvatī who belonged to . . . Hārita, and who was adorned with all the feminine virtues. Their sons were endowed with good qualities, and resembled the Pāṇḍavas in valour. The eldest of them was Pṛthvīpati, equal to Yudhiṣṭira, and proficient in many sciences. His right hand was always engaged in bestowing gifts on the poor, the helpless, friends, relatives, guests, servants, and so forth, while his other hand was engaged in dalliance with beautiful women. Here the record unfortunately ends.[1]

The above epigraph gives us the following genealogy :—



---

[1] *Mys. Arch. Rept. for 1917*, pp. 40-41. Was Prajāvatī a Kadamba princess? The Kadambas were Hāritiputras. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 22.

Since, as has been rightly said, the criticism levelled against the Komāraliṅgam plate of Ravidatta by Fleet, does not apply to this record, which is unexceptionable as regards both idiom and orthography,[1] the names of the rulers given in it may be taken to be historical. We have now to see how far they can be made to agree with the names given in the Komāraliṅgam plate.

It is true that the Māṁbaḷḷi grant gives only three steps in the Punnāṭa genealogy. But it confirms the historicity of one important figure mentioned in Ravidatta's grant—that of Rāṣṭravarma, whose dynasty therefore was called *Tāmra-Kāśyapa-kula*. With the historicity of Rāṣṭravarma thus established, we proceed to construct the Punnāṭa genealogy.

The Māṁbaḷḷi record gives Viṣṇudāsa as the father of Rāṣṭravarma. The pointed reference to the retinue of conquered kings, and to the fact that he firmly established *dharma*, suggest that Viṣṇudāsa was not only the first prominent historical figure in the Punnāṭa royal house but that he had to struggle against enemies whose defeat evidently enabled him to establish *dharma* in his kingdom. It would not be too much to assume that Viṣṇudāsa was the progenitor of the Punnāṭa line.

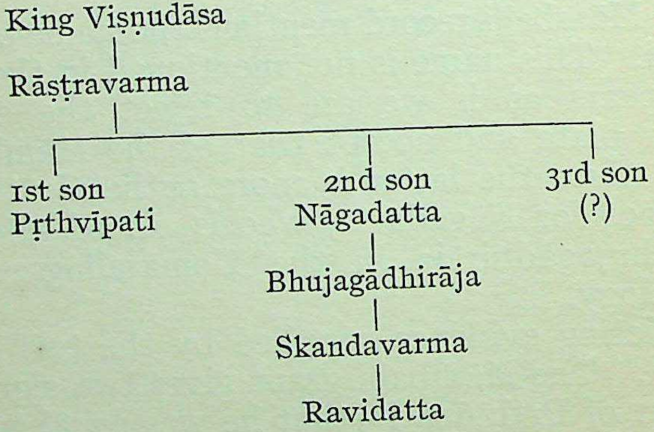
The same Māṁbaḷḷi record mentions the name of Rāṣṭravarma's son Pṛthvīpati. This name is not mentioned in the Komāraliṅgam plate. It appears as if we are to reject the evidence of the Komāraliṅgam plate and accept that of the Māṁbaḷḷi grant, and maintain that since the latter is more authentic than the former, there is no place for Nāgadatta, who is placed after Rāṣṭravarma and before Bhujagādhirāja in the Komāraliṅgam plate, in the Punnāṭa genealogy.

This conflicting evidence supplied by the two records may be thus reconciled. The Māṁbaḷḷi grant gives two significant features in the character of Pṛthvīpati—that he was equal to Yudhiṣṭira by being ever devoted to gifts of charity, and that at the same time he was ever in the company of women. It is not improbable that such a well-meaning but effeminate prince, in spite of his being well versed in many sciences—which was perhaps only a eulogy meant to cover his weakness—was set aside by the people for (his brother) Nāgadatta, mentioned in the grant of Ravidatta. Indeed, the fact that the Māṁbaḷḷi record has nothing worthy to say about Pṛthvīpati, and that Ravidatta's grant omits him altogether, suggests not only that Pṛthvīpati, who may have ruled for quite a short time, gave way to Nāgadatta but that the Māṁbaḷḷi record which does not mention the latter is earlier than the Komāraliṅgam plate from the point of view of chronology. If this is accepted, Nāgadatta would be the younger brother of Pṛthvīpati.

---

[1] *Mys. Arch. Rept. for 1917*, pp. 40-41. Was Prajāvatī a Kadamba princess? The Kadambas were Hāritiputras. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 22.

No doubt this is only a hypothesis for the present with the meagre materials before us. But this is the only way of reconciling the evidence of the Komāraliṅgam and the Māṁbaḷḷi grants. Moreover it explains to us a significant point in connection with the Punnāṭa and Kadamba relations. In the Candravaḷḷi pillar inscription of Mayūraśarma, it is narrated, as we remarked, that he conquered Punnāṭa. It is probable that in the days of the good-natured but weak prince Pṛthvīpati Mayūraśarma conquered Punnāṭa; and that the failure of the Punnāṭa prince may have been another cause which made the people set him aside for his younger brother Nāgadatta. This would mean that Nāgadatta (and Pṛthvīpati) were contemporaries of Mayūraśarma (in the second half of the third century A.D.). We shall see that this contemporaneity of the Punnāṭa and Kadamba kings agrees with the dates contemporary records give for the Punnāṭa king Ravidatta and the Gaṅga king Avinīta. The final Punnāṭa genealogy would then be as follows :—



We now turn to non-Punnāṭa records in order to establish the historicity of another Punnāṭa king, and incidentally to fix the Punnāṭa chronology. Rice basing his remarks on the Malōhaḷḷi copper-plates of Durvinīta wrote thus : 'He (Durvinīta) married the daughter of Skandavarma, the Rāja of Punnāḍ, who, as a royal princess, claimed the privilege of *svayamvara*, by choosing him for herself, though from her birth she had been intended for the son of another '.[1]

But the Malōhaḷḷi copper-plates do not substantiate the above erroneous reading unfortunately given by Rice, who himself has in other places given us the correct fact. The Malōhaḷḷi plates read thus: *Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi-mahādhirājasya Avinīta nāmnāḥ putreṇa Punnāḍa-rāja-Skandavarma-priya-putrikā-janmanā-sva-guruṇānugā-ma(i)nā pitṛā para-suta-samavarjjitayāpi lakṣmyā svayam abhipra-tyāliṅgita-vipula-vakṣastalena vijjṛimbhamāṇa* . . .[1]

---

[1] Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, pp. 35-36 ; *E.C.*, IV, Intr. p. 2.

Mr. Govind Pai has rightly remarked that the above passage was misunderstood to mean that Durvinīta had married the daughter of Skandavarma, when it ought to mean that Durvinīta was the son of the Punnāṭa princess by Avinīta.[2] The passage may be translated thus: By his (i.e. Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja's) son Avinīta, whose broad chest was embraced by the beloved (wealthy) daughter of Skandavarma, the Punnāḍa Rāja, who herself had chosen him, though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his own *guru* (and that of his own father ?), to the son of another.

That we are right in maintaining that Avinīta had married the Punnāṭa princess, who was the daughter of Skandavarma, is proved by other records of the same Gaṅga ruler. In one he is stated to have married the daughter of Skandavarma, the Rājā of Punnāḍ.[3] Another inscription assigned by Rice to A.D. 513 repeats the same.[4] The Nallāḷa plates of Durvinīta, dated in the fortieth year of his victorious reign, describe Durvinīta thus: 'His (i.e. Avinīta's) son, born of the beloved daughter of Skandavarma, the lord of Punnāḍa, (with other praise), was the illustrious Koṅgaṇivṛddha, well known as Durvinīta, among hostile kings'.[5]

---

[1] *E.C.*, IX, DB. 68, p. 159(*b*). The Malōhaḷḷi copper-plate No. 2 does not justify the identification of Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja with Avinīta himself, as supposed by Rice (*E.C.*, IX, Intr. p. 1). If Avinīta were the second name of Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja we would have had some such statement like the following *śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirājena Avinīta nāmadheyena*, as we have of Durvinīta—*śrīmat Koṅgaṇi-vṛddha-rājena Durvinīta nāmadheyena.* But there cannot be any doubt that Avinīta was the son of Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja. Of course this does not preclude Avinīta having the cognomen of Koṅgaṇivarma like other Gaṅga rulers, as is maintained by Mr. Govinda Pai (*Karnataka Historical Review*, II, No. 1, p. 2).—B. A. S.

[2] Pai, *Kar. His. Rev.*, II, No. 2, pp. 17–19. But. Mr. Pai translates the passage thus: '(Durvinīta) who was the son of the beloved daughter of king Skandavarma of Punnāḍa; who followed in the good qualities (*guṇa*) of his own father (*sva-guru*); and whose broad breast was embraced by the Goddess of prosperity (or sovereignty) of her own accord, though she had been bestowed by his (her ?) father on another (*aparasuta*) of his'. (*Ibid.*, p. 17.) This seems to be rather far-fetched.—B. A. S.

[3] Rice, *Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 2 (1886).

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292. Was this record a copy of the Malōhaḷḷi copper-plate ?—B. A. S.

[5] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1924*, p. 71; see also *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 23, p. 7.

From the above, therefore, we may deduce the following :—

Punnāṭa House
Skandavarma
Ravidatta
Daughter =

Gaṅga House
Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja (Mādhava II ?)
Avinīta

The contemporaneity of the Punnāṭa Rājā Skandavarma with the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja, and of the Punnāṭa king Ravidatta with the Gaṅga king Avinīta is thus settled beyond dispute.

We have now to fix the dates of the Punnāṭa kings mentioned above with the help of the Gaṅga chronology. It must be confessed that the Gaṅga chronology is still an unsettled question. Nevertheless we may attempt to find the dates of Avinīta and of his son Durvinīta. According to Rice Avinīta reigned from A.D. 430 till A.D. 482.[1] Mr. Govind Pai however maintains that ' we know for certain that Avinīta was on the throne in 465 A.C.'.[2] But in a later context Mr. Pai says that Avinīta ruled from A.D. 417 till *circa* A.D. 468 or 473 ![3] Without entering into the controversy centering round the dates of Avinīta, we may accept the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. as the age of Avinīta.

Avinīta's son and successor was Durvinīta who is placed between A.D. 482 and 512 and after by Rice,[4] while Mr. Pai asserts that he ruled from A.D. 478.[5] That is to say, Durvinīta reigned in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

We may, therefore, unhesitatingly assign the Punnāṭa contemporaries of the Gaṅga kings thus : Ravidatta, the brother of the princess who married Avinīta, to the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. ; and Skandavarma to about a generation earlier.

The two Punnāṭa grants we have discussed above do not enlighten us as to what happened to the Punnāṭa kingdom after Ravidatta. We believe the ancient Punnāṭa line came to an end with Ravidatta, after whom it was absorbed into the Gaṅga kingdom under Durvinīta. This assumption is proved by the Gaṅga records beginning with Durvinīta down to Śivamāra I.

The Malōhaḷḷi copper-plate No. 2 of Durvinīta, dated in the thirty-fifth year of his victorious reign, assigned by Rice to A.D. 517, as already remarked above, distinctly says that that king was ' the ruler of the whole of Pannāḍ and Punnāḍ '.[6] The Nallāḷa plates of the same sovereign also say that he was the lord of Ponnāṭa and

---

[1] Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 49.

[2] Pai, *Kar. Hist. Rev.*, II, No. 1, p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 25.

[4] Rice, *ibid.*, p. 49.

[5] Pai, *ibid.*, No. 2, p. 25.

[6] *E.C.*, IX, DB. 69, p. 73.

Punnāṭa.[1] In some inscriptions the variants Pānāḍ and Pannāḍ are given.[2] In a defaced copper-plate grant of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra I, Durvinīta is called the lord of the whole of Pānāṭa and the Punnāṭa country. In the same record Śrīvallabha *alias* Pṛthvīvallabha Vṛddharāja, son of Śrīvikrama, is also called the lord of the whole of Pānāṭa and the Punnāṭa country. And Śrivallabha's brother, i.e. Pṛthvīkoṅgaṇi-Vṛddharāja *alias* Śivakumāra or Śivamāra is likewise called by the same name.[3] This conclusively proves that from the days of Durvinīta (last quarter of the fifth century A.D.) till the end of the reign of Śivamāra (the first quarter of the eighth century A.D.), Punnāṭa was incorporated in the large Gaṅga empire.[4] Punnāṭa as an ancient political unit had disappeared from the Karnāṭaka.

The following synchronisms in the Punnāṭa, Kadamba, and Gaṅga history may provisionally be noted :—

Punnāṭa	*Gaṅga*		*Kadamba*
Viṣṇudāsa	Daḍiga	Mādhava I	
Rāṣṭravarma	Mādhava II		
Nāgadatta (*circa* A.D. 280)	Harivarma (*circa* A.D. 249)		Mayūraśarma (*circa* A.D. 280)
Bhujagādhirāja (*circa* A.D. 320)	Viṣṇugopa (*circa* A.D. 341–349)		
Skandavarma (*circa* A.D. 360)	Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja (Mādhava II, according to Mr. Pai) (A.D. 349–403)		
Ravidatta (*circa* A.D. 400)	Avinīta (A.D. 439–491)		
	Durvinīta[5]		

---

[1] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1924*, p. 71.

[2] Rice, *Coorg Ins.*, p. 3 ; *Mys. Ins.*, p. 292, where Rice assigns this record to A.D. 513.

[3] *Mys. Arch. Rept. for 1925*, pp. 91-92.

[4] Śivamāra's dates are by no means settled. Rice places him between A.D. 670 and A.D. 713 (*Mys. & Coorg*, p. 50). Mr. Pai however says that he ruled from A.D. 680 till A.D. 725 (*Kar. His. Rev.*, II, No. 2, p. 25). The identification of Pānāḍ mentioned in these records of the Gaṅga rulers is for the present not certain.—B. A. S.

[5] Mr. Pai has a new genealogy of the Gaṅgas to give. According to him Koṅgaṇivram of *circa* A.D. 250 was the founder of the Gaṅga line. Mādhava II is termed by him Mādhava I. He assigns Viṣṇugopa to A.D. 341–349 (*Kar. Hist. Rev.*, II, No. 2, p. 25).

But Punnāṭa was too great and ancient a name to be altogether wiped out. Hence it reappears in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. and after in the epigraphs of the Gaṅga, Tamil, and Karnāṭaka kings. An inscription assigned to A.D. 800 of the reign of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra II, relates that when that king was ruling, the lord of Punnāḍ Six Thousand made a grant of a *sollage* of white rice for a god whose name is effaced in the record.[1] It cannot be made out who was the lord of the Punnāṭa Six Thousand under Śivamāra II. The Punnāṭa Six Thousand continued to exist, although we do not know whether any scion of the ancient Punnāṭa line was ruling over it. That the Punnāṭa Six Thousand province existed in the middle of the tenth century A.D. is proved by the Kūḍlūr plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha, dated Śaka 884 (A.D. 962), which relate that the village of Bāgiyūr given to Vādigaṅghala Bhaṭṭa, evidently by the king, was situated in the Baḍagare Three Hundred of the Punnāṭu Six Thousand in Gaṅgapāṭi (Gaṅgavāḍi).[2]

Punnāṭa passed through varying fortunes but ever continued to be a country of note. A stone inscription found in the Deśeśvara temple at Alūr, Chāmarājanagara tāluka, dated only in the fifty-seventh regnal year of Rājendra Deva (i.e. in A.D. 1019), relates that Coḷa Viccadira Nallūru Gāmuṇḍa was the chief of Padināḍ which is said to have been situated in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷa-valanāḍu of the Mudikoṇḍa-Coḷa-maṇḍala.[3] This epigraph and the preceding one prove that the Punnāṭa Six Thousand continued to be incorporated in the Gaṅga empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

The greatness of Kīrttipura or Kittūr, the capital of ancient Punnāṭa, is attested to by a stone inscription found in the Rameśvara temple at Kittūr, Nemmanahaḷḷi hobḷi, Heggaḍedevanakōṭe tāluka. It echoes the earlier greatness of the Punnāṭa capital. It is dated *Śaka kāḷam* 1001 *Siddhārti-saṁvatsarada Mārgaśīrśa māsada Amāvāsyeyum Śangrāntiyum Sūrya-gṛhaṇad andu*. This corresponds to A.D. 1079 November the 26th Tuesday. There was no Solar eclipse on that day. But there was a Solar eclipse on December the 26th Thursday which was an Amāvāsya.[4] The record however narrates the following after praising the Bayal-nāḍ (?) and its ruler Kandavarma (?)—That Kittūr was the royal residence, the great immense city of Kīrttipura (*Kittūr āda ananta*

---

[1] *E.C.*, III, Nj. 26, p. 98.

[2] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1921*, p. 24.

[3] *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 69, p. 8. Rice assigns this to *circa* A.D. 1023 on grounds that cannot be made out.—B. A. S.

[4] Swamikannu, *Indian Ephemeris*, III, p. 161.

Kīrtti-mahānagara purada). Punnāḍ officers of Keraḷa-nāḍ, Kandavarma-nāḍ, and Kikki-nāḍ are mentioned as 'carrying on their government'. How Keraḷa-nāḍ came to be included in the above list is inexplicable.[1]

In A.D. 1196 an official named Armaṭivaḷa, who had some connection with Lāṭa-khaṇḍa (a part of Gujarat), is said to have ruled over the Hadināḍ, Taṟānāḍ, and Kūnāḍ from his capital Sātarūr. This was in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa I (or Ballāḷa II).[2]

Rice has assigned an inscription to *circa* A.D. 1240 in which it is related that the merchants of various countries and someone who belonged to Mudigoṇḍacoḷapuram, made a grant to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas (and others) of Padināḍ and the Eighteen *nāḍs*.[3]

Another inscription also assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1290 of the times of the Hoysala king Narasiṁha Deva, relates that in order to provide for the perpetual lamp of the god Kapāleśvara of Aruḷai *alias* Coḷendrasiṁha-caturvedimaṅgaḷam in Padināḍ, the *Mahāpradhāna* Perumaḷe Deva Daṇṇāyaka paid money and bought certain land in Puṅganūr, at the hands of the Brahmans.[4] Padināḍ, therefore, contained temples which received particular favour at the hands of the great ministers of the Hoysalas.

Indeed, the solicitude which some of the Hoysala monarchs took for the welfare of the temples in Padināḍ is proved by another stone inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1291. This informs us that in the reign of the same Hoysala king the two Seventy of Hadināḍ made a grant of Belatulavāḍi for the worship of the god Ramānātha in Kumāranabīḍu, which was evidently in Padināḍ.[5]

Hadināḍ next figures in later Vijayanagara times, especially in the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya and afterwards. Thus in A.D. 1545 a damaged record narrates that while that monarch was reigning, certain persons made a grant of a village (name defaced) belonging to Nāgavaḷi and Kundaghaṭṭa in the Hadināḍ-sīme, to the god Gaṅgādhara of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa.[6] An inscription dated A.D. 1549 informs us that Bācarasayya was placed over Hadināḍ during the viceroyalty of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala Rājayya.[7]

---

[1] *E.C.*, IV, Hg. 56, pp. 73-74.

[2] *E.C.*, III, TN. 3, pp. 73-74.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, Yl. 61, p. 33.

[4] *E.C.*, Yl. 8, p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, Gu. 72, p. 48. The term *Padināḍ yīr-eppattum* is otherwise inexplicable.—B. A. S.

[6] *Ibid.*, Ch. 77, p. 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, Ch. 38, p. 5. On Bācarasayya, read Ch. 74, p. 8.

In the reign of the same Vijayanagara monarch, Dewān Oḍeyar granted by a stone charter to Cāmarasa Oḍeyar in A.D. 1564, Gaṇiganūr-sthaḷa within Padināḍ as a *rakta-koḍagi* as a recompense for the murder of Cāmarasa Oḍeyar's father Devapa Gauḍa by Sañjara Khāna.[1]

That the Vijayanagara monarchs appointed their officers over Padināḍ is clear from a later epigraph assigned to *circa* A.D. 1590 in which Rāja Nāyaka, son of Devapa Gauḍa, is mentioned as the chief (*Prabhu*) of Hadināḍ country (*śīme*). This office of a *Prabhu* seems to have been hereditary in the same family at least for two generations. For, a later inscription dated A.D. 1593 mentions Devapa Gauḍa as the chief of Hadināḍ and his son who is called Immaḍi Rāma Rāja Nāyaka. It registers the grant of a village (named) within 'our Hadināḍ-*śīme*' by Devapa Gauḍa and others for a specified purpose.[2]

The Hadināḍ-*śīme* ruler is called merely *Āḷva* (ruler) in an inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1604, of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Veṅkaṭapati Deva. The name of the Hadināḍ-*śīme* chief is Cannañjaya, whose son Nañja Rāja Oḍeyar is mentioned.[3] It cannot be determined in what manner the chieftain Nañja Rāja and his father came to be in the possession of the Hadināḍ country.

How the traditions of the present royal family of Mysore came to be associated with the Hadināḍ-*śīme* is related in an inscription assigned by Rice to A.D. 1650. In this epigraph we have the interesting fact that Vīra Pratāpa Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Mahīpati, the lord enthroned in Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, 'in order to provide for the continuance of his works of merit in Kāśi, he gave a stone charter, as follows, of the village of Hoṅga-nūr in the Hadināḍ-*śīme* which he had inherited by his bravery'.[4]

Muddu Rājayya, son of Tirumala Rāja Nāyaka of Hadināḍ is mentioned in a record of A.D. 1667.[5]

Nirañjaya, *senabova* of Kittūr, is described in an epigraph of A.D. 1672 as receiving a grant of land from the king of Mysore Kaṇṭhīrava Rāja Arasu.[6]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, Yl. 29, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 30, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, Ch. 62, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ch. 42, p. 5. Padināḍ occurs in grant dated A.D. 1654. *Mys. Insc.*, p. 334.

[5] *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 17, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, Hg. 57, p. 74. Yeḷandūr, a part of Padināḍ was given as a *jāgīr* to Dewān Pūrṇayya in A.D. 1807 in recognition of his meritorious services to the State. It is now held by his descendents (*E.C.*, IV, Intr. p. 29).

It is interesting to note that trial diggings at Kittūr have revealed the fact that buried in the fields near the village are ruined brick structures which are probably the remains of Kīrttipura, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Punnāṭa.[1] We eagerly await the results of the energetic activities of the Mysore Archæological Department.

---

[1] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1930*, p. 2.

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK

By ISHWAR SAHAI

The Thag Organization.[1]—About the early organization of the Thags nothing is known. It was in 1807 at the capture of some Thags in Chittur that it was for the first time found by the English that the Thags were organized in gangs. The suggestion of Mr. Wright, the magistrate of Chittur, was that some exceptional measures should be adopted. From this it may reasonably be inferred that the Thags had become a grave menace in 1809 and that their organization was not easy to break. The instructions of the commander-in-chief in 1810 tell us that the Thags threw the corpses in wells to avoid detection ; their victims were generally, or for the most part, the sepoys who returned to their homes with money ; they inveigled the travellers by contriving to fall in with them, accompany them on the pretext of a common danger, and then strangle them on a favourable opportunity in a lonely place generally before sunrise or after sunset. Dr. Sherwood published a paper on Thags or Phansígárs in 1816. He tells us that the Thags ostensibly engaged in the cultivation of land or service 'to screen themselves from suspicion'; that they had become acquainted with some officers of rank about court whom they conciliated by handsome presents and who could serve them in the time of need, and had also sought the protection of some zemindars ; that they had given to their abominable practice a colour of religious sanctity by enjoining on themselves the worship of Kálí or Mariatta or some other local goddess ; and that they had also evolved certain secret signs and words which they alone could understand. In brief, 'the precautions they take, the artifice they practice, the mode of destroying their victims, calculated at once to preclude almost the possibility of rescue or escape—of witnesses of the dead—of noise or cries for help—of effusion of blood—and, in general, of all traces of murder : these circumstances conspire to throw a veil of darkness over their atrocities'. He also pointed out that they consisted of men of all castes and creeds and were an organized body. Similarly, a document of 1816 disclosed that they infested the five important roads of the Upper Provinces. During the years 1816 and 1828 they must have improved their organization. The depositions of the various approvers given in the Appendices of Colonel Sleeman's Ramaseeáná bear testimony to it.

---

[1] The account of the organization of the Thags is based on Ramaseeana, Rambles and Recollections, JRAS. (1834) and (1837) and Thornton's book.

Lest their murderous activities should be detected, they observed a number of precautions. They always followed some ostensible professions—generally agriculture, often private service or business or even service in the army. When they got smell of the travellers they [especially the Tillais (scouts)] first of all tried to win their confidence by cheerful and conciliatory manners. Generally they would pretend that they were also travellers, would talk of the dangers of the road, and would request them with great earnestness to march together. Having lulled their suspicions by feigning friendship, and fine deportment, some of them found a secluded place generally near a brook, well or river to strangle and loot them. They usually chose some unfrequented by path, hid from the public gaze by trees.

But that was not all. Their favourite maxim was 'Kill and then loot'. It was based on the belief that dead men tell no tales. In strangling one man, at least three Thags were required. Having received the signal (jhirnee), the strangler (bhurtote) threw the noose round the necks of their victims, while the two shumsheea Thags pulled the handkerchief to such an extent that the poor victim succumbed to death. If the traveller was on a horseback, a wáráwal Thag laid hold of the horse's bridle. Such was the usual arrangement, but necessary modifications and adjustments were introduced according to time and place. An interesting anecdote will show the plans they formed. Once a Moghul officer who knew the Thags was to be made their victim. Since he recognized them, they all ran away. Some went far ahead of him and began to weep bitterly. When asked, they told the officer that they were soldiers coming from Lahore. One of them had died. They wanted to bury him. They did not know Koran, so they requested him to perform the last office. The Moghul officer came down the horse. The Thags kept his two servants backs, saying that they should not interfere in the Moghul's devotions. And then they killed all the three. Such were their expedients. In case the number of victims was larger than theirs, they would manage to create dissensions among them. If they could not find a suitable place for murder they would go on marching for miles and for weeks.

The choice of the place and the method of strangulation were in themselves sufficient to nullify the chances of discovery. Still they did not fail to appoint some spies to watch the passersby. After the murders, the diggers (Thags) dug graves and buried them.

They also left behind one or two Thags to see if their murderous act was discovered. If it was, the spy appointed informed his associates and they would run away.

The distribution of the loot, however, small the amount, was done very honestly. Their protector, if there was any, was offered the highest share, often shawls and jewels; or else, their Jemidar would get the highest share; and then the strangler, the shumsheeas, the scouts, and the sexton respectively. The remainder was equally divided equally among the rest. They were clever enough to destroy hundís and other articles likely to lead to their capture.

Besides these, to carry on their work smoothly they had also invented a slang of their own, called Ramaseeana. A few words and phrases of that may be of some interest. When they wanted to give a signal (jhirnee) for murder, they uttered the words: 'Tambākū khā lo' (i.e. take tobacco) or 'Āye ho to ghyree chalo' (i.e. if you are come, pray descent). To show that there was no cause for alarm they cried out 'Bajeed or Bajeed Khan', 'Deva or Devaman or Devasen'. If there were some, they would say 'Sheikhjee, Sheikh Mohammad, or Lachman or Luchman Singh or Lachi Ram, and Ganga Ram'.

At the same time they tried to strengthen their organization from within. Though members of all castes and classes were recruited, all had to take a vow of secrecy, and obey their Jemidar. Only those Thags were allowed to strangle who were deemed capable and who had undergone a sort of test, for which preparation was necessary. First the raw men were engaged as scouts, then as diggers and shumsheeas, and after that as stranglers. In case a Thag failed to strangle he was turned out. Even the sons of Thags had to undergo a long and arduous training. In the beginning they were simply taken in the expeditions, and given some rupees. This created a desire for wandering life. That their conscience might not trouble them they were then made to witness the perpetration of the horrible business. Then they were employed as scouts, diggers, etc.

When it was felt that a certain Thag could be initiated as a strangler because environment, example and training had made him pitiless and remorseless, and he had begun to realize and feel Thagi as his destined profession, the teacher of the Thags, an experienced man, would perform the initiation ceremony. This was celebrated with all the pomp and serenity of a religious ceremony. The teacher first gave him díkṣá and then performed 'tapooni' with great solemnity. He would then utter: 'O Kálí Kankálí, Bhadkálí, O Kálí Mahákálí, Calcuttáwálí! if it seemeth to thee fit that the traveller now at our lodging should die by the hands of this Thag slave, vouchsafe us the Thibaoo (auspicious and favourable omens) '. If it was received, they interpreted it as the sanction of Kálí, and the strangler (noviciate) proceeded to try his chance. If it was not, he had to wait.

As if the precautions taken and the training imparted were insufficient, the Thag elders gave their murderous profession a colour of religious sanctity. They had adopted the story of Kálí to suit their purpose ; and believed that as they had been commanded by goddess to follow Thagi, they were simply obeying her in following Thagi. They were made to realize and believe that Thagi was their profession or trade by birth, in following which there should be neither shame nor hesitation. They performed a Tapooni and a sacrifice after every murder ; made offerings to their supposed patroness ; and believed that the favourable omens received by them indicated to them the divine will, which theirs was a duty to follow and fulfil. All these beliefs and ideas were due to their ignorance of the real nature of their religious and the prevalence of superstitions, especially among the Hindus. Though the superstitious beliefs were shared by the Hindus and Muslims alike, there is no doubt that their source was the degraded Hinduism of those days.

The influence of these was debasing, though sometimes it checked them from perpetrating deeds of wanton cruelty. They always, with a few exceptions only, desisted from killing women, children, and even men of certain castes and classes who were either very poor or held sacrosanct. The Thags, as referred to above, had neither pity nor remorse. But, strange as it might appear, they had a great horror of shedding blood. What a nice distinction between strangling and shedding blood !! They were indeed possessed of a feeling of pride that they were neither thieves nor robbers, but Thags whose profession was Thagi !! They were good and affectionate husbands and fathers, sometimes they were moved by beauty and would let go a beautiful woman unharmed. These were their only redeeming features.

It may here be observed that the Thags were not a ' caste ', for caste implies a recognition of the members of that caste by others. Moreover, the Thags were recruited from Muslims and Hindus of all castes and classes. A glance through the mere names of the approvers or the list of Thags given in the Appendices to Ramaseeana would lead to the inevitable and irresistible conclusion that they were not a caste. They were simply a criminal fraternity bound together by the common desire of committing murder and looting people. Such was their organization in 1828.

Early efforts to suppress them. (*a*) *By Indians*—In the meantime efforts for their suppression had been made. Some western writers have uncritically assumed that the Indian rulers neglected their duty of crushing the Thags. But this charge requires a careful examination.[1] It is alleged that every house of the parganahs of Sursae and Sindosi in Etawah paid Rs. 24-8 per annum, and that these houses were of the Thags. This allegation seems to be both false and much misunderstood. For it is difficult to believe that the two parganahs should have been occupied only by the Thags. Then the whole thing is based on the deposition of a certain Sankat Rai, an approver. Moreover, it appears that the tax realized was the annual rent, for the payment of Rs. 50 to the two patwaris and of Rs. 100 to the zemindar after the realization of Rs. 7,791 per annum is of the nature of a revenue arrangement. It may also be pointed out that these parganahs were not under one ruler, but they changed many hands—of the Nawab Vizir, the Raja of Gohud, the Rohilla chieftain, the Raja of Bharatpore, and the Raja of Gwalior. It is not easy to believe that all these rulers could have tolerated their existence in their dominions, if they had been knowing them. The fact may, however, have been that these contained Thags, who were protected by the zemindars but of whose existence the rulers were unaware.

It is further alleged that the Polygars of the South patronized them. Probably some of them did, but then they were not rulers.

On the basis of the allegations quoted above it is not fair to find fault with the rulers of Indian States. Moreover, there are fortunately certain Thag traditions and actual references which disprove the charge. Russell quotes a few conversations which clearly point out that they tried their best to crush them.[2] The document of 1816, published in the Asiatic Journal (1833 May–August) tells us ' that it would appear from the examination in this office that the punishment of this offence in some of the Maratha States is by enclosing the criminal alive in a pillar of masonry '.[3] Mir Khan lost his nose and other limbs. Raja Dharak Singh went to crush the Thags in 1814 to Sujaina. Even in the Polium of Chargal in about 1800, a gang of Thags was fined Rs. 5,000. Dr. Sherwood writes that ' Hyder Ali proceeded against criminals in a very summary manner and destroyed several of them. In the reign of Tipu some were sentenced to hard labour and others suffered mutilation of limbs. Purneeah the diwan of Mysore got several Phansigars executed '.[4] This seeming negligence on the part of the Indian rulers may be accounted for by the small number of the

---

[1] Ramaseeana, Appendix O.

[2] Russell, pp. 560–584.

[3] Asiatic Journal, 1833 (May–August).

[4] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIII—Dr. Sherwood's paper.

Thags before 1800, the infrequency of their depredations and perhaps the engrossing of all their attention to the constant wars. Due to the last, perhaps, it was that they did not succeed in their final extirpation.

(*b*) *By early British administration.*—The crime therefore did not die out. The ignorance of the British about the Thags till 1799 may have largely contributed to their growth on a larger scale. It was only in 1799 after the capture of Seringapattam that the English came to know of the Thags for the first time.[1] In 1805, three persons were strangled near Madras; in Coimbatoor 2,500 pagodas were looted by them; and two more Indians and their servants became their victims. About the same time Nawab Subjee was murdered on the road from Hyderabad to Bhopal. But none was captured. In 1807 when Chittur was ceded to the British, many Thags were secured and punished. Near Bangalore some Thags were punished for looting travellers. It was in 1807 that 'the English for the first time apprehended that the Thags were an organized fraternity of hereditary murderers'. They had not as yet come to know the extent of the area over which this abominable Thagi crime spread.

In 1809-10 occurred the Surgooja Affair, in which 200 Thags participated to strangle 22 men. But it appears that all were released. In the district of Saran (Bihar) some were apprehended, but released because the evidence was unconvincing. The same year 'an act of murder excited at that time great sensation; but, like many others resembling it in enormity it gradually almost ceased to be recollected'. Here the reference seems to be to the disclosure by Khudabaksh Khan, of a gang of 16, who were also released. In 1809, as already noted, the Magistrate of Chittur Mr. Wright had written that some exceptional measures should be adopted to do away with the crime, but that was in vain.

In the Northern India, it was only in 1810 that the existence of the Thags came to be known to the English. Thirty dead bodies were found between the Ganges and the Jumna. Perhaps it was on this discovery that the Commander-in-Chief, Major-General St. Leger issued the following order on the 28th April, 1810:—

'It having come to the knowledge of Government that several sepoys, proceeding to visit their families on leave of absence from their corps, have been robbed and murdered by a description of persons, denominated Thags, who infested the districts of the Doab and the other parts of the Upper Provinces—the Commander-in-Chief of the forces thinks it proper to give them publicity in general orders, to the end, that commanding-officers of native corps may put their men on their guard accordingly.

---

[1] Ibid.

'It has been stated that these murderers, when they obtain information of a traveller who is supposed to have money about his person, contrive to fall in with him, on the road or in the serais; and under pretence of proceeding to the same place, keep his company, and by indirect questions get an insight into his affairs, after which they watch for an opportunity to destroy him. This they sometimes create, by persuading the traveller to quit the serais a little after midnight, pretending it is near day-break; or by detaching him from his companions, lead him, under various pretences, to some solitary spot .....' First they administer dhaturá (a kind of opiate) and then they strangle him.

'With a view therefore to guard against such atrocious deeds, the commanding-officers of native corps will caution their men, when proceeding on leave of absence :—

(1) To be on guard against unarmed men on the road, who show solicitude for their company. (2) Not to quit the serais early in the morning. (3) Not to eat anything (from others). (4) To avoid of the protection of the sawars, when opportunity offers, and travel as much as possible with large bodies of people.

'It has also been intimated to the Major-General commanding the forces that the Residents at Delhi and Lucknow, and the Collectors of Revenue, will be authorized, on the application of commanding-officers of Paymasters, to grant bills, payable at sight and at the usual exchange, on any other treasuries on account of sepoys wishing to remit money from one part of the country to another;—a mode, which in conformity to the views of the Government, is particularly to be encouraged and attended to by Officers Commanding Corps and detachments'.[1]

This lengthy quotation reveals to us—that by 1809-10 the English had come to possess a fair knowledge of the Thags, and that the measures they adopted were calculated only to avoid the Thags. Consequently they were desultory and ineffectual; and the result was that 'all attacks upon the evil itself continued to be, as heretofore, insulated and accidental' for about a score of years.

In that period many Thags were apprehended and caught at various places. From the Affairs of the East India Company (Judicial), it is learnt that some Thags were arrested and sentenced to death, as the following table would show [2] :—

---

[1] Ramaseeana, p. 14.

[2] Affairs of the East India Company (Judicial).

In 1813.	Bareilly Division—	Cawnpore	10
		Farrukhabad	1
		Etawah	5
		Aligarh	4
	Benares Division—	Bundelkhand	19
		Allahabad	10

In 1814 some Thags looted and murdered a number of travellers at Siyaina in Bundelkhand, but they escaped.[1] The same year also witnessed the Dhooma Affair. From the depositions of certain Thags it is seen that the Thags were kept in confinement for sometime, when they had been captured by the provincial governor of Gwalior. Some were flogged to death ; others escaped. In Saran 15 Thags were arrested, but all were released for want of witnesses. Mr. Stockwell arrested some Thags at Etawah and suggested punishment, but they were acquitted by the Nizámat Adálat for a slight discrepancy in the evidence.

In 1815, in the district of Maslipattum, three travellers were strangled. In 1816, as learnt from the records of the Nagpur Residency, Thagi was committed on the road between Banda and Nagpur. When the Thakur of that place came to catch them, they ran away. Some property was recovered and claimed by a certain Ram Baksh. A Thag Bahadur confessed his guilt in the beginning ; coming to know that one who confessed guilt was sentenced to death, he denied it. For want of satisfactory evidence all the Thags were released.

The year 1816 was very important in the history of Thagi. For Dr. Sherwood published his paper on the Phansigars (Thags). Similarly in the north the authorities came to know about the manners, methods, and organization of the Thags, and about their activities in the principal roads.

' Isolated measures were planned and executed by the individual magistrates, who, becoming by accident acquainted with the existence of the evil within their territory, applied their abilities and their energies for a time to its suppression.

In 1818 a gang of 120 Thags was apprehended and arrested by Mr. Adams in Bhopal, but all were released on payment of a fine of Rs. 11,250. In 1819, 55 Thags were brought before Colonel Stewart for trial, but for want of conclusive evidence, he had to acquit them. He, however, sent their descriptive rolls to all the towns and removed them out of Malwa. Many were sent to Mr. Henley but they all escaped. In 1821 a notorious Thag Madari was arrested but acquitted for there was a slight discrepancy in evidence. In 1821 Subedar Major Akbar Khan and 8 more were strangled with impunity (to Thags). In 1822 Mr. Waugh captured a number of Thags and handed them over to Raj Rana. After four years and a half they were released. In 1823 Captain Sheriff made approvers tell the truth. The same year a big gang of 105 Thags was arrested by Mr. Molony, but their trial was deferred till 1823 due to his death and ' other circumstances '. In 1824 some Thags were released at Saran on security ; and the informer was imprisoned, because in the opinion of the authorities he had told a lie. In 1826 and 1827 the same things happened. In 1826 a gang of 32 Thags arrested by Mr. Wardlaw was sent to Mr. Frazer at Jubbulpur.

---

[1] References about Thagi between 1800 and 1828 may be found in Appendices to Ramaseeana.

(*To be continued*)

BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJRAT (1526–37)

By S. K. Banerji

Gujrat

Gujrat comprises to-day of the Gujrati speaking regions, viz. the peninsula of Kathiawad and Cutch, the districts and States of the Bombay Presidency from Palanpur to Dāman, i.e. the country lying between 20° 9′ and 24° 43′ N. and 68° 25′ and 72° 22′ E. The total area is more than 40,000 sq. miles of which nearly half consists of the Kathiawad peninsula. In Mediæval times, Gujrat had a wider political connotation and included the subordinate provinces of Sindh and Khandesh and after 1531, of Malwa also. The principal town, Ahmadabad, situated on the river Sābarmati, occupies the neck of the peninsula. The mainland is intersected by several other rivers, of which the principal are the Mahi, the Banas, the Narbada and the Tapti.

Hills of Gujrat

The province has hardly had any high mountains, the Narbada and the Tapti flowing through hillocks of inferior elevation. The western extremities of the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges, Dungarpur, Girnar and Palitana hills and Mount Abu, these comprise the elevated and hilly regions.

Its products

The province is rich in products of all kinds and its ports, Diu, Gogo, Cambay, Broach, Surat, Nausari, Bulsar and Dāman were world-famous ports in the Muslim days. The custom duties paid by the Persian merchants alone at these ports reached the figure of 60,000 rupees.[1]

Iron ore is found in this peninsula and at the mouth of the Tapti and cornelian of good quality and in abundance in Rajpipla. Several agricultural crops are produced, rice, wheat, barley, millets, and gram. But the most precious agricultural product is cotton, of which a large supply was available. The date-palm and the palmyra flourish throughout the country. Of fruits many varieties prevail, of which jack, mango, musk-melon and water-melon are well known. The huge adansonia useful to the coastal fishermen as floats for their nets and figs may also be mentioned. In Abul Fazl's words, 'From the numerous groves of mango and other trees, it (Gujrat) may be said to represent a garden'.[2]

---

[1] See Mirat-i-Sikanderi (MS.) British Museum add. 27253, fol. 145 a.

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 239. Lane-Poole in his *Mediæval India*, Ch. vii, expresses the same sentiment.

Its past industries

Gujrat abounded in industries and skilled artisanship of various kinds. The mother-of-pearl inlay work, painting, seal-engraving have been mentioned by *Ain-i-Akbari*. Similarly, various cotton or silk, worked with gold thread, such as *Chirah*, *Fotah*, etc. velvets and brocades were skilfully manufactured and various imitations of those imported from Turkey, Europe or Persia were made. Excellent swords and daggers, bows and arrows were made in the province and there was a brisk trade in jewelry. Silver was imported from Turkey and Mesopotamia.

Its past history

The history of Gujrat goes into the distant past. Sri Krishna is said to have retreated to Dwarka, included in Gujrat and died there. Coming to a more recent period, we know that the peninsula under the name of Surashtra and also the mainland were included in Asoka's empire. The Saka chiefs of Surashtra were again made tributary in the time of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II in the 4th century A.D.

With the fall of the Guptas, Western India came under the control of the Maitraka tribe, who made their capital at Vallavi.[1] In Harsha's time (606–47), Vallavi acknowledged his suzerainty.

After the fall of Harsha, when India broke into small independent principalities, Gujrat also formed a separate kingdom. The Chālukya or Solanki dynasty, founded by one, Mūlrāj, continued till 1242 A.D., when its last ruler Bhima Deva II died. Bhima is remembered for a victory that he obtained on Muhammad Ghuri in 1179 A.D., though fifteen years later, Muhammad's general, Qutbuddin Aibak took ample revenge by winning a victory and plundering the rich country.

After Bhima Deva's disappearance, the Baghela ministers of the Solanki chiefs came into prominence. Visāla Deva became an independent ruler in 1243 A.D., and it was his great grandson, Karnadeva[2] who was defeated by Alauddin's generals, Ulūgh Khan and Nusrat Khan in 1297 A.D.

Hence forward Gujrat formed a part of the Delhi empire. Its last governor was Zafar Khan appointed in 1391 A.D. By 1396 A.D., he made himself secure and then when he found that the rival puppet kings of Delhi, Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Shah, both of the Tughlug dynasty, were constantly fighting against each other, made himself independent (1396 A.D.), though the actual title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah was taken eight years later in 1404 A.D.[1]

---

[1] See Forbes. *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, p. 20, n. 1. The town was situated 20 miles west of Bhavanagar and 25 miles south of Satrunjaya hills.

[2] Rās Mālā gives the following genealogy about him

Visāla Deva
|
Arjuna Deva
|
Sarang Deva
|
Karna Deva.

Bahadur Shah as prince.

Bahadur Shah belonged to this dynasty. He was the grandson of the equally famous Sultan Mahmud Begarha 1458–1511. As a prince, Bahadur was noted for his ability and energy. In disgust with his father, Muzaffar Shah II, 1511–26, at his refusal to treat him on equal terms with his elder brother, Sikandar Khan, the heir apparent, he had left the kingdom and passed through Dungarpur, Chitor and Mewāt[2] and finally reached Delhi, beginning of 1526 A.D.

Everything was in a state of bustle and confusion there, for Babur had crossed the Indus for the fifth and last time, imprisoned Daulat Khan, occupied the whole province of the Punjab and was fast approaching Panipat.

Bahadur Khan in Sultan Ibrahim's camp.

Bahadur moved to Sultan Ibrahim's camp, situated several miles south-east of the battle-field. The prince was welcomed by the Sultan and he exerted himself in the Lodi cause.[3] This made him popular in the Mughal army and so the Sultan grew jealous and cold. When Bahadur discovered this, he refrained from further exertions and in the actual battle fought on April 18, 1526, remained a mere spectator. He was impressed by Babur's skill and his followers' valour on the battle-field.[1] Several years afterwards, he was unwilling to come into direct conflict with the Mughals, observing that the Indians as compared to the Mughals were like glass as against stone and in any impact between the two, it would be the Indians who would invariably suffer.[2]

---

[1] Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, the chapter on Gujrat (C.H.I.).

[2] See Abdullah Muhammad bin Omar: *Arabic History of Gujrat* (A.H.G.) edited by Sir Dennison Ross, p. 128, where the writer says

اِلْتَمَسَ بهادر مِن اَبيهِ اَنْ يكونَ لَهُ مِن وَظيفهِ المعاشِ ما لِاَخيهِ سكندر *

This contradicts the same writer's statement on p. 121.

فالتمس (بهادر) مِن والدِهِ ان لم يزدْهُ على ما بيدِهِ مِن الولايةَ فيساويهِ فيها باصغر اخوتهِ سنّاً سكندرُ *

The former seems to be the more correct statement. According to *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (MS.), Bahadur's *Murshid*, Hazrat Shah Shaikh Jiu died immediately after and Sikandar made the derisive remark پیر مرا مرید جوگی هوا 'the master died and the disciple became a wanderer.'

[3] *A.H.G.*, p. 128 has رَكَبَ بهادُر بخاصتهِ وارْقَلَ فى اثرهم (Mughals) و اَدْرَكَهُم و قتلَ الكثيرَ مِنهُم ... رجع بالاسارى و لم يَفُتْ منهم احدٌ *

Immediately after the defeat of the Afghans, Bahadur was offered the throne of Jaunpur. At the end of Sultan Ibrahim's reign there was plenty of unrest and the eastern Afghans under the headship of Bahadur Khan Nūhāni, had rebelled against him. Those who had gathered at Panipat, saw only the defeat and death of their master because of the superior skill of the foe. Impressed by this superiority of the foreigner, they were in search of an able leader than the Nuhanis could supply. Hence their request to Bahadur to ascend the throne at Jaunpur.

But in Gujrat also, Bahadur was needed. His father, Muzaffar Shah, was dead on April 7, 1526, 11 days previous to the battle of Panipat. The nobles were not unanimous in their selection, some favouring the second son, Bahadur, and a few, the third son Latif Khan. Being on the spot, Sikandar Khan succeeded but his supporters, Imādulmulk Khusqadam and Khudawand Khan al-Iji and those who were not in his favour, all got alarmed at his insensate idiocy.[3] He was assassinated by Imadulmulk on April 12, 1526, after a reign of 5 days.

As mentioned above, there were several parties favouring the remaining princes. A large number of nobles headed by Taj Khan Narpali[4] favoured Bahadur; a few, headed by Qaisar Khan,[5] Latif Khan, but the two most important of the ministers, Khuda-wand Khan al-Iji and Imādulmulk Khushqadam,[6] who had raised

---

[1] See Abu Turab Wali: *History of Gujrat* (A. T. W., H.G.), p. 3. He seems incorrect in his statement that Bahadur reached Ibrahim's camp on the day of the battle. I have followed A.H.G., pp. 120-1, see also p. 229.

[2] *A.H.G.*, p. 229 هُم و المُغلُ فی المِثَالِ کالزُّجاجِ و الحَجَرِ بِاَیِّهِمَا تَصْدُمُ الآخَرُ لا یَرْتَضُّ الّا الزُجاجُ *

[3] *A.H.G.*, 133. He would strike at his shoes or sugar-cane sticks bound together with his sword and name some nobleman, whom he thought he was beheading. The author's words are انه کانَ اذا جَرَّبَ سیفاً یرمیه علی خُفٍّ او قَصَبِ سُکَّرٍ مجموعٍ فی عقدٍ قال هذا فلان و فلان فتحاشته جماعةٌ مِن المسمّین فی تجربةِ السیفِ *

[4] *A.H.G.* calls him الوزیر الکبیر.

[5] Also called الوزیر الکبیر.

[6] *A.H.G.*, p. 133, ll. 3-4.

Sikandar and then murdered him, were in favour of Muzaffar Shah's youngest son, Nasīr Khan.[1] They tried to win over the other nobles by a lavish grant of titles but as it was not accompanied by any jagir, it did not reconcile them. Next Imādulmulk wrote to the neighbouring chiefs, Imādulmulk of Berar[2] and Rana Sāngā and also to Babur,[3] for support of his government. Since it might mean loss of independence for Gujrat, some patriots,[4] headed by Taj Khan Narpali[5] combined to frustrate him. They sent Payenda Khan with an offer of the throne of Gujrat. He met Bahadur at Bagh Pat,[6] and delivered his message. Bahadur preferred the throne of his native kingdom to the distant Jaunpur, explained the situation to the accompanying Jaunpuri nobles, offered excuses and obtained permission to separate from them. After a rapid march, he reached Ahmadabad and ascended the throne on July 11, 1526.

Bahadur as King

Of course one of his first measures was to secure and execute Imādulmulk Khushqadam[7] and the other assassins of Sikandar ; Latif also disappeared about this time, the infant ruler, Nasīr Khan, entitled Mahmud Shah II, was murdered, and another adult brother, Chānd Khan left for Mandu. So Bahadur was left without any rival in his kingdom.

Sultan Bahadur Shah ruled for nearly 11 years (July 1526–February 1537) and is remembered as one of the most distinguished rulers of Gujrat and deserves, along with his grandfather, Sultan Mahmud Begarha, a place among the noted kings of India. At the time of accession, he bore a reputation for ability, energy and piety and was known to be deeply devoted to Hazrat Shah Shaikh Jiu[8] and his successor.

---

[1] *A.H.G.*, p. 133, ll. 20–5. MS. points out that Imad was the first murderer of a Gujrat king, also that henceforth no king would die in his bed. The latter statement is not true.

[2] Alauddin Imād Shah who ruled 1504–29 A.D.

[3] Babur was offered a crore of tankas in cash. See MS. (British Museum Copy Add. 27253, fol.) 130 b.

[4] In which, MS. includes the author of *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*. This precious history seems to have completely disappeared.

[5] Taj Khan is remembered as the builder of the marble tomb of Shah Alam, the son of Qutb-ul-Ālam, the great saint of Ahmadabad. See its photo in C.H.I., plate 27.

[6] Situated in 28° 56′ N. and 77° 17′ E. The name is incorrectly written in MS. as Bagh-i-Panipat. Mirat-i-Ahmadi makes Bahadur reach Jaunpur kingdom before his return to Gujrat, which is unlikely.

[7] *A. T. W.*, *H.G.* says, he was flayed alive.

[8] It was at Shaikh Jiu's death and Bahadur's departure that Sikandar's sneering remark پیر مرا مرید جوگی هوا was made. The Shaikh's full name was Sayyid Jalāluddin Shah Shaikh Jiu. He was the grandson of Qutb-ul-Alam Syed Burhān-uddin.

With Bahadur's accession, Gujrat entered one of its most brilliant periods. He was only a youth of twenty, but almost immediately after, started on a career of campaigns and conquests. After restoring tranquillity to his kingdom, he turned to his neighbours, waged war year after year in subduing them. It will suffice here to make a record of his successes and a brief description of some of them :—

(1) In 1527–9, in response to an appeal from Alāuddin Imād-ul-mulk of Berar and Muhammad II of Khandesh,[1] Bahadur forced Burhan Nizam Shah (1509–53) to retreat and acknowledge him as his suzerain and read *Khutbah* in his name.

(2) In 1530–1, he faced the Portuguese who had already captured Dāman. In the naval conflict near Diu, the Portuguese were repulsed.

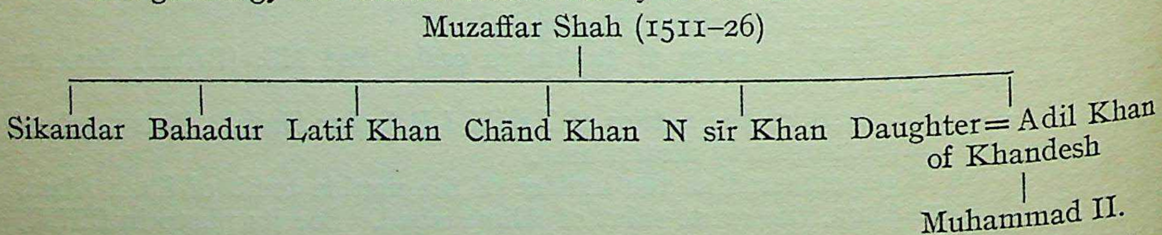
(3) In 1531, in alliance with Rana Ratan Singh, he put an end to the independence of Malwa. In the past, i.e., in Muzaffar's time, the ruler of Malwa, Mahmud II of Malwa (1511–31) was treated with the most generous consideration. In Mahmud's interest, so far back as 1518, 19,000 of the Rajputs, who kept him in bondage, were massacred at Māndu and Gujrati contingents were placed in the different parts of Malwa.

But with the accession of Bahadur, the friendliness had changed at first into indifference and then into hostility and for both these changes, Mahmud had to thank himself. He gave shelter to Chānd Khan, one of Bahadur's brothers,[2] and pretender to the throne of Gujrat and this in spite of repeated protests from Bahadur.[3]

See Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) Supplement, p. 24 for a description of the Shaikh's life. Born 853 A.H.=1449-50 A.D. ; died in 931 A.H.=1524-5. Lies buried at Batwah.

[1] Muhammad was Bahadur's nephew, being the son to his sister.

[2] The genealogy of Muzaffar Shah's family is shown :



C.H.I., p., 711 makes Nasīr Khan and Muhammad two different personages ; also Chānd Khan as younger to Nasīr Khan. Histories do not support these assumptions.

[3] See *A.H.G.*, pp. 195–6 for the full description. Even on the last day of his kingship, just before his surrender, to Bahadur, Mahmud requested Rai Rai Singh to exert Chānd Khan to a safe refuge. Mahmud's reason for this solicitude was that Muzaffar Shah had entrusted Chānd Khan to him and he would not be false to his benefactor whatever might happen to him. See also MS. fol. 142.

To add to his crime, he attacked some of the districts of the Rana. So the two combined and proposed an invasion of Mahmud's kingdom. Bahadur still hoped that the Malwa ruler would come to his senses and make the small concession of the surrender of Chānd Khan. There were repeated promises but the actual surrender was never made. At last Bahadur, despairing of affecting any accommodation, annihilated Mahmud and annexed his kingdom, March 1531.[1]

(4) In the same year, he granted to Burhān Nizam of Ahmadnagar and also to his nephew, Muhammad of Khandesh permission to affix the title of Shah to their names, thus acknowledging himself, as pointed out by Burhān, to be the *Shah-in-Shah* or the Shah of the Shahs. Amir Barīd-ul-Mumalik of Bidar[2] also, according to Mirāt-i-Sikandari, seems to have submitted to Bahadur, by reading *khutbah* in his name.

(5) Capture of Raisin, May, 1532.—Next Bahadur turned against the semi-independent Rajput chiefs of Malwa. For the last twenty years or more, they had brought the whole of the kingdom under their control and distributed the eastern districts among themselves.[3] The chief of them was Silhadi, the Lord of Raisin.[4] Bahadur who was bitterly opposed to the non-Muslims outside his kingdom,[5]

---

[1] *A.H.G.* gives the date of Mahmud's imprisonment as the 10th *Shaabān* and Bahadur's annexation of Malwa as Friday, the 12th *Shaabān* 937 A.H.=31st March 1531 A.D. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari's* date is 12th *Ramzān* 938 A.H.

[2] MS. fol. 132 a. It calls him Barīd Shah. According to C.H.I., it was Amir's successor Ali (1542–71), that first assumed the title. For Burhān Nizām's request for the title of Shah, see MS. fol. 142, b; for Muhammad of Khandesh, fol. 145, a.

[3] Hence called the *Purabiya* Rajputs.

[4] Ojha, the author of *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihash* (U.R.I), says that Raisin was in his brother, Lakshman Singh's possession. Probably, the latter was Silhadi's deputy.

[5] Bahadur's policy towards the Hindus was not without some redeeming features:—

(*a*) He had promised to redress Silhadi's wrongs against Mahmud Khilji of Malwa.

(*b*) Hindu heirs were granted stipends of their parents see A.H.G., p. 247, l. 17.

(*c*) Hindus were freely appointed to trusted commands; even the aboriginal tribes were treated with consideration. These explain why Bahadur's subjects in rural districts paid him revenue of their own accord and also as to why the Kolis and Bhils of Cambay attacked Humayun's camp.

(*d*) He gave a Sanskrit name, Sangār (Sringār) Mandap to his Durbar Hall and thus pleased his Hindu subjects. See Bailey's History of Gujrat, p. 329.

turned against Silhadi, who had given him umbrage by keeping in his harem a large number of Muslim women. Silhadi interested the Gujrat nobleman, Nassan Khan in his favour and when Bahadur paid no heed to his pleadings, took the extreme step of turning a Muslim, called himself Salahuddin, and took lesson in the Muslim faith from Nuruddin Burhanulmulk Banbani.[1] But Bahadur did not spare him even then. So he retracted his profession, returned to his brother, Lakshman Singh, who had been left in charge of the fort and both of them died fighting along with most of their Rajput followers. Their women had performed the *jauhar* ceremony before the death of their male relations. The fall of Raisin, mostly due to the artillery fire of Rumi Khan,[2] his master-gunner, took place at the end of *Ramzān* 938 A.H.=May 1532.

Bahadur had hardly any territorial ambition in crushing Silhadi, for he gave most of the Rajputs' jagirs including the districts of Chanderi, Bhilsa, and Raisin to Alam Khan Lodi, the late governor of Kalpi under Ibrahim. Alam Khan had been turned away by Humayun so he had taken shelter with Bahadur. In return for the grant of jagirs to Alam Khan, Bahadur wanted him to remove the influence of the *Purabiya* Rajputs and extend that of his master. It seems that Kalpi also had been conferred on Alam but probably his hold on this district was merely nominal.

(6) First siege of Chitor 1533.—

(*e*) The numerous Hindu Ranis married by the Sultans of Gujrat exercised enormous influence, e.g., MS. records about Bibi Rani, the queen of Muzaffar Shah اختیار مهمات خانه و ملک و لشکر همه بدست بیبی رانی بود.

(*f*) Bahadur had allowed Ratan Singh's minister, Karna Singh to repair some temple at Satrunjaya in Kathiawad. See Ojha U.R.I., Vol. I, pp. 391-2.

[1] *MS.* fol. 147 b. *A.H.G.*, p. 224. The latter says that Silhadi accepted Islam in Bahadur Shah's presence. But Babur's memoirs names him as Salahuddin in the description of the battle of Khānwah. His defect seems to be inclination to Islam as well as to his clansmen.

[2] A person of outstanding personality. Commissariat in an able article on 'a brief History of the Gujrat Sultanate' in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch (J.R.A.S.B.B.) 1918-9 furnishes many interesting details but is wrong in thinking Rumi Khan to be a European. A.H.G. also gives details on pp. 218–20; thus we know that his name was Amir Mustafa bin Behrām of Constantinople; on his arrival at Diu, he was welcomed by the governor and later on by Bahadur; he was given jagir in Ranir and Surat and later on Diu was added to it. *Akbar Nama* also pays him great compliment در فتح حصین حصون و قلاع سماوی ارتفاع یگانه روزگار بود 'was the paragon of age in conquering strong forts and sky-high castles'. *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* supports A.H.G. in the details of Rumi Khan's father. Erskine is mistaken to call him Khudawand Khan Rumi.

Present history of Chitor.

Before undertaking to describe Bahadur's 1st siege of Chitor, it is advisable to give a brief history of the recent events in the State. Rana Sanga had died on January 19, 1528 [1] and been succeeded by Ratan Singh whom Tod represents [2] as a vain-glorious youth for his boastful command that the gates of Chitor should never be closed, for ‘its portals were Delhi and Mandu’. But possibly there is too much colour in his picture of the Rana. Whatever it be, he had a short reign dying in 1531 [3] from a wound received in a family brawl started by himself.[4]

As he left no son, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Vikramāditya (Bikramājit) who was, as prince, lord of Ranthambhor [5] and was prepared to surrender it to Babur, as far back as October 1528, in return either for Bayāna or for the throne of Chitor. Vikramāditya was wholly unworthy of his illustrious father or even his reckless brother. Tod calls him insolent, passionate and vindicative and accuses him of favouring his personal followers and seven thousand wrestlers whom he had engaged in his service. The Rajput *Sardars* whom he ridiculed, retired in sullen disgust to their jagirs, determined to have nothing to do with their new Rana. Left to himself and his favourites, Vikramāditya neglected the administration of his State to such an extent, that in common parlour, his reign was nick-named ‘*Pappa Bai ka raj*’.[6]

Bahadur Shah had long cast a covetous eye at Chitor. He had so long abstained from an expedition; for, both the Ranas, Sanga and Ratan Singh had been courteous to him, one congratulating him at his accession and the other obtaining his permission for repairing the temples at Satrunjaya.[7] But the new Rana seemed oblivious of him and the rest of the world. Only once did he stir to render aid to Silhadi against the Sultan of Gujrat. But Vikramāditya was so lazy that beyond some half-hearted movements, he made no serious efforts to save Silhadi. But his movements angered Bahadur, who now, when Rana's nobles had deserted him, considered it an excellent opportunity to attack him.

---

[1] See *U.R.I.*, p. 383.

[2] See Tod's *Rājasthan*, Vol. I, p. 247.

[3] *U.R.I.*, p. 393.

[4] Tod, Vol. I, p. 247. Erskine wrongly assigns to him a reign of five years.

[5] B.N., p. 616-7. *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 394.

[6] ‘Lady-father's rule’. The Rana is addressed in his State as father but Vikramāditya was a *Bai*, lady, because he remained confined to the palace. See Tod, p. 248. Also *C.H.I.*, p. 530.

[7] *U.R.I.*, p. 391.

Bahadur started with the capture of Ranthambhor[1] by Rumi Khan and then his other generals like Muhammad of Khandesh, Khudawand Khan and Alaf Khan captured the other minor forts, Gāgraun, Kanōr, Tilhati and Pergusa. He himself followed at a greater leisure, November 16, 1532.[2] Before he had reached Chitor, the Rana's *vakils* came with an offer of tribute and surrender of the districts, recently acquired by the extinction of Malwa. But the Sultan, correctly informed of the state of his army by his own cousin, Narsingh Deva,[3] paid no heed to his vakils' representations; instead, urged Tātār Khan Lodi, Alauddin Alam Khan's son, to hasten with a further contingent of Gujrati troops. This he did so well that he reached Chitorgarh on the 30th January 1533, 4 days in advance of the other generals.[4] The Sultan followed. According to *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi,* Bahadur had assembled such a vast army, that a complete siege of the fort, never attempted before, could be now possible.

Bahadur placed the siege-operations in charge of Rumi Khan, a gunner of outstanding ability and renown. When he had arrived on the Gujrat coast with a number of followers, he and every one of his followers were taken into the State service. Henceforth his promotion was rapid and a short while after, he succeeded Malik Tughan,[5] the son of the more renowned Malik Ayāz,[6] as the governor of Din. But Mustafa Rumi Khan was a man with insatiable ambition and hankered after further rewards, e.g., bestowal of a fort like Ranthambhor or Chitor. The former had been promised by the Sultan before its capture, but afterwards he changed mind, as it was represented to him, that the bestowal of an impregnable fort like that of Ranthambhor on a stranger like him was dangerous; and then it was bestowed on another, Nassan Khan.[7] Rumi Khan seems never to have forgiven Bahadur for the nonfulfilment of his promise.

Description of Chitor.

The fort of Chitor or Chitrakut situated in 24° 53′ N. and 74° 39′ E. is about 500′ high and at the top, forms a plateau 3¼ miles in length and ½ a mile broad; nearby flows the river Gambhir. Tradition assigns the foundation of the fort to Bhim, the 2nd of the Pandavas.

---

[1] *A.H.G.* discusses the question whether Ranthambhor was taken earlier than Chitor and comes to this conclusion. See. p. 228.

[2] *U.R.I.* p. 395.

[3] *Ibid.* I reject the other name, Medini Rao, who had died in 1528.

[4] *C.H.I.* makes them arrive on February 14, which is unlikely.

[5] *A.H.G.*, p. 220, speaks of his extraordinary physique and strength.

[6] The victor of the battle of Chaul. See C.H.I., p. 312.

[7] *A.H.G.*, p. 229.

Originally it belonged to the Mori Rajputs from whom Bappa Rāwal captured it in 734 A.D. For the next eight centuries or more, till 1567 A.D., Chitor remained the capital of the Mewar State. In that year the seat of the government was removed to Udaipur.

Chitor was thrice captured and sacked by the Muslims; once by Alauddin in 1303 A.D., the second time by Bahadur Shah in 1535 A.D., and on the last occasion by Akbar in 1567 A.D. It is to the credit of Mewar that it survived such tremendous shocks and continued to wage almost continuous war for another half a century or so.

To-day, Chitor is nothing but a collection of ruins, which unfold to an archæologist a wonderful tale of chivalry, devotion, piety and sacrifice, commencing from the days of the Mori Rajputs. Among its innumerable ruins, it is difficult to choose, and we would be content with a mention of the two *Stambhas*, Kirti and Jaya, the three gates, Ram Pol, Lākhōta Bāri and Suraj Pol and the temples dedicated to Krishna and Kālika. The huge ramparts, the various *tals* and the innumerable cenotaphs add to the picturesqueness of the place.

In the neighbourhood, on the west is situated the bridge built by Alauddin in his son, Khizr Khan's name and 7 miles to the north lies the village of Nagari, which served Akbar as his encampment, a fact attested, to this day, by a pyramidal column called by the vulgar people, Akbar's *dia* or lamp.

Siege operations of Rumi Khan.

Rumi Khan opened his siege operations by capturing a hillock commanding the fort and taking his guns there. By continuous fire, he unnerved the besieged. He also took recourse to running mines and making covered pathways for the approach of his soldiers. Rani Karnāvati, the Rana's mother[1] had appealed to Humayun for help but since no response was vouchsafed except the king's advance to Gwalior and stay there for two months,[2] she was forced to purchase peace by accepting humiliating terms, e.g., the surrender of the conquered districts of Malwa, also the jewelled crown and belt taken from

---

[1] Tod is mistaken to call her Udai Singh's mother. *Babur-nama* calls her Padmāvatī. *U.R.I.*, p. 396 calls her Karnāvatī.

[2] February and March, 1533. Farishta, p. 213, l. 24 has ...استعانت نمود - آنحضرت از دار الملک دهلی بقصد گوشمال بهادرشاه و اعانت رانا حرکت فرموده بعد ازانکه بنواحی گوالبار رسید بنابر اقتضای وقت دو ماه توقف کرده آخر بجانب آگره بر گشت *

It is probable that Bahadur was led to sign a treaty with the Rajputs by Humayun's advance to Gwalior, Mahmud II, 10 elephants, 100 horses and five crores of tankas. Bahadur for the present retired.[1]

The treaty was signed on March 24, 1533.[2]

(7) Capture of Ajmer and Nagore, 1533.—Bahadur was next occupied in a more northern part of Rajputana, where he captured Ajmer and Nagore.[3] Certainly the three captures of Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Nagore drove a wedge into Rajputana, dividing it into two halves, against either of which, Bahadur could turn at his leisure.

(8) Second siege of Chitor November 1534–March 1535: followed by its capture.—Since the Rana had not profited from the respite granted during the last 20 months and continued to be as neglectful and the *Sardars* as alienated as ever, Bahadur again turned against him, fought a battle at Loicha[4] where Rana's vassals deserted him and he was signally defeated. Then the Sultan brought again a large army to Chitor and sat down around the fort. Even with the approach of the enemy, the Rana made no effort to rally his men. The task was left to be done by his mother, Karnāvati, who appealed to the disgruntled *Sardars*, to bestir themselves for the defence of their homes, if not of their chief. The appeal had its effect and the Sisodias gathered from all parts of Mewar. The unpopular Vikramāditya and the infant Udai Singh both were removed to Boondi and the direction of the defence was entrusted to Rāwat Bāgh Singh of Devlia-Pratapgarh. The Rāwat, realizing the smallness of the Rajput garrison, abandoned all idea of attack and concentrated his whole attention on defence. The different gates were entrusted to the different chiefs, e.g., he himself took his post at the Bhairavagate, placed Solanki Bhairava Das at Hanumān Pol, Jhala Rājrānā Sajja of Dailwara at Ganesh Pol, etc.

As on the previous occasion, Bahadur entrusted the attack to Rumi Khan. Instead of trying to take the place by assault or starve the garrison, Rumi Khan occupied the neighbouring hillock at the south-western extremity of the fort and carried his guns to the top. From there he started a withering fire which blew away some 22 yards of the defences in the direction of Bika-khoh, early March 1535. While the Hāda leader, Arjun, was defending himself to death, the enemy rushed in other directions, towards Bhairava Pol, Suraj Pol and Lākhōta Bari. At the first gate, had stood the commandant, Bāgh Singh, who was now killed with his nephew Rāwat Narbad and at the other gates the other *Sardars* were also killed. Ojha in his *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas* makes a mention of the death of the following chiefs :—

---

[1] *U.R.I.*, p. 396 n. has put in a curious anecdote that on retirement, Bahadur had carried with him, the infant Udai Singh in order to make him his successor but the Rajput followers of Udai, getting wind of the matter, spirited him away. For the details of the treaty see MS.

[2] 27th Shābaan 939 A.H.

[3] At present, in Jodhpur State. In Mediæval times, it lay on one of the few main routes from Delhi to Gujrat. In 'sayer' or commercial duties alone, it paid nearly a lac of rupees to the Jodhpur government. Situated in 27° 10′ N. and 73° 53′ E. and distant 250 miles from Delhi.

[4] In Boondi State. Situated in 25° 17′ N. and 75° 34′ E.

(1) Bāgh Singh of Devlia-Pratapgarh,
(2) Solanki Bhairava Das of Daisuri,
(3) Rājrānā Sajja of Dailwara,
(4) Rāwats Duda, Satta and Kamma, the Chandāwats,
(5) Mālā of Songarh,
(6) Rāwat Devi Das,
(7) ,, Bāgh,
(8) ,, Nanda,
(9) Dodia Bhand.

According to the *Khiats*, the Rajput chronicles, the Rajputs lost 32,000 men and their women performed the *jauhar* caremony and burnt themselves to death. After the capture of the fort, 3rd Ramzān 941 A.H.=8th March 1535, Bahadur granted it, not to Rumi Khan as he had promised when the siege had begun, but to Burhānulmulk Banbani. Thus for the second time Rumi Khan was deeply offended, the first occasion being when Ranthambhor was transferred to Nassan Khan, after its capture by the master-gunner.

We shall see in the next chapter how Rumi Khan took his revenge by playing false to his master and ruining his cause.

DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM (III)

By B. C. LAW

Abhaya Kumāra.

In course of their play, some boys picked up quarrel with Abhaya, a clever and intelligent boy of a village called Venātaṭa. One of the boys said to Abhaya, 'Oh, bastard! take your seat there. Bhadraśeṭh is your grandfather and not father'. On hearing this, Abhaya felt insulted. He returned home and enquired of his mother about the whereabouts of his father. His mother said, 'Once a tourist possessed of uncommon virtues and beautiful appearance came here. My father gave me in marriage to him. Some time after marriage, a few tourists came here and said something to your father who then went away leaving behind a letter and asking me to lead a chaste life'. She then gave that letter to her son who, on reading it, said that his father was the king of Rājagṛha. Then both the mother and the son started for Rājagṛha. On reaching Rājagṛha, which was then the capital of Magadha, they took shelter in a noble man's house. One day while strolling about in the streets, he learnt, on enquiry, that the post of the Prime Minister would be filled up by one who would be able to pick up a ring from the bottom of a well while standing on the brink. Abhaya succeeded in his attempt to get the ring and was praised. The royal officer reported the matter to the king who enquired of Abhaya about his name and whereabouts. Abhaya gave his name and said that he was the son of Nandā, the daughter of Bhadraśeṭh of Venātaṭa. He further said that his mother had been greatly mortified on account of long separation from her husband and had been waiting in a noble man's house. On receipt of this news, the king brought Nandā to his palace and made her his chief queen. He appointed Abhaya as his Prime Minister. One day the king said to Abhaya that the king of Vaiśālī had insulted him by refusing to give his two beautiful daughters in marriage to him on the ground of inferiority of lineage. Abhaya assured his father that he would make this marriage effective within six months. He then had oil painting of his father done by a skilful painter and opened a shop in Vaiśālī in front of the palace under the assumed name of Dhanaśeṭh. In this shop he kept varieties of beautiful articles for sale at cheap rates. Very soon the fame of his shop spread so much that even the maid-servants of the harem began to purchase articles from his shop. Abhaya used to worhip the oil-painting whenever the maid-servants of the harem came for shopping. In reply to the query of one of the maid-servants, Abhaya said that the object of his worship was Śreṇika, king of Magadha, who was so very beautiful in appearance that he was worshipped as a deity by the members of the royal harem. The maid-servant spoke about king Śreṇika to Sujeṣṭhā, eldest daughter of king Ceṭaka. Sujeṣṭhā desired very much to see the painting. The maid-servant brought it and showed it to her. Sujeṣṭhā was enamoured of the king at first sight. She sent word to Dhanaśeṭh requesting him to devise means whereby she could be married to king Śreṇika. Abhaya Kumāra got a trench cut from outside the city to the harem and placed a chariot in front of the trench. King Śreṇika drove off with Celanā,[1] the youngest daughter of king Ceṭaka.

Once some mangoes were stolen from the garden. King Śreṇika ordered Abhaya to catch the thief. Abhaya was in guise in the midst of a big congregation of people at whose request he related the following story :—

"Once a girl promised to a gardener that she would spend the first night of her marriage with him. When the girl was married, she took permission of her husband and proceeded to meet the gardener. On the way some thieves caught her and wanted to remove her ornaments from her person. She assured them that she would return to them shortly after keeping her promise given to a gardener. The thieves let her go. The girl then proceeded further and was met by a rākṣasa who wanted to devour her. She requested the rākṣasa to allow her to keep her promise and assured him of her return visit on her way back. The rākṣasa, too, let her go. At last she came to the gardener who said, 'Sister! I thank you very much for keeping your promise so strictly. Your promise has been fulfilled and you may go now'. The girl then came back to the rākṣasa who, on account of her truthfulness, changed his mind and said, 'Sister! I spare your life. You may go now'. She then came to the thieves who praised her for her keeping promise. The thieves said, 'Sister! You may go. We do not like to rob you of your ornaments'. The girl then returned home."

After finishing the story, Abhaya Kumāra asked the listeners to give their opinion as to which of the four, husband, thief, rākṣasa and gardener, was the best. Some said, 'The gardener is the best, for he addressed the young girl as sister and did not enjoy her company at night'. Some remarked, 'The husband is the best, for he permitted his wife to keep her promise'. Some were of opinion, 'The rākṣasa is the best, for he let this young girl go away alive'. At this time one man said, 'The thieves are the best for they let her go without robbing her of her ornaments although they got the best opportunity'. Abhaya Kumāra took this man to be the thief who had stolen mangoes. He at once arrested the man who afterwards confessed his guilt.

---

[1] For a detailed account of Queen Celanā, *vide Indian Culture*, II, pp. 679–682.

Once Candra Pradyota, king of Ujjain, pitched a camp near Rājagṛha to attack it. Abhaya Kumāra filled a pitcher with gold mohurs and secretly placed it in the enemies' camp. Then he wrote a letter to Candra Pradyota thus, 'Dear uncle! you know that I am your well-wisher, so I inform you that your army has been bribed and won over by my father. You will learn this on enquiry. Please be careful'. A search in the camp revealed a pitcher full of gold mohurs. King Candra Pradyota saw this pitcher and was greatly convinced of the truthfulness of Abhaya Kumāra's report. He withdrew his army and returned to his kingdom. A few days later, Candra Pradyota understood that he had been deceived by Abhaya. He became very angry and enquired whether there was anybody who would be able to bring to his kingdom Abhaya Kumāra alive. A prostitute undertook the task. She came to Rājagṛha with two maid-servants and began to live there in the garb of a female ascetic. She used to worship the deity with pomp and grandeur, observed vows and engaged herself throughout the day in performing religious deeds. One day Abhaya came to the temple to offer worship and was greatly pleased to observe the piety of the female ascetic. He said, 'Sister! who are you and where are you coming from?' The prostitute said, 'Brother! I live in Ujjain. My name is Bhadrā. My husband and two sons are dead. So with my two daughters-in-law I am out on a pilgrimage. Salvation is not attained until one feels consequences of his action to the fullest extent'. She then accepted Abhaya's invitation to a dinner and caused Abhaya to accept her invitation. She mixed poison with food. Abhaya took his meals and became senseless. The clever woman then tied him and placed him on a chariot and drove away. On regaining consciousness, Abhaya understood that the woman deceived him and made him a prisoner.

Once Analagiri, the favourite elephant of king Candra Pradyota, became mad and uncontrollable. Various attempts failed to cure him. The king consulted Abhaya Kumāra who said that his captive, king Udayana, was well-versed in music. If he would sing songs then the elephant could be brought under control. The king then requested Abhaya Kumāra to ask any boon other than his release from jail. Abhaya said that he would do so in due course. Thus three other acts of merit were rewarded with promises of three boons. When the total number of boons was four, Abhaya prayed for the boons thus: (1) 'You and your queen Śivādevī should mount the elephant Analagiri and I would sit in the centre' and (2) 'You would prepare a funeral pyre on a chariot and we three would be burnt together'. Abhaya Kumāra's demand caused Candra Pradyota very pensive. He then set Abhaya free. While leaving Ujjain, Abhaya promised that he would take away king Candra Pradyota somehow or other.

To keep his promise Abhaya Kumāra in the guise of a merchant, took two beautiful women and came to Ujjain. Once king Candra Pradyota was charmed to see the two women. He sent word to them through his maid-servant, that he would like to visit them at their house, but the maid-servant came back disappointed. When the maid-servant went to them for the third time, they said, 'Sister! we have with us a brother who will go out of town after seven days, at that time the king can come here'. The king was then waiting for the seventh day. Meanwhile Abhaya tied a man to a bedstead and took him to a physician. The man posing himself as a mad man used to cry aloud saying that he was king Candra Pradyota who was being carried away by those people and that he should be rescued. People used to laugh at the words of a mad man. On the seventh day when king Candra Pradyota came to Abhaya's house, he was treated like the mad man. Abhaya brought him to Rājagṛha. On seeing Candra Pradyota, king Śreṇika became angry and was about to strike him when he was told by Abhaya that Candra Pradyota was his relative and should be honourably released. At Abhaya's request, Śreṇika set Candra Pradyota free with due honour. A poor muni named Lakaḍahārā was very much insulted by the people. Abhaya Kumāra came to his rescue. Abhaya Kumāra then announced that he would give three valuable articles to the man who would forsake (1) cold water, (2) fire, and (3) wife. The sage got these valuables as none but the sage was able to abandon these three things. The people then took him to be a real saint.

Once king Śreṇika enquired of his councillors as to what the most valuable thing was. Some mentioned 'diamond' and others, 'pearl'. But Abhaya declared that 'māṃsa' (human flesh) was the most valuable thing. Abhaya's opinion was not accepted as true but he promised to prove it to be true. After a few days Abhaya came to a banker and told him that the king had fallen ill and that he would be cured by taking human flesh weighing 1¼ tola cut off from the breast. He demanded such flesh from the banker who, however, paid Rs. 5,000 to Abhaya instead of complying with his demand. Then Abhaya turned from banker to banker but everybody paid money without meeting his requirement. With enormous money Abhaya came to the royal court and narrated every thing to the king. On hearing this, the councillors felt ashamed. Thus Abhaya succeeded in proving his opinion to be true.

When king Śreṇika offered the throne to Abhaya, the latter respectfully declined to accept it and took his permission to receive ordination from Lord Mahāvīra. Abhaya then led a holy life.

Ilācī Kumāra.

Ilācī, son of Dhanadatta, a merchant of Ilāvarddhana, was one day enamoured of the beauty of an actress and determined to marry her. Questioned by his father as to why he was so very indifferent, Ilācī informed his father of his intention to marry an actress. Dhanadatta told his son that an actress could not be kept at home. He said that he would give him in marriage to any girl selected from within his community. Ilācī agreed to become an actor at the suggestion of the chief actor and joined the company. He wandered about with the actors from place to place for 12 years and mastered their art thoroughly. He showed his skilful performance to the king and queen of Venātaṭa. Many people assembled to see the performance. After the first show was over, Ilācī saluted the king who instead of rewarding him asked to repeat his performance. Ilācī had to repeat the show for four times but was greatly disappointed for the king who had already concentrated his attention on Ilācī's lady-love told him each time that he had not seen the performance attentively. Encouraged by his lady-love who reminded him that a reward from the king would bring about their lawful union, Ilācī started to show a dangerous performance for the fifth time. While he was exhibiting his skill, standing on the topmost point of a bamboo, he found an exquisitely beautiful lady at the entrance of a house with a silver plate full of sweetmeats, eager to wait upon a sage and the latter turning no attention thereto. Ilācī was surprised to see the sage quite unmoved by the beauty of the lady. Thinking of this, he decided to lead the life of a saint. While engaged in this sacred thought, he acquired *muktijñāna*, knowledge of salvation. The actress determined to strive for the welfare of her soul. While engaged in such a thought, she too attained *muktijñāna*. The king and the queen observed a change in Ilācī and the actress. Their mind became so very pure that they also acquired *muktijñāna*. In due course these four persons attained Nirvāṇa.

Jambusvāmī.

Jambu was the only son of Ṛṣabhadatta, a very rich man of Rājagṛha. When he learnt that Śrī Sudharmasvāmī, a follower of Mahāvīra and leader of the Jainas, had been staying on the Vaibhāra mountain, he came there, listened to his teachings and requested him to wait till he came back with his parents' permission to receive ordination. When he reached the gate of the city, he found no room for entrance as troops were coming out of the city. He came to the second gate and escaped narrowly from being hurt by a heavy cannon ball. He came back to Sudharmasvāmī and prayed for the mantra for taking the vow of celibacy. Sudharmasvāmī granted his prayer Jambu returned home with great delight and asked for the permission of his parents. 'It is difficult', said his parents, 'to get initiated into an esoteric mantra and to keep the five great vows is also very difficult indeed. It is not possible for you to lead the life of a saint. Moreover you are our only son whom we cannot leave'. 'True it is', said Jambu to his parents, 'that the practice of self-control is hard and it is hard only to the cowards. I am born of you and I will never break my vow. Unbounded is your love towards me, you will surely feel the pangs of separation very keenly but without endurance there is little hope for salvation. So, my dear parents, kindly grant me permission'. The parents said, 'Your strong determination for practising self-control should not cause you to disobey us. You are at liberty to get yourself initiated only after marrying the eight betrothed girls'. Jambu agreed to obey his parents.

Then Ṛṣabhadatta informed the fathers of the betrothed girls about it and requested them to consider the matter carefully before marrying their daughters to Jambu. The fathers of the girls became thoughtful ; but the girls, seeing their fathers in such a plight, told them that they had already determined to marry Jambukumāra and to follow him merrily. After seven days, Jambukumāra's marriage with the eight girls was celebrated in Rājagṛha. In the first night of the marriage he was taken to a beautifully decorated room where he spent the night with young wives without losing his self-control. On the same night some 500 dacoits entered the house. The leader of the gang was Prabhava, who was once a prince and who knew two arts—one of which caused people to fall asleep and the other which caused locks to open. Prabhava applied his arts with the result that his followers took the booty to their satisfaction. While they were about to decamp with the booty, their movement was suddenly brought to a standstill by the influence of Jambu's mantra. Prabhava found Jambukumāra awake and was astonished to find his own art proving ineffective in this case. With folded hands he said to Jambukumāra that he would be put to death by king Kauṇika if he was informed of it. He offered to teach him two arts and in exchange requested him to extend mercy to him and to teach him the art of rendering one motionless. Jambu said that he knew Dharma vidyā only which he would gladly teach him. Prabhava then said, 'I thank you heartily, Jambukumāra, for you are about to receive the mantra after renouncing vast riches and beautiful wives. I am a great sinner engaged in a very mean job for the sake of money. The spell of delusion has now been cast off. The next morning along with all the dacoits I shall receive the mantra'. Just at this time all the wives of Jambu awoke and entreated him to give up the idea of getting initiated. But Jambu maintained the firmness of his determination. His wives too agreed at last to follow him. Then Jambu with 527 followers received the mantra from Sudharmasvāmī at the age of sixteen. Shortly afterwards he became well-versed in Śāstras. After the death of Sudharmasvāmī, Jambusvāmī became the head of the Jaina Saṅgha. He preached Mahāvīra's teachings and in due course acquired *muktijñāna*. He afterwards attained Nirvāṇa.

Ṛṣabhadeva.

There was a time when the Indians used to live in amity and concord in forests. An elephant suddenly appeared and a man named Vimalavāhana sat on it. People used to look upon Vimalavāhana as a god.

Disputes arose as to the ownership of the natural produce but they were settled by Vimalavāhana who was elected an arbitrator by the people. Since then Vimalavāhana was regarded by the people as their lord and was called Kulakara. The seventh in descent from Kulakara was Nābhikulakara who had by his wife, Marudevī, a beautiful son named Ṛṣabhadeva.

Once a beautiful orphan girl named Sunandā was found strolling about in the forest and was brought to Nābhikulakara. She was married to Ṛṣabhadeva who had another wife named Sumaṅgalā. Sunandā gave birth to twins, a son named Vāhuvalī and a daughter named Sundarī. Sumaṅgalā, too, gave birth to a son named Bharata and a daughter named Brāhmī. Now there was a dearth of good fruits and water. Men used to live on leaves and vegetables but they could not digest them. They followed the advice of Ṛṣabhadeva in eating them. A few days later, they again suffered from the same trouble. At this time fire appeared by means of constant striking of trees against one another on account of heavy storm. The people were astonished at this new phenomenon, and were advised by Ṛṣabhadeva to keep the fire burning by adding fuel to it. Ṛṣabhadeva then taught them the preparation of earthen wares and advised them to take cooked food only. The people were cured of indigestion by following his advice. But they felt the necessity of protecting the earthen wares from being broken by wild animals. Ṛṣabhadeva taught them the art of building huts and the art of painting for adorning the rooms. Ṛṣabhadeva then taught them the art of weaving cloth. Then the people became extremely quarrelsome and lost respect for one another. So they elected Ṛṣabhadeva as their king. Thus Ṛṣabhadeva became the first king. He was also known as Ādinātha. He caused several palaces built and big markets opened. He had the town encircled with big walls. He taught the people to tend cattle. The people began to cultivate lands with the help of cattle. Lands yielded abundant crops and people started business on an exchange basis. To teach the people the practice of piety, Ṛṣabhadeva gave gold mohurs in charity for one year, gave separate kingdoms to his sons and himself passed his days like a sage completely free from attachment. Bareheaded and barefooted, unmoved by cold or heat, Ṛṣabhadeva kept himself engaged in meditation. In course of his tour Ṛṣabhadeva came to the house of Śreyāṃsa Kumāra, grandson of his son Vāhuvalī, and drank sugar-cane juice offered by him. He travelled far and wide and acquired *muktijñāna* following the acquisition of real knowledge. He advised the people, (1) to lead a holy life, (2) to refrain from killing animals, (3) to make friends with everybody, (4) to abstain from committing theft, (5) to accept gift unasked for, (6) to always remain contented, (7) to renounce sinful desires, and (8) to keep company of sages. Those who acted according to his advice, formed a school called Tīrtha. Ādināth was the founder of the first Tīrtha. He was a well-known Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. In course of time he attained salvation.

Mahāvīra.

There ruled in Kṣatriyakuṇḍa, a beautiful town in Magadha, a pious king named Siddhārtha. His queen was Triśalādevī, who gave birth to a beautiful and spirited son. As the birth of this child was followed by an abundance of crops and increase of the royal revenue, the child was named Varddhamāna. In his boyhood Varddhamāna was fearless and far advanced in knowledge. He had high regards for his parents. He was remarkable for his simplicity, calmness and sweet words. His parents gave him in marriage to a beautiful and accomplished princess named Yaśodā. Varddhamāna was blessed with a daughter named Priyadarśanā. When Varddhamāna was 18 years of age, he lost his parents. His elder brother Nandivarddhana ascended the throne. Varddhamāna spent one year in mental development, living on only rice and water. Another year he spent in giving alms and distributing gold mohurs. On the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgh, when all people assembled on a festive occasion in a beautiful garden called Jñataśila at the outskirts of the town, Varddhamāna addressed the gathering saying, 'From this day forth, I shall not commit sin of any kind by speech, body and mind. I shall purify myself completely'. With the permission of the people assembled, he left the kingdom for self-purification at the age of thirty. Sometimes he fasted for four days at a stretch, sometimes for fifteen days, sometimes for twenty days and sometimes for six months. He used to meditate sometimes in the hollows of trees, sometimes in burning places, sometimes in jungles, sometimes in caves, sometimes in temples, sometimes in places infested with dangerous animals.

Disregarding the warning of some milkmen whom he met on the way, Varddhamāna entered a dense jungle and found a venomous black snake named Caṇḍakauśika. The snake tried to kill him first by its hard breath and then by biting the finger of his right leg but its attempts were fruitless. Varddhamāna advised the snake to try to understand things and to think of its own soul. He then left the place. Listening to the holy words of Varddhamāna, Caṇḍakauśika exerted itself for mental development. Varddhamāna then came to Nālandā and stayed there during the *caturmāsa* period. Here Gośāla, a painter's son, who was extremely wicked, declared himself as the disciple of Varddhamāna and followed his master wherever he went with the result that his master had to suffer much with his characteristic patience and forbearance for the numerous misdeeds of his disciple.

Once Varddhamāna in course of his tour came to Rāḍha inhabited by barbarous people who let lose their dogs against him but in vain. On another occasion in winter while Varddhamāna was engaged in deep meditation, a company of merchants stopped near him and passed the cold night there by keeping fire round them. When the merchants left the place on the following morning, fire continued to burn with the result that surrounding grass caught fire and Varddhamāna's legs got scorched but he was not moved until his meditation was finished. Once while he was in meditation, a milkman came to him with two bulls on his way to the village near by and asked him to look after the animals. On his return from the village, the milkman could not find his bulls which had meanwhile entered the forest. The milkman poked Varddhamāna and wanted to know the whereabouts of his bulls but he got no response. He was very angry with Varddhamāna and left the place. For his strong endurance of pain, Varddhamāna was named Mahāvīra. He attained *Kevalajñāna* while absorbed in meditation underneath a *śāla* tree on the bank of a river.

At this time the economic condition of the country was very prosperous. People used to perform sacrifices in which many faultless creatures were immolated. Brahmins and other high caste Hindus looked down upon the Śūdras and deprived them of a share in the administration of the country. It was at this time that Mahāvīra instructed the people thus: 'Piety in the strict sense of the term cannot be practised by performing sacrifices which involve life-slaughter. The possessor of good qualities is a Brāhmaṇa and the reverse is a Śūdra. Every human being, a Brāhmaṇa or a Caṇḍāla, a male or a female, has the birth-right of practising piety which is, by no means, the exclusive business of particular sects only. Aversion to taking life is the best religion. *Paramātmās* are those whose souls have developed fully.' Many persons, rich or poor, kings or queens, became his disciples. In all 14,000 sages, 36,000 pious ladies, numerous male and female householders received religious instructions from Mahāvīra and formed a saṅgha called Tīrtha. On account of this, Mahāvīra came to be known as a Tīrthaṅkara. He subdued anger and malice completely, so he was called ' Jīna ' and his followers came to be known as Jainas. Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains, then came to Pāvā where he attained Nirvāṇa.

MISCELLANEA

STŪPI

Stūpi[1] which generally crowns the *Śikhara* of an Indian temple is as much an architectural feature as it is a structural part thereof. Almost every Samskritic writer[2] has described this element of our religious structures, but very few alone of modern writers[3] have cared to notice this. It is proposed to consider here a couple of aspects connected with *Stūpi*.

The most easily accessible Samskritic text on the subject is the *Mānasāra* which is looked upon as a very ancient text for reasons which do not appear to me to be very convincing or conclusive. We give below one of the texts,[4] bearing on this subject and its translation, as given in the edition of Prof. P. K. Acharya.

' *stūpikātrayasaṁyuktaṁ dvayaṁ vā caikameva vā* (92)
' ....(93–100)
' *samāśrakaśikhāyuktaṁ cāyame tacchikhātryaṁ* (101)
' *dvyaśravṛttopari stūpi vṛttaṃ vā caturaśrakaṁ* (102)
' *padmādikuḍmalantaṁ syāduktavadvākṛtiṁ nyaset* (103)

This passage is translated as follows[5] :—

'It (the edifice) should be furnished with three or two or one dome (92)
'They (those types of edifices) should be furnished with pinnacles of uniform shape and should be three placed lengthwise ; (101).
'the dome placed upon the oval portion should be circular or quadrangular ; (102)
'This form should be given to the part beginning with (cyma) (*padma*) and ending with bud (*kuḍmala*).

---

[1] The description of this term given DHA is, to say the least, very confusing. The term is correctly understood and explained in TMSTA, p. 2. The authors translate it by the term *finial*, though later on they use the term *flame*.

[2] Compare for instance the relevant texts in MM., KS., MS. etc.

[3] Havell has noticed the Stūpi of the *Bṛhadiśvara* temple at Tanjore in H-IA., page 27.

[4] MS. Volume III, Chapter XVIII, p. 130.

[5] MS. Volume IV, Chapter XVIII, p. 203.

From this translation we get an idea how Prof. Acharya has understood this portion of the text.

Even a cursory glance through the translation of the last three lines makes it clear that the translator has but imperfectly understood the significance of this text. We may detail some of the difficulties that we feel with reference to this translation. Thus he uses dome[1] with reference to *stūpi* and pinnacle[2] with reference to Śikhā. We believe that the pinnacle crowns the dome ; and if this be so, the rendering of the term *Stūpi* is certainly wrong, for by the common consent of every *Saṁskritic* writer on Indian architecture, *Stūpi* is the topmost structural part of an edifice and therefore it should have been translated by the term pinnacle. Secondly, the distinction he makes between *Stūpi* and *Sikhā* does not exist. These, as this very text makes clear, refer to the same thing,[3] and as such should be treated as synonyms. Thirdly, the translation of line 101 certainly does not give the idea of the text. *Samāśrakaśikhā* can never mean pinnacles of uniform shape, for *áśra* may mean either side or angle or even corner,[4] but never shape. The expression may mean only *pinnacles having equal sides*—a statement which does not convey any sense. The tenour of the context does not show again that the author is concerned with the placing of edifices. He is speaking about *Stūpi* and any placing, which might be read here, must have reference to the placing of *Stūpis*. Now, even if we assume that the subject of *should be placed* is *pinnacles*—this is what the writer would have to say—we cannot understand where the idea of lengthwise he gets from and how they could be placed lengthwise. The idea of lengthwise is foreign to the context and the statement certainly envisages the possibility of *Stūpis* being placed breadthwise —a possibility which, so far as we know, does not exist. Fourthly, the translation of *dvyaśravṛttopari stūpi*, even assuming that the text is correct, is certainly wrong, for *dvyaśravṛtta* has no reference to anything oval.[5] And lastly, we must confess that we are unable to follow the writer as regards the translation of the last of the line quoted. We fail to understand how the part from cyma to bud could be given the circular or quadrangular shape. The *padma* and *kuḍmala* could only be circular, but never quadrangular.[1] *Kumbha* alone could be of either shape. Enough now has been said to show that Prof. Acharya's rendering of the passage is eminently defective.

---

[1] Compare NED., Volume III, where this is described as 'A rounded vault forming the roof of a building or chief part of it and having a circular, elliptical or polygonal base : a cupola'.

[2] Compare NED., Volume VII. A pinnacle is 'a small ornamental turret, usually terminating in a pyramid or cone, crowning a buttress or rising above the roof or coping of a building'.

[3] Compare TMSTA., page 2.

[4] TMSTA., p. 3.

[5] Compare MM. Chapter XIX. '*Dvyaśravṛttaṁ gajapṛṣtam hi nāma*'. Evidently it means the apsidal structure. Prof. Acharya is certainly wrong when he characterizes this as '*a two angled circle, an oval building*' (Cf., DHA., p. 281). In thus translating, he is evidently confusing it with *Vṛttāyata*.

One explanation for Prof. Acharya's defective rendering may be found in the defective nature of the text he has presented. The expression, *samāśrakaśikhā*, does not convey any idea, as we have already said. Now by the side of the expression *āyāme* it is tempting to read this phrase as *samāśraikaśikhā*,—and this gives the idea of one *Stūpi* over a structure having equal sides.[2] Such is the case with edifices having a square, or circular or octagonal or hexagonal bases, and these, be it noted, are the regular shapes mentioned in the preceding section. In the light of this interpretation the second part of the line becomes perfectly clear: when the structure is elongated, such for instance as *āyatacaturaśra*, or *vṛttāyata*, or *āyataṣadaśra* or *āyatāṣṭāśra*, the same will be crowned by three *Stūpis*.[3] Consistently with this interpretation and with the author's own statement at the very start of this section, we have now to find where two *Stūpis* will come. The only type of edifice that has not come within the types mentioned before is the apsidal. The terms *dvyaśra* and *dvyasravṛtta* mean the same thing,[4] namely, the apsidal structure[5] and such a structure could have neither three *Stūpis* nor one, but only two.[1] From this point of view we may read this part of line 102 as *dvyaśravṛtte dvayam* [2] instead of *dvyaśravṛttopari*. It may be mentioned that in this context the term *uapri* is superfluous. After this we may put a full stop,[3] for in what follows, the author is describing the shape of *Stūpi*. In the light of the remarks we have made, the text may be re-read as follows :

---

[1] The use of this term with reference to *Caturaśraka* appears to be quite wrong. Though we may accept that the term *-aśra* means side or angle or corner, this compound word must be understood only in the sense of a four-sided figure having equal sides and equal angles: such is the sense in which our practising architects understand this term. In other words, it must be taken as a square. This sense alone will suit the context: not only that, this sense alone will justify its differentiation from the type called *Dīrghacaturaśra*.

[2] See note 11 for the meaning of the term *Samāśra*. Equally unhappy is the rendering given for this line by the authors of TMSTA. 'It has one flame over an even-number-cornered *Śikhara*'. We cannot understand why *Śikhara* should be dragged into this context. This apart, the expression, *even-number-cornered*, does not convey any significance in this connection. For, even an elongated edifice, or in their terminology *Śikhara*, can also be *even-number cornered*. And so an *even-number-corner* certainly cannot be held to be the basis for the prescription of one flame.

[3] This interpretation agrees with that of the authors of TMSTA. See note above.

[4] Compare MS., Chapter XVIII, line 91, 92 in the same section; also MM. Chapter XIX

[5] Compare MM., Chapter XIX. *Dvyaśravṛttaṁ gajapṛṣṭaṁ hi nāma.* This term is correctly understood by the authors of TMSTA. Cf., p. 5.

‘ *samāśraikaśikhāyuktaṁ cāyāme tacchiśikhātrayaṁ* (101).
‘ *dvyaśravṛtte dvayaṁ ; stūpi vṛttaṃ vā caturaśrakaṁ* (102)
‘ *padmādikuḍmalantaṃ syāduktavadvākṛtiṁ nyaset* (103)

We do concede the point that in his critical notes, Prof. Acharya does not refer to the existence of a difference in reading. But when we remember that the text as presented in his edition stands in many places in need of a large number of emendations to make it yield any sensible idea,[4] when it is also remembered that the suggestions we have offered are perfectly in keeping with the general tenour of the context and is in keeping with observed facts, we may excuse if we introduce the two minor modifications in the reading of the text as presented by Prof. Acharya. Reading the text then thiswise, we may freely translate the same as follows :—

> ‘ Sāmāśra edifices will have a single *Stūpi* ; and elongated ones will have three *Stūpis* ; (101)
> *Dvyaśras* will have two. *Stupi* may be square or circular ; (102)
> Or, as has been laid down, it may begin in cyma and end in bud. Such a one may be placed.’ (103)

This rendering would have it that in this context the author is laying down the number and shape of *Stūpis* which are to adorn an Indian shrine.

Coming to the shape, *Stūpi* may be of two kinds : (i) the pot type of stumpy *Stūpi*, and (ii) the four limbed variety. The former

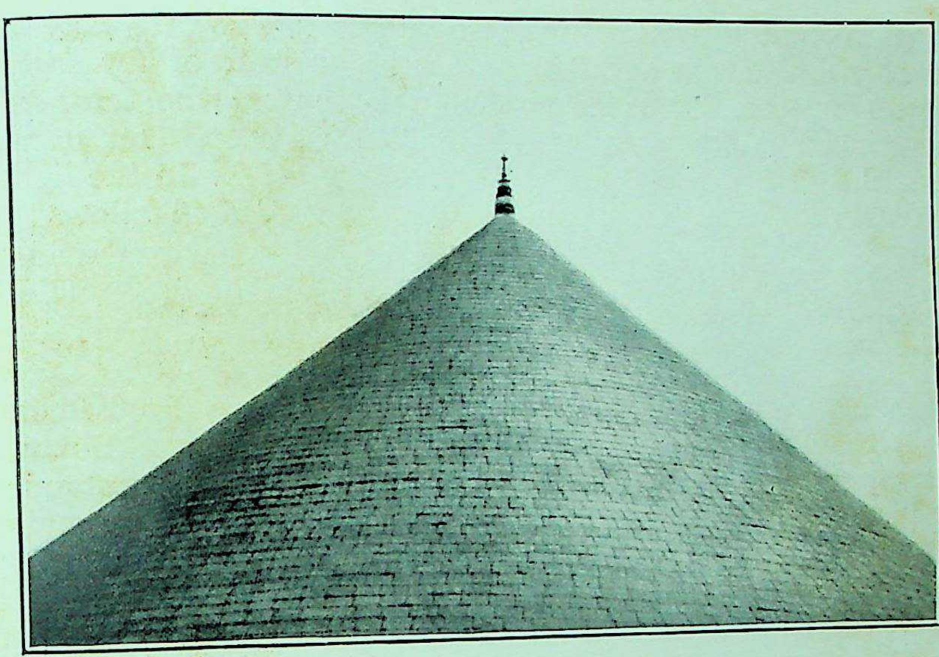
---

[1] The rational of this arrangement we shall explain on a future occasion.

[2] Another alternative reading we may suggest is *dvayaṁ dvaśropari*. This reading is justifiable, because *Vṛtta* in *dvyaśravṛtta* is redundant. See note 13 above. Personally I would prefer this reading, as it tends to retain the swing of the verse.

[3] It is really surprising that the authors of TMSTA should have stopped with line 101. They should not have quoted this line ; but since they quoted this line, they should have quoted the first half at least of the next line, if they realized its significance. The inference is plain.

[4] This is the conclusion forced upon me in the course of my teaching of the earlier chapters of the *Manasara* to the Honours students ; and naturally enough the translation also is very defective.



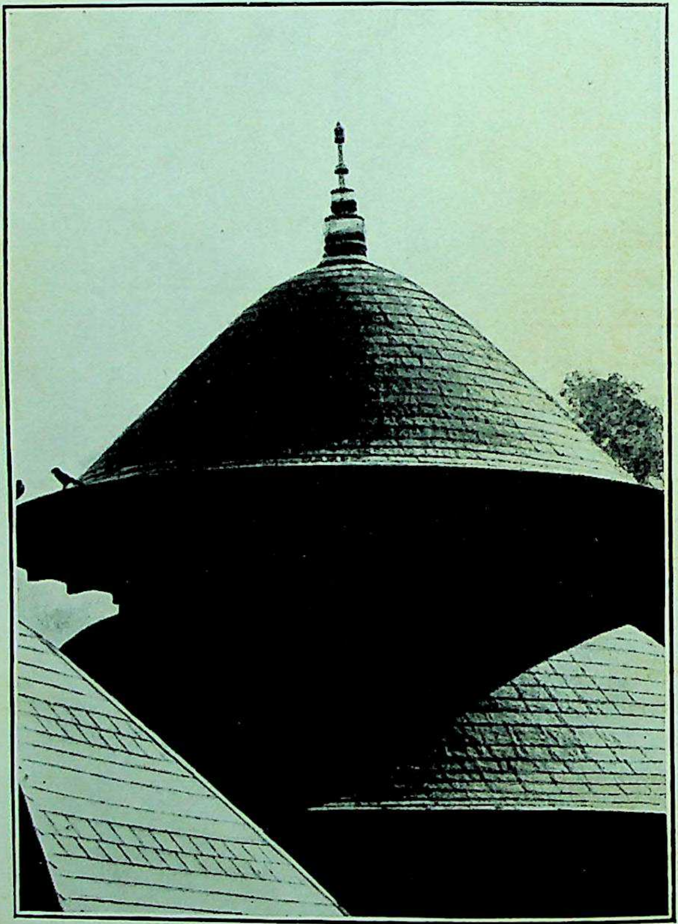
(*Photo by author*)

Ekādaśi Perumtṛkkoilappan
(near Trippunithura, Cochin State)

(*Photo by author*)

A minor Shrine in the same temple

PLATE II



The Trichur Temple

of these which we find crowning the north Indian shrines may be circular or quadrangular to use Prof. Acharya's expression. The second variety is described in the last line, the type which has the four traditional parts, *Padma*, *Kumbha*, *Nāla*, and *Kuḍmala*. Speaking purely from one's acquaintance with the photographs of temples, published in standard volumes,[1] it cannot be said that the *Stūpi* of north Indian shrines has all the four elements. Typical instances of this second variety we find adorning the *Śikharas* of Kerala temples. That the two varieties of *Stūpi* have to be differentiated is also clear from the fact that *Stūpis* of north Indian shrines and for the matter of that even those of the temples in places other than Kerala, do not bear the prescribed proportion with reference to the height of the building. Thus, when a *Stūpi* of the second variety adorns a shrine, it should be one-sixth or one-seventh, or one-eighth or one-ninth or one-tenth or one-eleventh of the height of the temple,[2] and this proportion is seldom found maintained in temples outside Kerala where we meet with only this type—the type prescribed by her authoritative architects.[3] Hence we may conclude that there are two varieties of *Stūpis*. And this fact is referred to in this context. Now of these two varieties, the author describes the shape of the first variety in the latter half of line 102. Here the shape of the *Stūpi* may be circular or quadrangular. Consistent with the context, we may say that the shape may not be fixed to the circular or square ; it may as well be hexagonal or octagonal, according as the shape of the *Śikhara* is.[4]

To sum up : if our interpretation of the text quoted here is correct, we have here mentioned for us the number and type of *Stūpis* which ought to adorn Indian shrines. From the point of view of number a structure with a regular base will have one *Stūpi*[5] ; and that with an elongated base will have three,[6] while the apsidal will have two.[7] It may be pointed out that there are structures which have more than three Stupis[8] : but it deserves also to be pointed out that all such are elongated structures and the number of *Stūpis* is only an odd multiple of three or an odd number such as five or seven. Thus the number of *Stūpis* will depend upon the nature of the base of the structure—regular or elongated or apsidal, and this entirely agrees with what we find in the published photographs of well-known temples. Coming to the shape, the *Stūpi* that crowns a temple may be either of the former variety or the latter variety. The former or the stumpy variety we find in north Indian temples while the second variety we find characteristically in the temples on the West Coast,[1] whereas it is the mixed variety that we generally find in the rest of South India.[2] In the same way as the original mud pot [3]—if we may accept this origin of *Stūpi*—developed into the stumpy *Stūpi*, figuring upon north Indian temples ; and as the stumpy *Stūpi* developed into the full-fledged *Stūpi* with the four limbs of *Padma*, *Kumbha*, *Nāla*, and *Kuḍmala*, so this latter in the course of the development of Indian architecture came to have more and more mouldings, as is clear in the photographs published herewith.[4]

---

[1] Such for instance as are found in the volumes of Havell, Gangoly, Ananda Coomaraswamy, etc.

[2] KS., page 61.

[3] Compare for instance TS., Chapter II : the latter half of verse 50, a work accepted as the most authoritative by Kerala architects.

[4] Compare KS. page 45 : *śikharākṛtivat kumbhaṁ.*

[5] This is too well-known to need any illustration.

[6] We may cite an excellent illustration for this in the Vittala Deul, Bhuvanesvar, Orissa, cf. Plate XXXVI in IA.

[7] Compare IA, Plate XXII, which is typical of an apsidal temple with two *Stūpis*.

[8] See IA., Plate LVI.

K. R. PISHAROTI.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. E. B. Havell : *Indian Architecture* (H-IA).
2. G. J. Dubreuil : *Dravidian Architecture* (DA)
3. O. C. Gangooly : *Indian Architecture* (IA).
4. Gravely and Ramachandran : *The Main Styles of Temple Architecture* (TMSTA).
5. Ananda Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (HIIA).
6. *Mānasāra* (MS).
7. *Kāśyapa-śilpa* (KS).
8. *Śilparatna* (SR).
9. *Mayamata* (MM).
10. *Tantrasamuccaya* (TS).
11. *The New English Dictionary* (NED).
12. P. K. Acharya : *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture.* (DHA).

---

[1] Compare Plate I, II, and III.

[2] We advance this view very tentatively, a view we get from a study of the *Bṛhadisvara* temple, as described by Havell. (HA., p. 27). Notice for instance there is no *Nāla*.

[3] See DA., page 32.

[4] The number and shape of *Stūpis* here described and the remarks we have offered have reference to the *Stūpi* of the sanctum sanctorum and not the *Stūpi* or *Stūpis* of the *Gopura*.

AN ADYĀR MANUSCRIPT OF JANĀRDANA'S COMMENTARY ON THE *RAGHUVAṀŚA* INTERMINGLED WITH MEANINGS OF THE TEXT WORDS IN THE OLD GUJARĀTI LANGUAGE

In my note on Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* published in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*[1] I tried to fix the limits for his date, viz. A.D. 1192 and 1385 and also examined a MS. of this commentary in the Library of the B.B.R.A. Society (No. B.D. 131) which is fragmentary and which was not known to Aufrecht. I also referred in my note to a MS. of Janārdana's commentary on the *Meghadūta* deposited in a temple at Cambay and described by Peterson in his *Third Report* (p. 324). It was also pointed out that only one MS. of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* has been recorded by Aufrecht,[2] viz. "B. 2. 100" but this is not available for study.

No complete MS. of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* has yet been available to me, and hence I am eager to avail myself of any MSS. of Janārdana's works that could be noticed in different MSS. catalogues or would be reported by scholars hereafter. Since writing the note about Janārdana above referred to I obtained on loan through the courtesy of the Director of the Adyār MSS. library another fragmentary MS. of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Eastern Section, No. 36-F. 42). This MS. contains Janārdana's *Bhāṣya* on the *Raghuvaṁśa* for Sargas XII to XVIII and to a certain extent supplements the B.B.R.A. Society MS. No. B.D. 131 referred to above. One great peculiarity about the Adyār MS. is that it contains explanations in *Gujarāti* of certain words and expressions of the text.

Mr. T. M. Tripathi in his learned Introduction to the *Tarkasaṁgraha*[3] of Ānandajñāna (=Ānandagiri=Janārdana) surmises that Ānandagiri or Janārdana was probably a native of Gujarat. He further states that he is 'tempted to identify' him (Janārdana or Ānandagiri) with Paṇḍita Janārdana, the author of a commentary on the *Meghadūta* called जनानंदनं and a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[4] Janārdana consulted 'previous commentaries of Āsaḍa (A.D. 1192), Vallabha (A.D. 1163) and Sthiradeva. The peculiarity of these commentaries is that besides giving explanations and occasionally figures of speech and parallel passages they are intermingled with meanings of the text words in the (old) *Gujarāti* language also. These appear to be early attempts of Ānandagiri.'

---

[1] Vol. I (1934), pp. 199-201.

[2] *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 487^{a}.

[3] *Gaikwar Oriental Series*, No. III, Baroda, 1917, page viii.

[4] Mr. Tripathi states that he has fragments of this commentary in his possession. 'There is of a later origin another similar commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* giving also explanations in *Gujarāti* by Śāmala, son of Luṇiga, a Nāgara Brahman by caste श्रीमन्नागरपाटवोऽतिनिपुणः श्रीलुणिगस्याभवत्.... MS. dated A.D. 1612.'

Though I cannot subscribe in toto to the contents of the foregoing paragraph from Mr. Tripathi's valuable introduction to the *Tarkasaṁgraha* I can vouch them in certain respects only on the strength of the Adyār MS. of the commentary of Janārdana on the *Raghuvaṁśa*. For example the Adyār MS. contains *Gujarāti* explanations intermingled with Sanskrit commentary throughout the MS. as will be clear from the following extract of the colophon of this MS. :—

"प्रतिकृतरचनाभ्योदूतसंदर्शिताभ्यः ।
समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसंतानकामैः ॥
अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः ।
प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥"

राजकन्यास्तस्य यूनः श्रीभुवौ लक्ष्मीपृथिव्यौ अधिविविदुः । सपत्न्यौ चक्रुः । राजकन्या तेह युवा तरुणरहिं श्रीलक्ष्मी भू पृथ्वीऊपरिपरिणी । किं भूते प्रथमपरिगृहीते । पहिलूं परिगृहीत स्वीकरी छइं । किं भूताः । अमात्यैः आहृताः । अमात्यप्रधानि आहृत आणी छइं । अपरं । प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यः समधिकतररूपाः । चित्रलिखितरूपेभ्यः समधिकतरं रूपं यासां ताः । चित्रलिखितप्रतिमा तु समधिकतर अतिहिं उत्कृष्टरूप छइं । किं भूताभ्यः दूतसंदर्शिताभ्यः । दूते सूसंदर्शित देषाडी छइं । किं भूतैः शुद्धसंतानकामैः । विशुद्धसंततीच्छुभिः । शुद्धयोग्य संतान संछता छइं ॥ ५५ ॥ महार्थोपमालावरत्नप्रसूतौ र...णां .महाकाव्यसंपूर्णौ गंभीरे जनानंदनो नंदनार्थं बुधानां तदष्टादशे भाष्ये सेतुं बबंधः ॥ श्रीः ॥ शिवमस्तु ॥

The above extract containing vernacular explanations side by side with Sanskrit commentary is typical of the entire Adyār MS. and hence there is reason to believe that the author of the vernacular explanations and of the Sanskrit commentary is one and the same person viz. Janārdana. This inference is supported by the MS. of *Meghadūtabhāṣya* of Janārdana described by Peterson in his *Third Report*, p. 325, where as pointed out by Mr. Tripathi the following Sanskrit and vernacular explanations of some text words have been recorded :—

"विगलितस्रुचौ विगलितौ गतः प्रोकौ ययोः तौ विगलित गिउ स्रुच् प्रोच क्षइ जेहरहिं अत एव हृष्टचित्तौ सानन्दमानसौ etc."

Without subscribing to Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification of *Janārdana* or *Ānandajñāna* or *Ānandagiri* with Janārdana, the commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Meghadūta*, we may agree with him in his surmise that our commentator was a resident of Gujarat and wrote a mixed Sanskrit-Gujarāti commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Meghadūta*.

Not being a student of old or modern Gujarāti myself I am unable to assess fully the value of the vernacular portion of the Adyār MS. Its importance to a student of Gujarāti philology is obvious from the fact that Janārdana wrote his commentary between A.D. 1191 and 1385. This was a period when the vernaculars were looked down upon. Ānandabodha (about A.D. 1150)[1], a great writer on Advaita philosophy, incidentally refers to the two vernaculars viz. the *Canarese* and the *Gujarāti* as "अप्रसिद्ध" in his celebrated work, the *Nyāyamakaranda*.[2] As Janārdana wrote his commentaries after A.D. 1191 and before A.D. 1385 and as he adopts a bilingual method of explanation, the vernaculars, and in particular the *Gujarāti* language, must have attained a better status than that apparent in Ānandabodha's reference to the *Canarese* and the *Gujarāti* language referred to above. According to Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya[3] 'modern *Gujarāti* like *Marāthī* begins about 1500 A.D.' and if this statement is correct the *Gujarāti* used by Janārdana in his present commentary represented by the Adyār MS. will have to be considered as *old.Gujarāti* because Janārdana's date falls between 1191 and 1385 *A.D.* Perhaps a glossary of Sanskrit words with their old *Gujarāti* explanations as found in the Adyār MS. fragment (about 173 pages) will reveal the nature of the language current in Gujarat in Janārdana's time. But such a study is outside the scope of this paper.

---

[1] See my note in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

[2] *Nyāyamakaranda* (*Chowkhamba Sans. Series*, 1907), p. 253 :—"किं अप्रसिद्धाभिः कर्णाट लाट भाषाभिः अभिभाषसे भवान्"

[3] See C. V. Vaidya's article on '*Gujarāti in relation to Marāthi*' in the *Proceedings* Hemacandra'a grammar *of the 7th Oriental Conference*, Baroda (1935), pp. 1075–1083—Hemacandra'a grammar in the 12th century A.D. The furnishes written evidence of the form of *Gujarāti* in the 12th century A.D. The words Gujarat and *Gujarāti* had not come into existence in the days of Hemacandra. North *Gujarat* was called सारस्वतमंडल and the South *Gujarat* was called लाट both by राजशेखर and by Alberuni. The name गुर्जरभूमि first begins to appear about 1220 A.D.—(page 1077).

We now proceed with our analysis of the Adyār MS. The MS. begins with folio 242. It is, therefore, clear that the first 241 folios of this valuable MS. have been lost. The portion of commentary which begins on folio 242 pertains to Canto XII as we find the following verse concluding this canto on folio 250 :—

"कालिदासकृतावर्कवंशकीर्त्तौ कृतिप्रियां ।
व्याकृतिं द्वादशस्येमां विततार जनार्दनः ॥"

Folio 268 is missing. Canto XIV begins on folio 269. The concluding verse of Canto XIV reads as under on folio 289 :

"यत्रारभ्य दिलीपभूपतियतिं तिग्मांशुवंशोद्भवं
राजन्यं रघुराजरत्नविलसत् श्रीरामनामाङ्कितम् ।
व्याचख्ये किल कालिदाससुकविः काव्ये कलौ कार्त्तिके
व्याचक्रेऽत्र चतुर्दशं मतिवशं सर्गं जनानंदनः ॥"

Canto XV begins on folio 290—with the following verse :—

"भक्त्या यत्पदनुग्रहं बलमलं विष्टभ्य विश्रंभितो
निर्व्यासंस्वधिया मया तनुधियाथारभ्यते यद्रसात् ।
स्मृत्या सर्वमनीषितार्थचरदो देवो महेशात्मजो
निः प्रत्यूहमिदं सभाष्यमखिलं सिद्धिं नयत्वाशु मे ॥"

Folios 292–302 are missing. Chapter XV continues on folio 303 and ends as under on folio 319—

"श्रीमद्राघवराजस्य चरिते काव्येऽस्य काव्यांबुधे
संसत्सत्कविकालिदासरचिते स्फूर्जद्गुणालंकृते ।
प्रख्यातोपकृतौ जनार्दनकृतौ प्रत्यक्षगुर्वीकृतौ
व्याख्यायां शममाजगाम दशमः सर्गोऽत्र पंचाधिकः ॥"

Folios 336 to 338 are again missing and Canto XVII begins on folio 339. Folios 346 and 347 are also missing. Folio 353 is missing and some chapter appears to begin on folio 354 with the following verse :—

"भक्त्या यत्पदनुग्रहं बलमलं विष्टभ्य विश्रंभते
निर्व्यासं स्वधिया तथा तनुधियाथारभ्यते यद्रसात् ।
स्मृत्या सर्वमनीषितार्थवरदो देवो महेशात्मजो
निःप्रत्यूहमिदं सभाष्यमखिलं सिद्धिं नयत्वाशु मे ॥"

This verse is identical with the verse introducing Canto XV as quoted above.

The concluding verse of Canto XVIII reads on folio 365 as follows :—

"महार्थोपमालावररत्नप्रसूतौ
र......णां महाकाव्यसंपूर्णधौ
गंभीरे जनानंदनानंदनार्थं
बुधानां तद्दष्टादशे भाष्ये सेतुं बबंधः ॥"

On folio 365^b—the following endorsement shows the name of the owner of this fragment—"रघुवंशटीका गोविंददशपुत्रस्य ट(त्रु)टितेयं". Obviously गोविंद दशपुत्र obtained the present MS. in a fragmentary condition. Another endorsement in bold hand and different ink on folio 365^b but written breadthwise records *Saṁvat* 1768 as under :—

"स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७६८ वर्षे आषाढ वदि २ बुधके"

It is difficult to say if *Saṁvat* 1768 (=A.D. 1712) is the date of the Adyār MS. Perhaps the endorsement might have been added by some one later. At any rate it proves that the Adyār MS. is older than A.D. 1712 or roughly we may say that it is about 250 years old.

References made by Janārdana to earlier works and authors in the portion of his commentary represented by the Adyār MS. are :—

(1) कुमारसंभवे—folio 262.

(2) श्रीरामायणे उत्तरकांडे—fol. 273.

(3) श्रीमहाभारते—fol. 274.

(4) माघकाव्ये—fol. 278.

(5) नैषधे—fol. 283.

(6) भागवते दशमस्कंधे—fol. 283.

(7) रामायणां—fol. 308.

(8) अष्टांगयोगज्ञानेन—fol. 318; योगयोगीश्वर जैमिनि तु अष्टांगयोगयामी—(fol. 361).

(9) यदुक्तं— "जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः etc."—fol. 325.

(10) तथा चोक्तं अभिनंदकाव्ये[1]—(fol. 283).

"अकारणं सत्यमकारणं तपो
जगत्त्रयव्यापि यशोप्यकारणं ।
अकारणं रूपमकारणं गुणाः
पुराणमेकं नृषु कर्मकारणम् ॥

This verse is identical with verse 65 of Canto IV of the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda (p. 35 of the Baroda (1930) edition.

(11) **स्मृतौ**— "ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते तूत्थाय चिंतयेदात्मनो हितम् etc."—fol. 339.

(12) यदुक्तं— "दुर्मन्त्रान्नृपतिर्विनश्यति यतिः etc."—fol. 348.

(13) यदुक्तं— "सर्वे गुणाः कांचनमाश्रयन्ते etc."—fol. 349.

(14) उक्तं च— "मधुरं वद कल्याणि लोको हि मधुरप्रियः"—fol. 356.

(15) यदुक्तं— "अयशो यस्य लोकेऽस्मिन् पुंसश्चरति शाश्वते etc."—fol. 360.

(16) यदुक्तं— "एकमेव यदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् etc."—fol. 360.

(17) उक्तं च ज्योतिषे—

"सिंहो यथा सर्वचतुष्पदानां
तथैव पुष्यो बलवानुडूनां ।
चंद्रे विरुद्धेऽप्यथ गोचरेऽपि
सिद्धंति कार्याणि कृतानि पुष्ये ॥

(18) Folio 364—उक्तं—"वृद्धेऽपि वयसि ग्राह्या विद्या सर्वात्मना नरैः ।
यद्यपि स्यान्न फलदा सुलभा चान्यजन्मनि ॥"

There are many more anonymous quotations in the present MS. than those recorded in the above list of references. On the whole Janārdana is not in the habit of naming the author from whose works he quotes a stanza or two occasionally. Almost all the references noted above are taken from comparatively old works and hence they don't furnish any definite chronological clues for narrowing down our present limits for Janārdana's date viz. *A.D.* 1191 and 1385. The quotation from अभिनंदकाव्य i.e. रामचरित by अभिनंद given by Janārdana and identified by me above is chronologically in harmony with the above limits because the date of अभिनंदकाव्य falls between 800 and 900 *A.D.*

---

[1] Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, wrote the कादंबरीकथासार and योगवासिष्ठसार. He was contemporary of Rājaśekhara *Circa* A.D. 900 (F. W. Thomas' Introduction to *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, p. 20). Gauḍa Abhinanda is different from Abhinanda (son of Śatānanda) who wrote the रामचरित. The अभिनंदकाव्य referred to by Janārdana is identical with रामचरित which deals with the history of Rāma. The date of Abhinanda, the author of रामचरित, was hitherto unknown (see Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 135) but Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Shastri in his learned introduction to the edition of the *Rāmacarita* (Gaikwar Ori. Series, No. XLVI, 1930, Baroda) has proved that Abhinanda, the author of the रामचरित, was the court-poet of king Devapāla alias Haravarṣa Yuvarāja (between 800 and 900 A.D.)—page xxi. See also Dr. V. Raghavan's note on the *Rāmacarita* (Annals, Vol. XVI, pp. 141-2).

Since my note on the Janārdana's commentary was published Dr. V. G. Paranjpe of the Fergusson College has published his critical edition of the *Meghaduta*[1] with the commentary of स्थिरदेव based on a rare MS. found in the Mandlik Collection of the Fergusson College, Poona, bearing the date *Saṁvat* 1521 (=A.D. 1465). Janārdana mentions स्थिरदेव by name in the line "स्थिरदेववल्लभासहृद्वतानि भाष्याण्यनेकरचनानि" (Cambay MS.) as pointed out by me in my previous note. I shall now point out that he has modelled one of his verses on स्थिरदेव's verse in the beginning of his commentary. In fact he has repeated स्थिरदेव's verse almost verbatim as will be seen from the following comparison :—

स्थिरदेव's comm. on the मेघदूत (Mandalik MS.)	जनार्दन's comm. on the मेघदूत (Cambay MS.)
"तस्य प्रसन्नगंभीरात्प्रबंधान्नौरिवाम्बुधेः । उद्धर्तुं स्तोकमप्यर्थं व्याख्या नः प्रभविष्यति ॥ ४ ॥	तस्य प्रसन्नगंभीरात् प्रबंधान्नौरिवाम्बुधेः । उद्धर्तुं स्तोकमप्यर्थं व्याख्या मम भविष्यति ॥

About the date of स्थिरदेव Dr. Paranjpe observes :—'Sthiradeva lived in times when critics were under the influences of the Alaṁkāra school. He has quoted passages from भामह, दण्डी, रुद्रट and उद्भट . . . . he must be placed at the *end of the 9th century* or *at the outset of the tenth*'. If this date for स्थिरदेव is correct it would make स्थिरदेव a contemporary of अभिनंद, the author of the रामचरित (800 to 900 *A.D.*) which जनार्दन quotes in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

P. K. GODE.

---

[1] *Meghadūta* with Sthiradeva's commentary, edited by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, M.A., D.Litt., Poona, 1935, Price Rs. 2.

DHARMA-SAMUCCAYA

[The latest recension of the Dhammapada]

Dharma Aditya Dharmacarya,[1] with whom I was to edit the Dharma-samuccaya, published a notice of the Nepalese manuscript on which our edition was to be based.[2] The date of the manuscript is stated as 'Saṃvat 293 Vaiśākha-kṛṣṇa-caturthyām', 'the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha in Saṃvat 293'. Dharmacarya rightly suggests that the year mentioned has reference to the Nepalese era current for 1056 years. Accordingly the date of the manuscript is 293 N.E., which is equivalent to 1173 A.D. Bhikṣu Sujita Śrījñāna of Citra Vihāra in Nepal is the copyist who prepared the manuscript, probably during the reign of King Rudradeva.

'The manuscript consists of 106, carefully preserved, 6 lines in a page, 63 letters in a line......leaves Nos. 49, 53–57, 66, 81 are missing'. The original work consisted of 2,684 couplets, distributed into 36 *vargas*, 'groups', or 'chapters'. The present manuscript preserves 2,220 couplets, the remaining 464 *ślokas* vanishing with the missing leaves. In the colophon, the copyist writes:

'*Vaipulya-mahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād bhikṣu-Avalokitasiṃhenôddhṛta iti.*

Ātra caturaśīti - ślokādhika - ṣaṭśatottara - sahasradvayaślokānāṃ granthe dṛṣṭaṃ sphuṭārthaye. 2684.'

'Compiled by Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha with quotations from the excellent Vaipulya-mahāgambhīrodadhi-sūtra.

Here, in this work, I saw 2684 couplets expounding the *dharma.*'

In the opening verse, the compiler Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha himself says:

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtravaipulyasāgarāt gāthā samuddhariṣyāmi lokalocanatatparaḥ.

'Intent on the good of the world, I will collect (select) stanzas from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra which is a work of the Mahāvaipulya class.'

And in the closing verse, he says:

Vaipulyasaddharma yadā hi tasya smṛtyupasthita gāthā sūtravarād hi mayoddhṛtā.

---

[1] This is the pen-name adopted by Mr. B. Baidya, M.A., a young Nepalese Buddhist scholar.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. II, pp. 422–432, 677–79.

'The (select) stanzas have been collected by me from the excellent Vaipulya-Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra.'

The work was closed with the statement:

Dharmasamuccayo nāma dharma-paryāyaḥ samāptaḥ.

'The text of the Dharma, called Dharma-samuccaya ends here.'

From these, it is clear that the title of the work of Avalokitasiṃha was Dharma-samuccaya, and that it was compiled on the basis of an earlier work of the Vaipulya class, known by the name of Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna.

It would be a great mistake to think with Dharmacharya that the compiler drew his materials upon two different works, viz. 'the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyasāgara Sūtra or the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra'.[1] For it is one and the same work which has been differently represented.

It would also be a mistake to think with him that the Vaipulya-Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra from which the *gāthās* of the Dharma-samuccaya were collected was the same work as the Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, cited by name in the Sikṣā-samuccaya of Śāntideva[2] and translated into Chinese by Gautama Prajñāruci, in A.D. 539 (Nanjio, No. 679). Even it is not the same work as the Saddharma-(ārya)-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra which is but a shorter form of the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, translated into Chinese by Fa-thien (? Dharmadeva), in A.D. 973–981 (Nanjio, No. 804). The first Chinese translation (Nanjio, No. 679) shows that the original work consisted of 7 chapters dealing with such subjects as:

'1. The results of the ten kinds of good conduct.
2. Birth and death.
3. The different hells.
4. The condition of Pretas.
5. The birth as a beast.
6. The condition of devas.
7. The kāya-smṛtyupasthāna.'

The quotations in the Śikṣā-samuccaya clearly indicate that the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra referred to in it was a prose work,[3] while the Vaipulya-Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra presupposed by the Dharma-samuccaya was a voluminous anthology. The subjects dealt in the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra form subjects also of the Vaipulya-Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, if not all, at least 4 out of 7 :

---

[1] *I.H.Q.*, II, p. 423.

[2] Śikṣāsamuccaya, edited by Cecil Bendall, Chs. I, IV, and VI.

[3] Sikṣā-samuccaya, ed. Bendall, Ch. IV, p. 69: Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānād vipāka-kaṭukā draṣṭavyāḥ. Tataḥ kiñcin mātraṃ sūtraṃ sūcyate. Prāṇātipāta-

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra.	Vaipulya-Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra.
1. Daśakuśalakarma-vipāka	
2. Cyuti-utpatti	
3. Naraka	16. Naraka
4. Preta	17. Preta
5. Tiryyak	18. Tiryyak
6. Deva	32. Deva
7. Kāya-smṛtyupasthāna [1]	

Though the compiler himself calls his work a *dharma-paryāya* or 'text for expounding the doctrine of the Buddha', I am glad that Dharmacharya agreed at last to the view that the Dharma-samuccaya is nothing but 'a bigger Dhammapada'. It is really the latest and biggest recension of the Dhammapada compiled in Nepal by a Nepalese Buddhist teacher, Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha who represents himself in the opening verse of his work as '*lokalocana-tatparaḥ*'. The recension consists of the following *vargas* :

1. Jita, 2. Dharmôpadeśa, 3. Kāyajugupsā, 4. Parivarta, 5. Anityatā, 6. Apramāda, 7. Kāmajugupsā, 8. Tṛṣṇā, 9. Strījugupsā, 10. Madyajugupsā, 11. Citta, 12. Vācā, 13. Karma, 14. Saṃyojana, 15. Pāpa, 16. Naraka, 17. Preta, 18. Tiryyak, 19. Kṣudhā, 20. Kausīdya, 21. Karuṇā, 22. Dāna, 23. Śila, 24. Kṣānti, 25. Vīryya, 26. Dhyāna, 27. Prajñā, 28. Nirvāṇa, 29. Mārga, 30. Bhikṣu, 31. Puṇya, 32. Deva, 33. Sukha, 34. Mitra, 35. Rājāvavāda, 36. Stuti.

The Udānavarga, ascribed to Dharmatrāta, consists of 33 chapters, and the total number of its verses, even in its latest development, hardly exceeds 950.[2] The chapters bearing common titles in the two works, viz., the Udānavarga and the Dharma-samuccaya are as follows :

---

vipākalavastāvad : Yathāha : 'Tadyathāgniśikhācarā nāma pakṣiṇo ye agni-śokhāmadhyagatā na dṛśyante saṃhṛṣṭatarāś ca nārakeyānāṃ kapālaṃ bhitvā rudhiraṃ pivanti.'

[1] The Sanskrit titles of the seven chapters are suggested on the basis of Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 679.

[2] See Rockhill's translation of the Udānavarga from the Tibetan.

Udānavarga.	Dharma-samuccaya.
1. Anitya	5. Anityatā
2. Karma	13. Karma
3. Tṛṣṇā	8. Tṛṣṇā
4. Apramāda	6. Apramāda
6. Śīla	23. Śīla
8. Vācā	12. Vācā
12. Mārga	29. Mārga
25. Mitra (Bandhu)	34. Mitra
26. Nirvāṇa	28. Nirvāṇa
28. Pāpa	15. Pāpa
30. Sukha	33. Sukha
31. Citta	11. Citta
32. Bhikṣu[1]	30. Bhikṣu

So far as the Dharma-samuccaya is concerned, some definite sequences of thought may be traced in the succession of the following chapters :

Kāma, Tṛṣṇā, Strī, Madya || Citta, Vācā, Karma || Saṃyojana, Pāpa, Naraka, Preta, Tiryyak, Kṣudhā || Dāna, Śīla, Kṣānti, Vīryya, Dhyāna, Prajñā || Nirvāṇa, Mārga, Bhikṣu || Puṇya, Deva, Sukha, Mitra ||

The *gāthās* in the Dharma-samuccaya are lacking, however, in the vigour of thought as well as expression. The Udānavarga represents indeed the last stage of development of the Dhammapada literature.

B. M. BARUA.

ABHAYĀKARA-GUPTA

The biographical narrative of the celebrated Buddhist monk and scholar, Abhayâkara-Gupta, that was obtained by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur from the writings of some Indian Paṇḍitas who laboured in Tibet,[2] informs us that he was born in Eastern India near the city of Gaur (Gauḍa). But, according to the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, Abhayâkara was born at Jhârikhaṇḍa in Orissa in a Kṣatriya family.[3] So the question arises whether he was a Bengali or an Oriyâ, and it would have been extremely difficult to answer it, had not there been a work of Abhayâkara himself, viz. his *Âmnâya-mañjarî* commentary on the Buddhist Tântric work, *Śrî-Sampûṭa-tantra-râja*, with the clear statement that he was an inhabitant of Magadha (Abhayâkara du Magadha).[1] Another treatise of his, viz. the *Vajrayānâpatti-mañjarî*, corroborates this fact.[2]

---

[1] See Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee's informative article—*The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga*, in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 150-1.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1882, Vol. LI, Part I, p. 15 f.

[3] Cal., 1908, Index p. cxxxviii.

That Abhayâkara was a contemporary of King Râmapâla of Gauḍa is indubious. In the 25th regnal year of that king, he finished writing a book, the name of which has been given out by the late MM. Haraprasada Śâstrî sometimes as the *Vajrâvalî-nâma-maṇḍalôpâyikâ*[3] and sometimes as a commentary on the *Buddha-kapâla-tantra*.[4] The latter statement, however, appears to be correct. Râmapâla ruled for at least 42 years, and speaking approximately, his regnal period seems to have fallen between 1070 and 1125 A.D. A MS. of Abhayâkara's *Kâlâcakrâvatâra* written in Bengali characters in the very year 1125 A.D. (1047 Śaka) has been obtained,[5] and it was, therefore, copied shortly after its composition.

The MS. of the commentary on the *Buddha-kapâla-tantra* is written in Newari characters of the 12th century A.D.[6] A MS. of the *Vajrâvalî-nâma-maṇḍalôpâyikâ* is also written in Newari characters of the same century.[7] There is a MS. of this work in the library of the Cambridge University, which is dated in (Newari-) Saṁvat 549, equivalent to A.D. 1429.[8] Another MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and it is written in Bengali Script.[9]

It was in the Vikramaśîlâ-vihâra that Abhayâkara wrote his commentary on the *Buddha-kapâla-tantra*,[10] while his *Śrî-nâtha-kâka-yôni-tarpaṇa-vidhi-krama* was composed in the Nâlandâ-vihâra.[11] Hence he was associated with both these premier Vihâras of Magadha. In the Vikramaśîlâ-vihâra his *Vajrâvalî-nâma-maṇḍalôpâyikâ* was corrected by a certain *paṇḍita*, Prajñâśrî by name,[12] while another *paṇḍita*, called Buddhakîrtti, translated into Tibetan his commentary on the *Sampûṭa-tantra-râja*, entitled *Amnâya-mañjarî*, in Nâlandâ.[1] Buddhakîrtti translated in Nâlandâ another work of his, viz. the *Vajrayânâpatti-mañjarî*.[2] The commentary that he wrote on the *Pañca-kramamata*, under the title of *Candra-prabhâ*, was translated in the Jagaddâla-vihâra of North Bengal by Bibhûti-candra,[3] who also partially translated his *Ucchuṣma-Jambhala-Sâdhana*.[4] His *Śrî-Mañju-vajrâdi-kramâbhisamaya-samuccayaniṣpanna* (*Yôgâvalî nâma*) was translated by Śâkyaśrîbhadra of Kâśmîra and Dânaśîla of Eastern India.[5] Like Bibhûti-candra, Dânaśîla also was a Bengali,[6] and dwelt in the Jagaddâla-vihâra.[7] But it is to be noted that although this Vihâra was built by Râma-pâla, the name of Abhayâkara is never found associated with it.

---

[1] *Catalogue Du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par P. Cordier, Paris, 1915, Deuxième Partie, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[3] *Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1323 B.S., p. 86.

[4] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Govt. Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. I, Cal., 1917, p. 163.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-60.

[8] *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge*, by Cecil Bendall, 1883, p. 197, Add. 1703.

[9] Śâstrî, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61, No. 95.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[11] Cordier, Troisième Partie, p. 212.

[12] Cordier, II, p. 370.

Abhayâkara's commentary on the *Buddha-kapâla-tantra* also passes by the name of *Abhaya-paddhati*.[8] It is a Buddhist Tântric work, consisting of 14 chapters, called *paṭalas*, but it has not been recovered in original Sanskrit.[9] His *Vajrâvalî-nâma-maṇḍalôpâyikâ* is a voluminous work, which quotes from a large number of previous works, and deals elaborately with the 27 maṇḍalas of the Buddhist Tântrics, such as the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala*, *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala*, *Piṇḍî-Kramôkta-maṇḍala*, *Ṣaṭ-cakravartî-maṇḍala*, *Kâla-cakra-maṇḍala*, etc., whence it has derived its name as *Maṇḍa-lôpâyikâ*.[10] Abhayâkara also wrote a treatise on *hôma*, and it is called *Jyôtir-mañjarî-nâma-hômapâyikâ*.[11]

Under instructions received from Abhayâkara-Gupta, Âcârya Ârya Nâgârjuna wrote the *Vajra-mahâ-kâlâbhicâra-hôma*.[12] It is needless to say that this Nâgârjuna is different from the celebrated Nâgârjuna, who propounded the doctrines of Śûnya-vâda about nine centuries ago.

Besides the above works, Abhayâkara wrote many others, amongst which the following deserve notice :—

Śrî-kâlacakr=ôddâna, *Śrî-cakra-saṁvarâbhisamaya*, *Abhiṣêka-prakaraṇa*, *Svâdhisṭhâna-kramôpadêśa*, *Cakra-saṁvar=âbhisamay=ôpadêśa*, *Gaṇa-cakra-vidhi-nâma*, *Niṣpanna-yôgâvalî*,[14] *Muni-matâ-laṅkâra*, *Bôdhisattva-saṁvara-grahaṇa-vidhi*, [illegible] *nâma*, and *Bôdhipaddhati-nâma*.[15]

He translated, or helped to translate, a good many Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[16] The translation of his own work, [illegible]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible]
[3] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible]
[4] *Ibid.*, III, p. 89.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, p. [illegible]
[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. [illegible]
[7] *Ibid*, p. 302.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible]
[9] [illegible]
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-60.
[11] Cordier, II, p. [illegible]
[12] Cordier, III, p. [illegible]
[13] Cordier, II, pp. 22, 47, 230, [illegible]
[14] *Ibid.*, III, pp. [illegible]
[15] Cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 372, 373, [illegible]

prakaraṇa, was also done by him.[1] With Dânaśrî-mitra of Mâlava he also translated many works, of which one is the *Hêvajra-sâdhana.*[2]

But all these works appertain to Vajrayâna or Kâlacakrayâna. It is little known that Abhayâkara is also the writer of a commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Aṣṭa-sâhasrikâ-prajñâ-pâramitâ*, entitled *Marma-Kaumudî*, in 32 *parivartas* (chapters).[3]

During the reign of Râmapâla, Buddhism, we are told and doubtless correctly, received a fresh impetus under the leadership of Abhayâkara.

According to tradition, Abhayâkara was succeeded in the High-priestship (of the Odantapurî Vihâra) by Ratnâkara Śânti. But this is not true. Ratnâkara Śânti was a contemporary of Mahîpâla I, the great-grandfather of Râmapâla. Râmapâla, after a reign of 40 years, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Akṣa-pâla. The name of Akṣa-pâla, however, does not occur in the epigraphical genealogy of the Pâlas, but the truth of Râmapâla's abdication in favour of his son is substantiated by the *Râma-carita* of Sandhyâkara-Nandî, which points out that he in his old age gave over the charge of his kingdom (*Sunu-Samarpita-râjyô*) to his eldest son, Râjya (-pâla), and retired to Râmâvatî (VI. 1). Abhayâkara died before the abdication of Râmapâla, who ceased to exist three years after it.

When Abhayâkara was residing in the Vikramaśîlâ-vihâra, it was under domination of the son of King Śubha-Śrî of Eastern India, and in the war which at that time took place with the Turuṣkas, the celebrated Buddhist monk played an important part. But sober history does not as yet know of any king like Śubha-Śrî in Eastern India in the Pâla age (or any other age). Again, history does not bear witness to any Muhammadan invasion in Magadha previous to that of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yâr. We know that Ahmad Niâltigin in 424 A.H. (1032 A.D.), or shortly after that, advanced as far as Benares,[4] but that any other Muhammadan army arrived still to the east in Magadha before the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena is not borne out by history.

N. N. DASS GUPTA.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, II, p. 47. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 397. [3] *Ibid.*, III, p. 282.

[4] *Târikh-us-Subuktigin*, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II.

A FEW PROBABLE IDENTIFICATIONS FROM MAÑJUŚRĪ-MŪLAKALPA

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has done a great service to historical research by editing the political portion of the important Buddhist work, Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa and by an attempt made to reconstruct the imperial history of India by the new evidences supplied by his work.[1] The most peculiar fact is that in many places the names of kings are denoted by initials only and this makes, as Jayaswal observes, the task of identification at times impossible. All the identifications, proposed by him, therefore, cannot be accepted when more convincing reasons can be adduced for other probable identifications.

The verse 760 states that his (whom Jayaswal identifies as Samudragupta) descendant Bh (Bhānugupta) settled in the east. The next two verses record the fact that his son P (Pra, according to the Tibetan text) was born in the eastern countries and was imprisoned as a boy by king Gopa and remained in prison for 17 years. Jayaswal identifies the king Gopa with the general Goparāja (p. 64) who fought and died at Eran and in whose commemoration the Eran pillar was erected in 510 A.D.[2] The reason offered is that he was a subordinate ruler under Bhānugupta and Pra must have been put into prison by a order of his father, as 'he was a bad boy of the family'. This is hardly convincing. The known date of Bhānugupta is 191 G.E.=510 A.D. and he seems to have flourished in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. The four Faridpur grants[3] acquaint us with the name of three independent kings of Eastern Bengal and paleographically they are to be assigned in the same century. According to the evidence of the Gunainagar plate of Vainyagupta, Eastern Bengal was included within his kingdom in 508 A.D. Whether Vainyagupta belonged to the imperial Gupta family or not,[4] his name suggests that he was connected with Guptas and Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Eastern Bengal in the first decade of the sixth century A.D. But immediately after that Eastern Bengal seceded from the Gupta empire as it is indicated by the imperial titles of Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, and Samāchāradeva of the Faridpur grants. It is quite likely therefore that Pra, son of Bha, was imprisoned by Gopachandra of Eastern Bengal rather than by Goparāja, general of Bhānugupta.

---

[1] An Imperial History of India by K. P. Jayaswal, published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1934.

[2] Fleet, CII., Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 193; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 74.

[4] *I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 54, also 1933, pp. 784, 989.

It seems that Jayaswal has failed to identify Jayanāga of the Vappaghoṣa-vaṭa grant.[1] After the description of Soma's (Śaśāṅka's) reign and general disorder in Bengal, it is stated,

Nāgarāja samāhvayo Gauḍarājā bhavisati
Ante tasya nṛpe tiṣṭham jayādyavarnatadvisau / 750 /

Jayaswal is of opinion that the history of Bengal is again here taken from the Nāgas and comes with the explanation that 'the name Jaya is quite in line with the Bhāraśiva Nāga names and we read on the coins, e.g. Haya, Traya, etc.' (p. 52). The Nāga king with '*jayādya*' undoubtedly refers to Jayanāga. From the paleography of the Vappaghoṣa-vaṭa grant of the time of Jayanāga it can be said that his date cannot be far removed from that of Śaśāṅka. Even if it is to be conceded that after the description of Śaśāṅka's reign the history of Bengal is again taken from the time of the previous Nāga kings, it seems that the author has confused the name of Jayanāga with previous Nāga kings and entered his name in their list.

In course of the description of the long reign of Pra the following events are narrated by the Tibetan text and are not to be found in the Sanskrit text.[2]

Saṭhāḥ para-vṛttikāśchauva Vindhyakukṣinibasinaḥ
Durgeti madhyadeśe to svayaṃ rajyaṃ akārṣu / 829A /
Mahāviṣajaya jitvā prāgudak sarvataḥ sthitān
kesarināmā tathā-anyāḥ somākhyonṛpo mṛta / 829B /
Tadā Gauḍajanā bhinnāḥ kṣatriyo rājā tadā
Rājā-abhivardhamāna jonmetiptaviṣti na saiṁśaya / 829C /

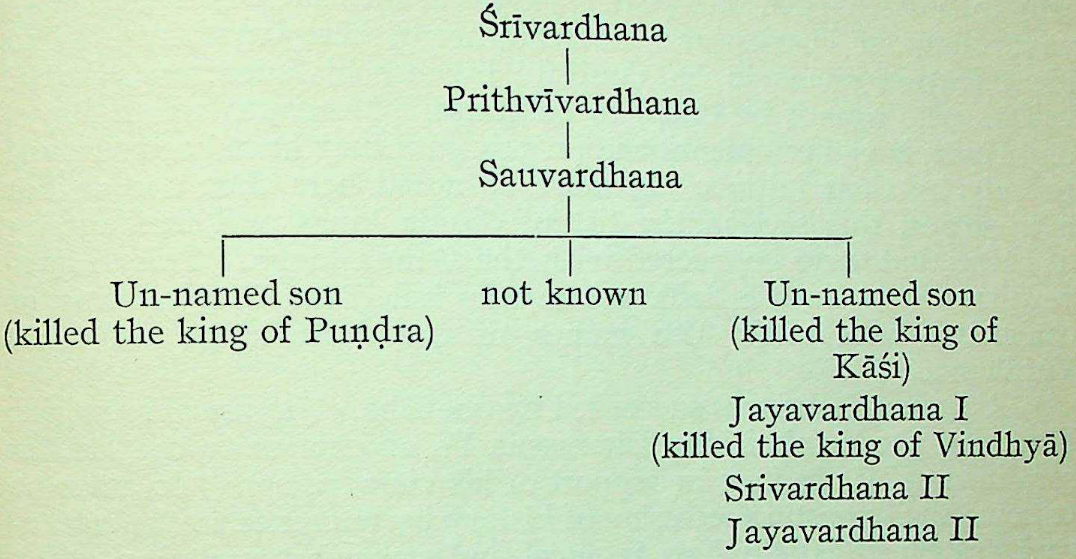
Jayaswal locates the treacherous princes of the Vindhyā region in Malwa but fails to identify them. He identifies 'mahāviṣajaya' with Jayanāga of the Vappaghoṣa grant. But it seems that these events can be better explained by referring to the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II,[3] the lord of the Vindhyā country. Paleographically the Ragholi plates are to be assigned in the 7th-8th century. These plates record the reigns and achievements of the kings of Śailavaṁsa. Śrīvardhana appears to be first king of this family and his son was born Sauvardhana who had three sons. One of them killed the king of Puṇḍra and another killed the king of Kāśī whose son Jayavardhana I killed the king of Vindhyā. His son Śrīvardhana II and grandson Jayavardhana II were kings of Vindhyā.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 60.

[2] My imperfect knowledge in Tibetan does not permit me to follow the Tibetan text in original and I have to be satisfied with the Sanskrit rendering of it by Rahula Saṅkṛtyāyana.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 41.


Śrīvardhana
Prithvīvardhana
Sauvardhana
Un-named son (killed the king of Puṇḍra)
not known
Un-named son (killed the king of Kāśi)
Jayavardhana I (killed the king of Vindhyā)
Srivardhana II
Jayavardhana II

If Jayavardhana II is to be placed in the 7th-8th century A.D. we shall not be very wrong in placing his grandfather Jayavardhana I or his un-named great-grandfather in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. This Śaila family was perhaps at first subordinate to the imperial Guptas but in the latter half of the sixth century declared themselves independent. 'Mahāviṣajaya' may be identified with Jayavardhana I. One branch of this family became established in Bengal.

It remains to be answered how Kesari and Soma were referred to in this connection. It has been suggested by Dr. Hira Lal[1] that the Somavamsis of Orissa belonged to the family of the Somavanisis of Kośala (Sripur, Raipur district, C.P.) who were ousted from there and at a later period founded a kingdom in the Mahanadi region. Mahaśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last Kuonen Somavamsi king of Kośala, has been paleographically assigned to the 8th-9th century A.D.[2] and he was preceded by six or seven generations of kings at least and it may be inferred that the political fortunes of this family were first established in the last part of the sixth century. Again, Fleet proposed the identification of Janmejaya and Yayāti of the Somavamsi kings of Orissa with Janmejaya-Kesari and Yayati-Kesari of the Madla Pañjīs[3] (chronicles). Fleet's proposition perhaps gains additional confirmation from the expression '*Keśarināmā tathā-anyāḥ somākhyo*' of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and also the identification proposed by Dr. Hira Lal.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 186.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 333.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

After the death of Pra (Prakaṭāditya) two or three rulers are mentioned who all had very short reigns. One Rājyavardhana is said to have reigned one year. Jayaswal identifies him with Rājyavardhana of Thaneswara, elder brother of Harṣavardhana. This identification seems to be doubtful because his successor's initial is Dha who cannot be taken to be Harṣa. Moreover, when Rājya and Harṣa have been mentioned (v. 719, 721) they have been referred to only by their initials. It must be noted here that the author is giving in this section the list of Gauḍa kings and incidentally of those that were connected with the Gauḍa kings. This Rājyavardhana may be the Śaila prince who killed the Puṇḍra king or connected with him. The names of the Śaila kings ended in Vardhana.

Rājyavardhana was succeeded by one Dha. Jayaswal identifies him with the Valabhi king Dharasena IV and refers to the Mitākṣarā idea of Hindu Law in support of his view (p. 67). To attempt to solve the dynastic succession of history by reference to the Mitākṣarā system of Hindu Law is novel and somewhat amusing. The king Dha and Va (J. according to the Tibetan text) seem to be rulers of Bengal who flourished after Śaśāṅka and Jayanāga and whose identification is almost impossible at the present state of our knowledge.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.

SEWAI JAYSINGH OF AMBER, A.D. 1699–1743

Jay II, better known as Sewai Jaysingh, is reported to have ascended the *gadī* of Amber in Saṃvat 1755=A.D. 1699. This was the forty-second year of Aurangzeb's reign and within some eight years of the Mughal emperor's death. According to traditions, Jaysingh II occupied the throne of Amber for about forty-four years and died in Saṃvat 1799=A.D. 1743. He is said to have been faithful to Farrukhsīyar (1712–1719) and to have been appointed the king's lieutenant for the provinces of Agra and Malwa in succession. He was once more made governor of Malwa in A.D. 1732 during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719–1748). See Todd, *An. Ant. Raj.* (2nd ed., Madras, 1873), pp. 328–32.

It has been pointed out that, according to Todd, Sewai Jaysingh, though he was a feudatory of the Mughal emperors of Dehli, performed a horse-sacrifice, and that therefore subordinate rulers could also celebrate the Aśvamedha. I have elsewhere tried to prove that an Aśvamedha could be performed only by an independent (not by a subordinate) ruler and that therefore the celebration of it by a feudatory chief only signifies his assertion of independence. According to my view, if Sewai Jaysingh performed any horse-sacrifice at all, he must have assumed independence before its celebration. In the present note I am going to show that Sewai Jaysingh most probably did not celebrate any Aśvamedha and that he was certainly not a vassal of the Mughal emperors of Delhi during the later years of his reign.

Let us first quote the words of Todd himself. 'Among the vanities of the founder of Ambér, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *Aswamédha yúga* or "sacrifice of the horse" a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him had he entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janameja the Pándu, to Jaichand the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj' (*op. cit.*, p. 339).

It will be seen that Todd only speaks of probabilities—'it is said', 'he intended to', etc. It is moreover a known fact now that Todd who wrote early in the nineteenth century and had scarcely any means of testing the authenticity of bardic tales is not accurate in his details. The very passage quoted above from Todd shows that the celebrated author made at least three statements which are not borne out by authentic history. Firstly, he calls Sewai Jaysingh 'the founder of Ambér'. This is wrong; because Jaysingh was the founder of Jaypur or Jaynagar, and not of Amber. Secondly, he mentions Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra as 'the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj'. It is however now definitely known that the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj was not Jayaccandra, but his son Hariśchandra who, as is known from the Machhlishahr and Bel-khara inscriptions, ruled as a *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* at least up to Saṃvat 1257=A.D. 1200 (*J.A.S.B.*, 1911, pp. 763–65). Thirdly, he credits Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra with the celebration of an Aśvamedha like the Pāṇḍava king Janamejaya. No historian has ever suggested that Jayaccandra performed any horse-sacrifice. He is never credited with the Aśvamedha in any of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla records, nor in any other work that refers to him. Bardic traditions however report that Jayaccandra performed a Rājasūya yajña along with the *svayaṃvara* of his daughter, the celebrated Saṃyogitā or Saṃyuktā. It is not known whether the report of the traditions may be treated as authentic history. It is however clear that Todd (possibly following the bards) confused the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. We are possibly to suppose that, according to traditions, Sewai Jaysingh of Amber made a *yajña-śālā* to celebrate the Rājasūya sacrifice in imitation of his name-sake, Gāhaḍavāla

Jayaccandra of Kanauj. We therefore think it perfectly reasonable to doubt the authenticity of the statement that Sewai Jaysingh *actually* celebrated the horse-sacrifice.

The second point is whether Sewai Jaysingh remained a vassal of the Mughal emperors all through his life. It is admitted by all writers on Mughal history that within less than twenty years after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the actual possessions of the so-called emperors of Dehli became limited within the district round the walls of their capital, and that after the invasion of Nadir Shāh in 1739 no power of the emperors was left in Rajputana. We need not go into details. It will suffice to refer to Prof. Jadunath Sarkar who says, 'The invasion of Nadir Shāh dealt such a shattering blow to the empire of Dehli that after it the imperial authority was *totally* eliminated from Rajputana in all but the name. The Rajput princes were left *entirely* to themselves . . . .' (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 279). We doubt if it survived even in name in the territory over which Sewai Jaysingh ruled.

The tradition recorded by Todd does not assign any date to the celebration of Aśvamedha by Sewai Jaysingh. If he performed any Aśvamedha at all he might have done it after 1739 and before 1743. It is interesting in this connection to note that Todd himself takes the celebration of the sacrifice as a 'virtual assumption of universal supremacy' (*op. cit.*, p. 339). He also says, ' . . . . amidst revolution, the destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he (i.e. Jaysingh) not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Ambér above all the principalities around . . . .' (*op. cit.*, p. 331).

That Sewai Jaysingh defied imperial authority even before 1739 is proved by the following facts. In the war of succession that followed the death of Aurangzeb, he attached himself to prince Bīdar Bakht, son of Ajam Shāh, and declared him successor of Aurangzeb. For this opposition, Ambér was sequestered and an imperial governor sent to take its possession ; but Jaysingh entered his states sword in hand, drove out the imperial garrisons, and formed a league with Ajitsingh of Marwar for their mutual preservation (Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 328). That he had independent political relations with neighbouring states is also proved by the fact that he did 'dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore which were added to his dominions ; they embraced all the tract now called Macherri' (*op. cit.*, p. 337-38).

The only proof of Sewai Jaysingh's vassalage to the Delhi emperors is that, according to traditions, he was successively the governor of Agra and Malwa and was made governor of Mālwā a second time in 1732 under Muhammad Shāh. The great Maratha leader, the Peshwā, snatched away the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālwā from Muhammad Shāh who issued a farman bestowing the *nāib subahdāri* on the Peshwā. The Maratha leader replied that 'though the *chauth* of the whole of Hindusthān was his due, he would be satisfied with the above two *subahs*' (J. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 277). Will any student of Maratha history believe that the great Peshwā, formally the *nāib subahdār* of Muhammad Shāh, was a feudatory of the *rois fainéants* of Dehli? Again, the so-called Mughal emperors occupied the throne of Dehli as late as A.D. 1858 when Bahādur Shāh II (1837–1858) was deposed, and the East India Company pretended to rule in the name of the Mughal emperors. Would it justify us to suppose that that Governor-Generals of the East India Company were feudatory to the puppet emperors of Dehli?

We therefore hold that the suggestions that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber performed a horse-sacrifice and that he was a feudatory of the Mughal emperors all through his life (or at the time of celebrating the supposed Aśvamedha) are both inadmissible. (Some points in this note were suggested to the author by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri.)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE MANDASORE INSCRIPTION OF THE SILK-WEAVERS' GUILD [1]

The inscription gives Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman as the names of the suzerain and the local ruler respectively in M.E. 493, when the temple was built by the silk-weavers.[2] But it does not mention any ruler in M.E. 529, the year when the temple was repaired, and the inscription was composed and incised. This procedure being uncommon has led to the following suggestions[3]:—

---

[1] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18.

[2] चतुःसमुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥ v. 23.
तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्यनयोपपन्नः बन्धुप्रियो बन्धुरिव प्रजानाम् ।
बन्ध्वर्तिहर्ता नृपबन्धुवर्मा द्विड्दृप्तपक्षक्षपणैकदक्षः ॥ v. 26.

[3] See Mr. Pannalal's article in the *Hindustan Review*, Jan. 1918, Mr. Banerji's article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. I, p. 79, and Mr. D. B. Diskalkar; article in J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. II, (N.S.), p. 176, and his *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 64.

(*a*) 'The locative absolute in the phrase *Kumāragupta Pṛthivīṃ praśāsati* in v. 23 should be taken in connection with the incident of repairing the temple for the first time ;

(*b*) 'The poet might have meant to take the locative absolute phrase *Kumāragupta pṛthivīṃ praśāsati* with reference to both the incidents of building the temple in 493 and repairing it in 529, on both the occasions the sovereign king bore the same name Kumāragupta.'

The suggestions are, however, far fetched. The text states without the least possibility of ambiguity that Kumāragupta was the suzerain, and Bandhuvarman the local ruler when the temple was built, and is with equal unambiguity silent about the rulers at the centre and in Malwa, when it was rebuilt in M.E. 529.[1] And if this silence requires an adequate explanation, it is to be found not in the above suggestions, but in the right interpretation of the verse,

बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः ।
व्यशीर्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना ॥ [2]

It has been translated by Mr. Diskalkar as follows : 'In the course of a long time, and under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair'.[3] But the significance of the instrumental case in पार्थिवैः, and the passive voice in व्यशीर्यत, a form formed from the *parasmaipadī* root शॄ of the 9th conjugation, can be brought out fully, only if we translate the verse as follows : 'After much time had passed, a part of this building was destroyed by other kings'. Mr. Diskalkar and others have perhaps translated the verse wrongly by regarding शॄ as an *ātmanepadī* root of the 4th conjugation, which it is not at least according to the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.[4] Nor can it be argued that व्यशीर्यत is the भाववाच्य form of the root वि+शॄ, for in that case the expression should have been एकदेशेन व्यशीर्यत instead of एकदेशोऽस्य व्यशीर्यत found in the verse. Further, their translation may be regarded as defective for the additional reason that it connects समतीतेन, an adjective in the singular number with पार्थिवैः,

---

[1] See the two verses quoted above, and verses 37, 38, etc. of the inscription.

[2] v. 36.

[3] *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 72.

[4] See the Nirnaya sagara edition, p. 229.

a noun in the plural, while the general rule is that a noun and its defining word should be of the same number.

Taking, therefore, our translation as correct, let us now see which king or kings could have destroyed a part of the sun temple at Mandasore. Such a procedure on part of Hindu kings being unusual or even rare, we might naturally infer that they were foreigners and most probably the Huns, who, as shown by the abrupt debasement of Skandagupta's coinage in his latter years, began re-invading India about 522 M.E., and conquered the western regions of the Gupta empire. Nothing was sacred to these barbarians, and they must have raged many a fine temple to the ground. In M.E. 529, the year of repairing the sun temple of Mandasore, western Malwa was most probably in an unsettled condition. It had perhaps passed out of the hands of the Guptas, the local and extremely popular dynasty of the Varmans had become extinct, and the Hunas had not fully settled down. It was a period of transition, when all the kingdoms of Northern India were in the melting pot. The silk-weavers had built their temple in M.E. 493. Within 36 years, that is, by M.E. 529, such a stately and massive temple as described in the inscription could not have fallen into disrepair by itself. The Huns destroyed one of its parts, and the silk-weavers, while repairing the temple, refrained deliberately, I think, from mentioning the name of the ruler of these vandals who, though in temporary military occupation of the province, were thoroughly detested by the people in Western Malwa. They liked much more their old rulers under whom they had prospered, and naturally enough sang their glories even after their dynasty had been extinguished by the Huns. To them Viśvavarman had been 'a very tree of plenty and the friend of his countrymen,'[1] and his son Bandhuvarman, a brother as it were to his countrymen.[2] But in M.E. 529, he was merely the subject of a sad memory to his enemies' wives,[3] and the country was under the detested *Mlecchas*; and this, we believe, accounts for the non-mention of the rulers at the time of rebuilding the sun temple at Mandasore.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

---

[1] कल्पद्रुमो प्रणयिनामभयप्रदश्च v. 25.

[2] See v. 26 quoted above.

[3] See verse 28.

THE STONE OF PERENG, 785 ŚAKA

This stone-inscription was found at Pereng which lies about 2 kilometres to the south-east of Prāmbānān. The place is in the neighbourhood of the foot of the southern mountain-ranges between the *Kraton* of Ratu baka and Candi Sujiwan.[1] The inscription first came to the possession of Mr. Kläring at Jogjakarta. In 1890, the Batavia museum recorded the accession of this stone under D. 77.[2] According to Cohen Stuart,[3] it measures about 96 × 42 c.m. A photo of this inscription was taken by Van Kinsbergen[4] as early as 1865. We also find reference to three impressions of this record in the *Notulen* for 1869, Bijl. N. Dr. Cohen Stuart who published a complete transcription of this record in his *KO* XXIII (1875) handled this inscription in *TBG*, 18 (1868–72), pp. 89–117. In the following year (1873), the Sanskrit portions of this inscription were handled by Prof. Kern[5] who has also published a complete facsimile based upon the photo of Van Kinsbergen. The latest reading and translation of the record have been furnished by Poerbatjaraka[6] in 1926. As the conception of scholars varies very widely regarding the contents of this inscription, I have tried to solve the outstanding problems in the present edition of the record.

The inscription opens with some laudatory verses to Śiva and records that in 785 Śaka, the *raka* of Walaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni offered a *sawah* for a religious foundation. The concluding portions indicate that the god-house called Bhadrāloka was founded by Kalasaja and a desire is expressed that his descendants may obtain therein an abode and life-subsistence.

The opening section of the inscription is written in Sanskrit verses, forming three stanzas in Āryā metre. In the concluding portion of the inscription from l. 17, four Sanskrit verses are written in two more strophes of Āryā metre. The other portions of the record are written in Old-Javanese prose.

---

[1] *Notulen*, 24 (1886), p. 79. The record was previously wrongly described as *the stone of Kläring* and *the stone of Prāmbānān.*

[2] *Notulen*, 28 (1890), p. 44 ; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 60.

[3] *KO*, p. XIV.

[4] In his collection of photos, this numbered 182.

[5] *TBG*, 20 (1873), pp. 219–230 ; *VG*, VI, pp. 277–290.

[6] *Agastya*, pp. 45–51. For further references, see Verbeek, *Oudheden*, pp. 164 ff., 191. Among later contributions, one is referred to *BKI*, 75 (1919), pp. 14–19 ; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 165-166.

TEXT

1. yata utpannaṃ viśvaṃ yatra ca jātam vilīnam api yatra
2. tasmai namo bhagavate śivāya [1] śivakāriṇe tubhyaṃ ||
3. pathagāpi dūraduritā śūnyāpi hitapradānimiṣapūrṇṇā
4. śiwira vṛtāpyatipūtā [2] śilā [3] yato janmibhiḥ pūjyā ||
5. yāvat khe raviśaśinau yāvad dhatri [4] catussamudravṛtā
6. yāvaddaśadiśi [5] vāyus tāvad bhaktir walaing nāmnaḥ ||
7. swasti śakawarṣātīta 785 māgha māsa śuklapakṣa
8. tṛtīya [6] somawāra tatkāla rake walaing pu kumbhayo
9. ni puyut. sang ratu i halu pakwiannira i [7] jangluran. ma
10. weḥ sawaḥ i wukiran. tampaḥ aliḥ i tamwā hurang ngaran ni
11. kanang sawaḥ dmak carua [8] sang hyang wināya uwang sang pamgat.
12. meḥhakan. ikanang sawaḥ sang tuha kalang pu nista gusti
13. si unggaḥ winkas. si manikṣa parujar. kāliḥ si ara si
14. manggaḥ tunggu kuwu si wsi wahuta si mitra sang tanguṇḍaha
15. ni inajar. raken mapatiḥ kālih wadihati makudur. ti
16. ruan. asing muput. iking sīma upadrawā brahmahatya [9]
17. vihite kalaśajanāmnā bhadrālokāhvaye vivudhage
18. he, tasyātha putrapotrāḥ [10] bhavantu labdheṣṭapadajīvāḥ || anya
19. cca || jagatāṃ śivamastu [11] sadā, bho dvija rājñāṃ tathā śivaratānāṃ.
20. śrutibhaktidānadharmmā bhavantu nārātirogerṣyāḥ ||
21. tunggang dawĕt langka sĕrĕḥ wulakanni walā walaing lo
22. dwāng wanwanirang dhīmān. kumbhayoni ngarannira

TRANSLATION

1. Wherefrom all originated and wherein (all) are born, wherein (all) merge again,[12]

---

[1] Cohen Stuart's ciwā° appears to be due to a printing mistake.

[2] Cohen Stuart's ciwira° and Poerbatjaraka's śiwara° appear to be due to printing mistakes.

[3] In *KO*, XXIII : 4, this is misprinted as cita.

[4] Read : dhātrī.

[5] °dici is a misprint in Cohen Stuart's edition.

[6] Read : °yā.

[7] °kḍi° ? [Cohen Stuart].

[8] This is an ingenious reading of Dr. Poerbatjaraka.

[9] The correct Sanskrit form is : °tyā.

[10] The Sanskrit form is °pautrāḥ, but in Old-Jav. *au* is sometimes received by *o*.

[11] °ciwa is a misprint in Cohen Stuart's edition.

[12] Poerbatjaraka remarks (*Agastya*, p. 46) that here *Trimūrtti* is represented in one person.

2. to Thee they pray, to Śiva, the Lord, to you, the doer of good.
3. Though it is placed on the way, (this) stone keeps off the wicked far from itself ; though empty, it is full of bliss-bestowing wakefulness ;[1]
4. though surrounded by *śivira*,[2] (this) stone is extremely sacred ; this is He (who is) to be worshipped by mortals.[3]
5. As long as the Sun and the Moon endure in the sky, as long as the earth is surrounded by the four oceans,
6. as long as the wind (pervades) the ten quarters, so long shall endure the devotion of him whose name is Walaing.[4]
7. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 785, the month of Māgha, third day of the bright half of the month,
8. Monday. At that time, the *raka* of Walaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni[5]

---

[1] Kern translates the phrase by 'full of celestial beings'.

[2] *Śivira* usually means 'camp, tent'. The sense is not applicable here unless we postulate that the stone was placed in a tent (as against brick-temples) and was, therefore, exposed to the untouchables. Is it possible, after all, that *śivira* is a copyist's mistake for *śavera*, a class of hunters who are deemed untouchables in Hindu legal systems ? For the remarks of Kern, see *VG*, VI, pp. 281-82.

[3] Poerbatjaraka's emendation of *atipūtā śilā* into *atipūtāśilā* is unacceptable. Firstly, it cannot be *bahuvrīhi*, such as Poerbatjaraka thinks ; secondly, the suggested emendation violates the metre ; thirdly, when *śilā* itself is mentioned, the introduction of Durgā is unnecessary.

[4] Kern translates (*op. cit.*, p. 281) the verse as, '. . . . so long they honour him whose name is Walaing'. The use of genitive in nāmnaḥ makes me doubtful of Kern's translation. I consider the text to run as : ' . . . *tāwad walaing-namnaḥ* (*janasya*) *bhaktiḥ* (*varddhayeta*).' This *walaing* refers to the *raka* of Walaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni.

[5] This appears to be the name of a person. At any rate, Agastya-Kumbhayoni is not intended here. This view appears reasonable from the following considerations :

(*a*) *Pu* Kumbhayoni is called here 'the great grandson of the king of Halu'. The same epithet will never be applicable to Agastya.

(*b*) It is difficult to understand why, among all Javanese inscriptions, in this instance only we shall find a deity as the donor of *sawah*-s. Dr. Poerbatjaraka has offered not a very happy explanation for this phenomenon.

(*c*) Excepting accidental similarity of names there is nothing to prove that the great seer is aimed here.

(*d*) If Agastya was intended, we should have expected the use of the honorific *sang* or *sang hyang* instead of *Pu*, as they are more appropriate than *pu*.

Dr. Bosch, while rightly criticizing Poerbatjaraka in *TBG*, 67, pp. 471-472, has fallen back on his well-known theory (*TBG*, 64, pp. 236ff.) to explain Agastya-problems raised by this inscription. It would have been better if the process was reversed.

In this connexion see Krom in *BKI*, 75, p. 14ff., *Geschiedenis*, p. 166.

9. the great grandson[1] of the king of Halu, with his wife (?) from Jangluran,[2]
10. offered the *sawah*-field at Wukiran (measuring) two *tampah*-s. Ṭamwā hurang is the name of
11. the *sawah* (and this) gift has to be used for *caru*-offering by the Rev. teacher Wināya (or, the Rev. teacher of Discipline). *Sang Pamgat*
12. gave away the *sawah*-field (in the presence of) *Sang-tuha kalang*[3] (viz.) *Pu* Nista, the *gusti* (viz.)
13. *Si* Unggah, the *winkas* (viz.) *Si* Manikṣa, both the *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Ara (and) *Si*
14. Manggah, the *tunggū kuwu*[4] (viz.) *Si* Wsi, the *wahuta* (viz.) *Si* Mitra. As pronouncers
15. of curse (were present) both the *raken*[5] *mapatih*-s, the *wadihati*, the *makudur* (and) the *ti-*
16. *ruan.* (The curse is): who violates this free-hold may experience the punishment (that accrues) from the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.
17. After the god-house called Bhadrāloka[6] was founded by the one named Kalaśaja,[7]
18. may his[8] sons and grandsons (i.e., descendants) also obtain therein an abode and life-subsistence according to desire. Moreover—
19. Always it may go well with the people, O Brāhmaṇa, as also with the kings and those who are engaged in doing good (or, who are devoted to Śiva) !

---

[1] According to Poerbatjaraka, 'the great grandfather'. Bosch (*TBG*, 67, pp. 470-71) translates : 'Kumbhayoni, highly honoured by the king of Halu . . .'

[2] The translation of this clause is provisional. Jangluran may be the name of a place. *Cf.* Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, p. 215. Dr. Poerbatjaraka's translation, viz., ' . . . whose (Kumbhayoni's) mother's bosom is the urine-pot . . .' is awkward.

[3] Lit. the older of the *kalang*-s.

[4] The watchman of the village.

[5] *Raken mapatih* is rather unusual. We generally find *rake mapatih.*

[6] This may refer to the house of (Bhadresvara-)linga, as this stone is described in the opening Sanskrit strophes to be placed on the way, thus in an unguarded place.

[7] As Kalasaja=Kumbhayoni, the former refers to the *raka* of Walaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni, and not to the seer Agastya. The writer has used here merely a synonym to indicate *Pu* Kumbhayoni. This becomes more clear by the import of the following line.

[8] 'His' undoubtedly refers to Kalasaja (=*Pu* Kumbhayoni). If so, 'sons and grandsons' necessarily refers to those of (*Pu*) Kalasaja=*Pu* Kumbhayoni. It would indeed be disconcerting to find the seer Agastya founding a temple in 785 Śaka, where his 'sons and grandsons' (! !) will obtain life-subsistence.

20. May learning, devotion, charity, virtue be (here), not enemy, disease (and) jealousy !
21. Tunggang, Dawet, Langka, Sĕrĕh, the waterfall of Wala, Walaing,[1] Lo-
22. dwāng are the *desa*-s of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.

THE DAMIḶAS

Thanks to the labours of Kanakasabhai Pillai, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Lorenzo, Barnett, Slater, Dubreuil, Dikshitar, Saletore and others, for their valuable investigations into the South Indian history. Here we have attempted for the first time to furnish an account of the Damiḷas as far as can be gathered from Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhist texts. The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful South Indian tribe. The word 'Dravidian' comes from an ethnic name 'Draviḍa' or 'Dramiḍa' or 'Damiḷa'. The Damiḷas were a warlike people. They had two settlements on both sides of the Ganges as it is apparent from the Pāli chronicles. It is interesting to note that a Vinaya Commentary called Vimativinodanī was written by Kassapa Thera who was an inhabitant of the kingdom of Damiḷa.[2] The Damiḷas were disrespectful to the Buddhist thūpas.[3]

The island of Laṅkā was troubled very much by the Damiḷas who became very turbulent. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a powerful king of Ceylon, fought with them,[4] killed[5] many of them and afterwards brought them under control.[6] He decided to drive them out of the island of Laṅkā. He marched with a mighty army against them and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them.[7] He conquered them once again on the other side of the Ganges and stayed for 4 months in the city called Mahāgāmani.[8] Another powerful king of

---

[1] It is probable that the title *raka* of Walaing, i.e., lord of Walaing is derived from the name of this place. It might have been the residential place of Kumbhayoni. Over Walaing, see also Krom, *BKI*, 75, p. 16 ; also *OV*, 1923, p. 34.

[2] Sāsanavaṃsa, 33.

[3] Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā, p. 447.

[4] Ibid., p. 24.

[5] Ibid., p. 489.

[6] Ibid., pp. 100, 437.

[7] Cf. Thūpavaṃsa, *vide* my History of Pāli Literature, p. 577.

[8] Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā, p. 476.

Ceylon, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, after defeating 32 Damiḷa kings and having obtained coronation at Anurādhapura did not sleep for a month on account of great delight.[1] He who himself was a great warrior, accompanied by ten great heroes, fought with the Damiḷa king named Eḷāra and became victorious.[2] He again defeated the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built the golden cetiya and worshipped it.[3] He fought with them and captured a Damiḷa named Catta besides many other Damiḷas, e.g., Mahākoṭṭha, Gavara, Tāla, Bhanaka and Gāmaṇi. Many Damiḷas were also killed by Veḷusumanano.[4] Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became the undisputed ruler of Ceylon after defeating the thirty Damiḷa kings and freed the island from foreign domination.[5] King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa also fought with the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built a golden thūpa.[6] In order to put a check on the Damiḷas he kept guards at the fords of the Mahāgaṅgā.[7] It so happened that once the Damiḷas escaped death by taking shelter in a city called Vijitanagara.[8] The Damiḷas had a fight with Veḷusumana but they were slain in large number.[9] A Damiḷa named Giriya was killed in a fight.[10] The Damiḷas then entered the city conquered by Tissa and fought with the frontier king of Koḷambālaka. King Paṇḍukābhaya promised to get back his lost kingdom by destroying the Damiḷas.[11] Anurādhapura was for sometime under the rule of some Damiḷas.[12] A Damiḷa named Pulahattha ruled this city for three years and appointed a Damiḷa named Bāhiya as his Commander.[13] A Damiḷa named Dāṭhika was killed and lost his sovereignty at Anurādhapura.[14] Having conquered Suratissa, the two Damiḷas, Sena and Gutta, ruled the island of Laṅkā for 22 years.[15] Abhaya, son of Siddhātissa, killed a Damiḷa named Sāṭhika.[16] The island of Laṅkā was ruled by five Damiḷa kings for 14 years and 7 months, Vaṭṭhagāmaṇi after killing Damiḷa Dāṭhika[17] and Damiḷa Paṇḍu, after killing Mittasena.[18] We further notice that two Damiḷas named Pithiya and Rājamittaka were killed in a fight.[19] The Damiḷas were again killed by Māna.[20] They were defeated and slain by Kulasekhara.[21] The stronghold, Semponmāri, was conquered after defeating the Damiḷas.[1] A Damiḷa general named Āriyacakkavattī was a dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom of Ceylon, entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri, seized all the sacred treasures including the sacred tooth-relic and returned with them to Paṇḍu kingdom.[2]

---

[1] Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 640.

[2] Mahābodhivaṃsa, p. 133.

[3] Thūpavaṃsa, p. 59.

[4] Ibid., p. 60.

[5] Ibid., p. 63.

[6] Ibid., p. 58.

[7] Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 448.

[8] Ibid., p. 475.

[9] Ibid., p. 475.

[10] Ibid., p. 479.

[11] Ibid., p. 614.

[12] Ibid., p. 616.

[13] Mahāvaṃsa Commentary, p. 617.

[14] Mahāvaṃsa, Chapter XXXIII.

[15] Dīpavaṃsa, p. 99.

[16] Ibid., p. 91.

[17] Ibid., p. 103.

[18] Cūḷavaṃsa, p. 22.

[19] Ibid., pp. 24, 61.

[20] Ibid., p. 71.

[21] Ibid., p. 78.

Anulā who was enamoured of Damiḷa Vaṭuka killed Siva with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka who made Anulā his queen. Anulā afterwards killed Vaṭuka when she fell in love with a woodcutter named Tissa. She again fell in love with a Damiḷa named Niliya, killed the woodcutter and gave the sovereignty to Niliya who was also killed by her.[3]

A careful study of the Buddhist texts shows that the Damiḷas were a fighting people always engaged in constant strifes with the Ceylonese. They are described as anāriyā or uncultured. 'Might is right' was their policy which they rigidly followed with the result that they were defeated and mercilessly massacred in almost all their battles with the Sinhalese as we read in the Mahāvaṃsa Commentary[4] that the Damiḷas were killed in so large a number that the water of a tank became red on account of a profuse flow of Damiḷa blood. They are said to have used red-hot iron balls and molten pitch against their enemies.[5]

The literary tradition of Ceylon does not clearly say as to who these Damiḷa invaders were or from which part of India they came over to Ceylon. It is only in connection with a particular Damiḷa General, we are told, that he returned with all booties to the Paṇḍu country, the land of the Pāṇḍyas in the south. If anything substantial can really be built on this meagre fact, it would be that the Damiḷas who made excursions into the island of Laṅkā from time to time belonged to Paṇḍya which occupied the southernmost part of India opposite to Ceylon. The said tradition keeps us entirely in the dark as to whether those Damiḷas were sent with expeditions by the king of Paṇḍu or they were a race of marauders who undertook those expeditions on their own initiative. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa distinguish the Damiḷas from the Yavanas and Kirātas on one hand and from the Andhras on the other. The relation between the Damiḷa country and Ceylon was not always inimical. The account of Vijaya distinctly brings out that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the ruler of Laṅkā and that of Pāṇḍya. It is also mentioned that there was a very early settlement in Ceylon of skilled craftsmen and families of the eighteen guilds all from Pāṇḍya.[1] There existed similarly a close cultural relationship and constant intercourse between south India and Ceylon; the notable centres of Buddhist learning mentioned in Pāli works being Kāveripaṭṭana, Madhurā and Kāñcipura.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 85.

[2] Ibid., p. 204.

[3] Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 626.

[4] p. 482.

[5] Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 477.

B. C. LAW.

A NOTE ON THE WORD 'AYAKA KHAMBHAS'

Dr. Vogel states at page 2 of *Epi. Ind.* XX, that the Ayaka Khambhas had no structural function. They are utilized for the purposes of sculpturing in low relief, well-known Buddhist emblems, and for carving dedicatory inscriptions. He further states that the Ayaka Khambha is a technical term by which such pillars were known. In the glossary given at the end of his article he gives the words *Ayaka* and *Ayikā*, and states that they are equal to *Ayyaka* and *Ayyikā*, and that their Sanskrit forms are, respectively, *Āryaka* and *Āryikā*. Beyond this, he states nowhere in his article, what the exact meaning is. In a footnote given on page 2 he states "The word *Ayaka* occurs also in the compounds *Dakhin-Āyaka* (Burgess, Amarabati, etc., page 86, plate LX, No. 47) and *Uttarayaka*, (ibid., page 93) which have been rendered the South Entrance and the North gate". It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word "gate" is rendered by the word *Dara* (Skt. Dvara). Most probably the word Ayaka indicates that part of the monument where the Ayaka Khambhas were placed. We also find that almost all the scholars who have dealt with the language of the inscriptions have found it difficult to indicate the exact meaning of the word *Ayaka*. The meaning of the word Khambha is clear. It means only a pillar. Then what is the meaning of the word *Ayaka*? Much confusion is arisen, by thinking that this word *Ayika* is the *prakrit form* of the Sanskrit word *Aryaka*. The real clue to the meaning of the word does not lie there. The last letter of the word *Ayaka*, is only a pratyaya. The word *Arya* is formed by A+I=to go, and means approach or arrival, and we find this root in the Veda, in the indeclinable form of *Ayat* or *Ayin*, which means coming or approaching near. Then the Ayaka means approach or entrance, or gate, and when compounded with the word Khambha, it means a pillar erected near the gate.

---

[1] Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. 7.

In the Pali Dictionary of Rhys Davids and Stede, the meaning of the word Ayaka is clearly given as 'AYA (Skt. Aya: A+I) Coming in, entrance. M. III–93. Ayamukha means entrance or *Agamana magga*.'

It is evident that near the gate, there used to be four gates exactly at the cardinal points round a Stupa, in the railing. The Sanchi Stupa had four such gates. All the Southern Chaityas, including the famous Amaravati Stupa, had such gates. But the setting up of five pillars over the balcony protruding on to the procession path, was a special feature of the Andhra Stupas. The North Indian Stupas had neither such a balcony nor such a set of five pillars over it. That this word Ayaka was in current use during those days as meaning an entrance or gate is clear from the words quoted above *Uttarayaka* and *Dakshinayaka*. Thus the word can only mean northern gate and southern gate. Dr. Vogel is not correct in thinking that the rendering of the word gate can only be 'Dwara' and nothing else. It is also clear that this compound Ayaka Khambha had not any technical meaning in the beginning, for, we find another synonym *Chetiya Khambha* in the inscriptions found in the Amaravati Stupa. (See Burgess, Amaravati, etc., plate 45, 1–4.) In later times it is evident from the inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunakonda, that these pillars were known generally as Ayaka pillars or pillars set up over the entrance. They were five in number and probably represented either the Pancha Nikayas or the five signs indicative of Buddhism.

VADDADI APPARAO.

REVIEWS

THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATURE IN ART. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetta, 1934.

Mr. Coomaraswamy's contributions in the domain of art are well known. In the present treatise, a collection of seven essays, the author has brought together, from the wide field of Sanskrit and Pali literature as well as from other sources, a vast amount of material in order to present his views regarding Asiatic art in general and Indian art in particular. The book opens with a statement of eastern æsthetic theory based mainly on Indian and Chinese sources, and offers, in the first chapter, a basis for a general theory of art co-ordinating oriental and occidental points of view. We have next a presentation of Meister Eckhart's view of art which has points of affinity with Indian modes of thought. The parallelism leads the author to conclude that there was a time when the East and the West could and actually did understand each other very well. We have next a collection, mainly from non-technical literature, of extracts and passages in which the reaction of the general public to works of art is reported, ' partly as a contribution to the vocabulary of criticism, but more with a view of showing how the art was actually regarded by those for whom it was made '. A genuine appreciation of Indian art requires, according to our author, the qualities of the *Pandita*, the *bhakta*, the *rasika*, the *āchārya*, and the *alpa-buddhijana*, that is to say, the man of learning, the man of faith, the connoisseur, the master of technique and the simple folk. The author gives us next his own interpretation of several verses of the *Śukranītisāra*, dealing with the making of images, and emphasizes the view that Indian art aims at something quite other than the copying of Nature. Indian *āchāryas*, in his opinion, propounded a purely scholastic theory and hieratic conception of what is lovely or beautiful, and nowhere admits the validity of individual taste. The penultimate chapters are devoted to a discussion of certain technical expressions like *Parokṣa* and *Ābhāsa*. The concluding chapter is a dissertation on the origin and use of images in India. Copious notes and a useful bibliography have been appended to the text. An interesting feature of the work is the addition of a Sanskrit glossary and of a list of Chinese characters. Though one may not agree with all that the author says about Indian æsthetic theory the book is a valuable addition to the literature on art. Unfortunately it contains a few misprints, e.g., *ffattening* for flattening (p. 150) and *an* for in (p. 157, line 2).

GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.

A MANUAL OF HINDU ASTROLOGY (Correct casting of horoscopes) : By B. V. Raman, M.D. (Hom.), with a foreword by Suryonarain Rao, B.A., and a short introduction by Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastrilu, Ph.D. Pp. 123. Price Rs. 4.

It is a small treatise on Astronimico-Astrology of elementary nature intended to assist the student in his calculations in correctly casting horoscopes. It consists of 12 chapters beginning with definitions of the Zodiac, the Ecleptic etc. and ending with a chapter on ' The Shodasavargas ' written in a very simple non-technical language and as such is expected to be useful to the beginner.

The exposition of difficult subjects such as Graha sphuṭa, Bhaba sphuṭa, Lagna sphuṭa is very clear and direct. The discussion on casting the horoscope according to the English and Hindu Methods is very intelligent. Small notes on Varga, Rasi, Drekkan, etc., have been provided. A list of latitudes and longitudes and an Index of technical terms used finish the book. These are all very useful. But the most important part of the book is the author's introduction. This is a direct valuable contribution to Hindu Astrology. In my review of Dr. Role's Book on 'Viṃshottari Dasā' in *Indian Culture* (vol. II, p. 375), I remarked that the explanation as to how the ancients without the aid of any telescopes or other artificial aids could read the motions and other particulars of Heavenly bodies with precision and arrange them in orders as found in the 'Dasha systems' lay in the fact that they got informations through 'Yoga' in a revealed form. I am glad to see that the present author has supported my theory. The plane of observation employed by them was certainly quite different from the modern scientists. The art of Yoga was peculiar to them. Not being satisfied with the nature of phenomena revealed by glasses and other material objects, they dived deep into the unfathomable depths of Yoga by means of which they were able to see things in their reality, face to face. The first sūtra in the Grahanirṇaya Bakaraṇa of the Bhowtika sūtras in 'Darpanemithya Vadaha' means that objects at a distance viewed through glasses always present forms which really do not represent their true state or nature. This clearly suggests, that to get at truth so far as the celestial and distant objects are concerned, we must view them by something other than glasses as there are many media between them and the earth, whose refracting and dispersing powers we do not know much about. Thus they had the gift of Yoga, the fragments of which we see even unto this day, which helped them to a great extent in their expeditions in unveiling the mysteries surrounding the phenomenon of the celestial bodies. We fully agree with him, nay we go further and say that the two great demons that stand between us and real knowledge or truth are Time and Space. The Ancient Maharsis by a process of Yoga managed to annihilate them and came face to face with Truth; that is why they were named 'Trikaladarshi'. This applies not only to Astrology but to every branch of human knowledge studied by them. We are glad that the author has approached the subject with a reverence that it thoroughly deserves.

P. C. RAY.

PREHISTORIC ANCIENT AND HINDU INDIA. By R. D. Banerji, M.A., late Manindra Chandra Nundy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, etc. Blackie and Son (India) Limited, 1934, pp. xvi+319 + Index.

This posthumous publication which is intended for young students of Indian colleges, is the work of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji. A perusal of this book gives ample proof to his successfully performing the different task of marshalling most, though not all, of the relevant facts and figures of the ancient and early mediæval periods of Indian History.

This work contains some of his favourite theories. Thus we find, Samudragupta 'had an elder brother, named Kâcha' (p. 162); Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta is the Chandravarman, who 'was the King of Pushkaraṇâ, probably modern Pokaran in the Jodhpur State' and who 'invaded Western Bengal and left a record of his conquest there on the Susunia Hill in the Bankura District' (p. 164); Śaśâṅka 'was defeated (by Harṣavardhana) and expelled from North-eastern India' (p. 195); 'After his defeat in Bengal, Śaśâṅka allied himself with the Châlukya King Pulikeśin II of Badami, who defeated Harsha on the eastern coast sometime before 634 (pp. 201 and 196);

'At this juncture Chakrâyudha and Dharmapâla appealed to Govinda III, and the latter invaded Northern India' (pp. 214 and 260); 'In the north he (Kokalla) helped Bhoja II . . . ' (p. 252); Vallālasena 'died in 1118-9' A.D. (p. 267), and so on. There are some other remarks in the book for which the author is responsible. As for example, 'The Hindus of India now think that Rishis were not actual composers of these verses' of the Vedas (p. 40), that 'Like all other kings who abandoned statecraft for religion, Aśoka paved the way for the conquest of India by foreigners' (p. 92), that 'The new King (Chandragupta I) was a Hindu and a Vaishnava, and the struggle between the people of Magadha and the Scythian kings was one between the followers of Hinduism and Buddhism' (p. 160), that 'The original seat of the Pâlas was in Magadha or South Bihar' (p. 260), and that Bhojavarman 'was driven out from Vikramapura by Vijayasena.'

This book covers the period of the sixth century B.C. It is a pity that regarding some important tribes and republican States of Buddhist and post-Buddhist ages his information is poor and not at all up-to-date. Author's omission of dates, precise or probable, in respect of some of the most celebrated figures of Indian History, particularly of the Buddha and Samudragupta, is such as is bound to be patent to every eye. His representing the predecessor of Vâsishka as 'Kaṇishka I', without, however, admitting the existence of a Second Kaṇiṣka (as on the evidence of the Ara inscription of the year 41) is a curiosity.

The book is neatly printed. It contains many illustrations and a good index. All these inaccuracies should be recovered in the second edition of this book.

N. N. DAS GUPTA.

A TRIENNIAL CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS collected during the Triennium 1925-26 to 1927-28 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras. Prepared under the orders of the Government of Madras. Volume VI.—Part I. Sanskrit. Price 10 rupees.

The Madras Oriental MSS. Library is perhaps the only library of its kind that possesses an up-to-date descriptive catalogue of its collection of MSS. The existing catalogue are supplemented every three years by fresh catalogues describing the MSS. acquired during the period.

Twenty-six volumes of Descriptive Catalogue—one or more dealing with works of a particular subject—have been published in which 15,000 MSS. have been described. MSS. obtained since 1910-11 have been treated in periodical Triennial Catalogues of which six volumes have so far been published. In a short introduction the learned compiler has drawn attention to a small number of important and valuable MSS. described in the volume. A number of Smṛti and Tantra digests of Bengal (e.g., *Dāyakramasaṃgraha*, *Puraścaraṇdīpikā*, *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi*, etc.) are preserved in the library.

As in other volumes of the Series there are in the present volume a number of valuable and elaborate indexes making it thoroughly useful. Symbols affixed to the names of works in the Subject Index indicating as to whether copies of MSS. of them are known and described are of very great use in ascertaining at a glance the value of a particular MS. A systematic reference to printed editions, if any, and to descriptions and important notices, as the case may be, of the works concerned would have been all the more welcome. It is to be regretted that occasional inaccuracies are noticed in the use of these symbols. Thus copies of the MSS. of *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi*, *Tantrarājavyākhyā* and *Prapañcasāravivaraṇa* though marked with C.C. indicating thereby that no copies of the works are noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* are actually found to have been noticed there. *Vādakutūhala*, *Siddhāntaratnāvalī* and *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* MSS. of which have already been described in earlier portions of the Catalogue of the Library or elsewhere have been marked D.C. implying that the works have not appeared in any Descriptive Catalogue. *Padārthadīpikāvyākhyā* and *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* have been marked with a T to indicate that there are not more than three copies each of the works in the Library. But as no reference to any other MS. of the works has been given it seems that the proper symbol would have been L which implies that there are no copies in the Library.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

COLLECTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF LOST BRĀHMAṆAS,

by Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil. (München), Dr. ès Lettres (Paris). Calcutta: Modern Publishing Syndicate, 1935, pp. vii+114. Rs. 6.

Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh has carried out a very laborious and useful task in collecting from a very wide range of literature references to passages of lost Brāhmana texts, and in presenting them with full reference to parallel passages, and where necessary with notes and translations. The work will be of great use to all who are interested in the Brāhmana literature. It has involved much research and it enables the author to show his familiarity with a large number of texts. It is perhaps disappointing that more is not discoverable of the texts cited: something has been gleaned from the recently discovered commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhava on the *Ṛgveda*, and a few passages have been given from the partly published *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. It is regrettable that further manuscript material bearing on that text is not available, so corrupt is that actually preserved.

The difficulty of these texts explains certain slips in the translation which it may be worth while to correct, as a new edition or a supplement will doubtless be called for in course of time. In the case of the *Jaiminīya* passage (p. 94) the MS. is right when it reads *parācībhiḥ punar abhyāvartam*. The position is this; in the Gāyatra-sāman there are used nine verses, and therefore there is no repetition, *parācībhir apunarabhyāvartam*. In the other cases three verses are used and repeated; hence the MS. correctly says 'repeating those which are past'. *parācībhiḥ* does not mean 'those which go away forgood', but merely 'those which are past'. *satīḥ* in *tisraḥ satīḥ pañcadaśa karoti* is misunderstood; there is no question of it meaning 'verse' or 'Wesenheit'. It is simply 'those which are three he makes into fifteen'; the usage is not rare in the Brāhmaṇas. In the translation of the last sentence *ātmana* does not mean 'himself' but refers to the 'trunk' of the Mahāvrata laud, and *ātmanaḥ* is ablative and must be construed with *ud . . śete*, as the source whence *idam*, i.e. *sarvam*, proceeds. In the *Jaiminiya* passage (p. 87) the words *yad dīkṣita eva tāvad āsīta* cannot mean 'if the sacrificer had been consecrated'. The sense is clear: they are to search for the stolen Soma, which has been taken away before purchase, even if they have to run to the mountain, and the consecrated sacrificer must wait until they obtain it. The reading *yad* is probably corrupt, but the sense cannot be doubted. In the next sentence *yena* is adjectival to *pūrvakrayeṇa*, not independent. Again *asureṣu vā idam agra āsīt* does not mean 'All this (to be sure) formerly belonged to the Asuras'. It deals with the Soma, and simply says that it formerly was with them, and later was won by the Gods. The meaning of *eva* is missed in *ūtim evāsmai vindanti*; it denotes: (they use the *ūtīka* plants); help they confer on him. In Fragment XIX, line 5, *dadhaty* is an error for *dadhaty*, as proved by the MS. and the parallel JB. iii, 16. In note II (p. 77) on Fragment XXXIV the author overlooks the fact that there is no question of sons and fathers; the son is singular, necessarily because the parallel is with the sun (*putraḥ*) and the six seasons (*pitṛn*); the contrast is a son and his ancestors. On p. 83 *virājā eva* is printed and is translated as an instrumental: this is clearly impossible, and *virāja* as nominative will do. The point of the sentence *īśvarā ha tv anyasmai* is missed; it gives a reason for not using the *mūrdhanvati* verses, and *anyasmai* probably can be explained as denoting another than the performers; *mūrdhānnādyam* then is a compound, and presumably is to be rendered as equivalent to *mukhyānnādyam*, thus making good sense. In Fragment IV, line 3, *tenāsūyata* cannot mean 'praised by means of it'. Either the reading is a slip, or it denotes 'therewith was he consecrated'. Below *triṇidhanam savanānāṁ klptyai* is not 'for the success of the three pressings', but simply means that the Sāman in question has three Nidhanas and so, as it were, makes up the three pressings. In the note (p. 17) on *abhavat* the author seems to go too far in finding the text a difficulty; it is not difficult whether with *kva* or *yatra* to understand the idiom; *kva bhavati* means 'Where is he'; *kva nu Dadhyaṅṅ abhavat* expresses well 'where has he come to be?', as it is uttered by one who notes his absence from his former place. The aorist no doubt would be better, but the exact use is losing force in the later Brāhmaṇas, and this particular passage in *anvaiṣiṣuḥ* below contains an aorist of pure narrative, always a sign of later style. The interesting *prakāśe 'dhārayan* of the *Śāṭyāyana* with *ha sma* must be accepted (pp. 15, 18) as wrong, for apart from the unusual character of the imperfect, the plural will not do; it is a good case of the scribe following the number and tense of an earlier passage. There is a curious crux just before, *Saryaṇāvad dha nāma Kurukṣetrasya jaghanārdhe saraskaṁ tad etad anuvidyājahrus* is the reading of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* MS., which Certel emends by the simple omission of the syllable *kam*. On RV. i, 84, 14 *Sāyaṇa* gives a paraphrase of the Śāṭyāyanas' account which has *rarah syandate* and Veṅkaṭamādhava gives a text, the MSS. reading *dharaskandate*. The editor reads *saraḥ skandate*, but very properly points out that the middle does not elsewhere occur. To this we must add that the word *Skandate* in any case is not wanted, and is pointless. We have also in JB. ii, 298, the corrupt *saraskandantam dīkṣāyai* to be dealt with. The evidence seems to point clearly to an original *saraskam*, that is *saras* with the *-ka* affix perhaps deliberately in the sense 'little lake'. At any rate there is very little possibility that *skandate* or *syandate* is in place.

Fragment VIII raises an interesting point. In the accordant versions of the *Jaiminīya* and the *Śaṭyāyana* we are told how thirst fell on the Āptyas in the woodland or wild (*araṇye*). Then it is said; *te dhanvan kūpam avindan*, which Oertel translated as if *dhanvan* were '*dhanvan*. Sāyaṇa paraphrases the Śāṭyāyana version and gives *marubhūmāv araṇye*. Is this the real sense of *dhanvan*? Or did Sāyaṇa misunderstand the text? The point of course is that *dhanvan* and *araṇye* do not very naturally go together.

There are many points of linguistic usage on which the author has useful comments, and no student of the Brāhmaṇa literature should fail to make use of this valuable addition to our knowledge.

A. Berriedale Keith.

KARNĀṬAKA VĪRA KṢATIRYARU (*athavā Haṭṭikāraru*, given inside but not on the cover). *Rg. Vedadadina Kannaḍara kathe.* A new approach to the Dravidian problem. By S. B. Joshi, pp. iv+178. Dharwar, 1936. Price Re. 1. Paper cover.

In this little book Mr. Joshi has dealt with a new subject, and one that may prove to be of growing interest, especially to the people of the Karnāṭaka. The main theme of the book is the origin and spread of the Karnāṭaka nomadic people—*the Haṭṭi-Kāraru*—, whom the author identifies with the Pattis mentioned in the Rg. Veda (p. 39). They spread from their home in the Indus basin in the direction of Mathurā, Dvārkā, Vidarbha, and thence onwards to the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Vidarbha was essentially the land of the Haṭṭi people (p. 74 *seq.*). In regard to the intermingling of the ancient Karnāṭaka Haṭṭikāras and the Aryans, the author has some pertinent remarks to make, especially in connection with the beginnings of Mahārāṣṭra (p. 114 *seq.*). The cream of the Karnāṭāka people were the Haṭṭikāras, from whom descended the pāḷeyagāṛas, the Deśāyis, and the Gauḍas of the later times (pp. 122–219). Mr. Joshi has with characteristic boldness some observations to make concerning the history of the cotton plant and the Karnāṭaka people who spread its culture in and outside India (p. 148 *seq.*). A modest but useful bibliography and a dynastic table showing the relationship between the original Haṭṭikāras and the later royal families, bring this very suggestive little book to a close.

We heartily endorse Mr. Joshi's contention that the martial greatness of Karnāṭaka is to be attributed to the Gauḍas and the other humbler sections of the people, whose brave deeds have been so graphically sung in epigraphs ranging from about the sixth century A.D. down to the end of the Vijayanagara times. There is another point on which there cannot be any difference of opinion, *viz.*, that the Karnāṭaka people were addicted to trans-oceanic activities about which unfortunately so little is written by modern scholars.

Whether it is always safe to base one's remarks on the outward similarity of names, *e.g.*, *cūla* and *cōli*, p. 21, *Kalva* and *Kuruba*, p. 22, etc. is a point which one would do well to consider before arriving at any conclusion. But it must be confessed that the writer himself admits the tentative nature of his statements. We have no hesitation in saying that in this, as in his previous ventures, Mr. Joshi has laid the Karnāṭaka world under a debt of gratitude by his useful and delightful study of the origin and spread of the Karnāṭaka people.

B. A. SALETORE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT—ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1109 M.E. By R. Vasudeva Poduval, pp. 1–17 including two appendixes.

In this short but exceedingly interesting annual report of the Archæological Department of Travancore for the year 1109 M.E. (1933–34 A.D.) Mr. Poduval has related the archæological work of the State. In the section on exploration he has referred to the discovery of a prehistoric site at a place called *Pañjappaḷḷī Paṛambu* in the Cochin State. Here twenty burial urns have been dug out. Mention has been made of the discovery of a rock-cut temple of the eleventh century A.D. with excellent Brahmanical stone images in a valley three miles east of Marayūr and about thirty miles north of Devikulam in the High Ranges. Further he has discovered a number of dolmens belonging to the neolithic age. But the most interesting discovery was that of the paintings on the walls of the rock-cut cave temple at Tirunandikkara in south Travancore. The author has called these paintings as fresco paintings. In this connection it should be pointed out that the term 'fresco' has not always been used in the strict sense of the term in connection with Indian painting. Fresco painting is defined as 'a kind of painting executed in water-colour on a wall, ceiling, etc. of which the mortar or plaster is not quite dry, so that the colours sink in and become more durable'. (*The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. IV, p.* 535, 1933; see, in this connection, my remarks in *Indian Culture, Vol. II, p.* 825.) For this reason it is better to call this painting as wall painting unless it can be proved otherwise. Among these paintings special mention has been made of a very interesting painting which depicts *Śiva, Pārvatī* and a male figure. In the section on conservation the author has illustrated an old mural painting found on the *gopura* of the temple at Ellumanur in north Travancore. In it we find the representation of a sixteen handed *Śiva.* It is worth noting that such a variety of *Śiva* is rarely found even in stone-sculpture. If we compare the iconographical peculiarities of this image of *Śiva* with those of the *nṛtta-mūrti* of *Śiva* referred to in the *nāṭya-śāstras*, we find that this image closely resembles the sixth variety of the *nṛtta-mūrti* (Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 254–56, 1916). The author has not mentioned *chandrakalā* which is in one of the right hands of *Śiva.* In the section on research the author has informed us that the following works are being done by the Archæological Department of the State, viz. (1) the preparation of the diagrams of *mudrās* (hand-poses) made in course of the *sāman* chants in Kerala, and (2) the publication of a highly interesting work on histrionics and dramaturgy called *Bālarāmabharatam.* We have no doubt that Mr. Poduval's work is of great interest and he is at present engaged in the study of the mural paintings in the *Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī* temple in Trivandrum. These paintings are highly interesting and it is sincerely hoped that the Travancore Durbar will ere long bring out a volume illustrating them all. We congratulate Mr. Poduval on putting in new life and vigour into the multifarious archæological activities of the Travancore State.

Charu Chandra Das Gupta.

LES FORMATIONS NOMINALES ET VERBALES EN P DU SANSKRIT.

By Batakrishna Ghosh. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1933, pp. 115.

Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh has written an interesting and stimulating work on the *p* suffix in Sanskrit, analysing the nominal forms, and the verbals in *-paya* which are so characteristic of Sanskrit. In the nature of things he is busily concerned with obscure words and his excursions into the region of disputed etymologies are numerous and far from banal. Like all etymologists he is fertile in resource, and duly contemptuous of the errors of his predecessors. The only objection to this mode of procedure which occurs to the reader is the certainty that the next author who takes up the subject will be full of reasons to prove Dr. Batakrishna wrong. But progress in so debatable a field is possible only by trial and error, and the author is far too ingenious for it to be wise to ignore his suggestions.

His attack on the ambiguous *alpa* is interesting. He finds in it a suffix *-pa*, added to *al-*, which is found also in *aṇu.* That word is not to be referred to *lnu*, but to *alnu*, a thesis quite well supported. Now *aṇu* when first found in VS., XVIII, 12 denotes 'millet', and the explanation is that it is derived from the well-known root *al-*; by milling grain is reduced to a minute state, whence the regular use of adjectival *aṇu.* We now have a plausible explanation of *al-pa*, and we are encouraged to accept it by the facts regarding *kaṇa*, as compared with *kanīyas* and *kaniṣṭha*. The root here is *qen-*, seen in Greek *knên*, ‘ to grate ’, and reduplicated in Sanskrit *kiknasaḥ*. Whence comes the cerebral in *kaṇa*, Greek *kónis* ? The answer is suggested by *kaṇīyas*, found in the lexicographers ; for that may well be due to the analogy of *aṇīyas*. The suggestion is ingenious, but it is unlucky for it that *kaṇīyas* is so badly attested, for it seems hard to see how it infected *kaṇa*, unless it were in common use. The proof, therefore, is not complete, and the alternative suggestion of Persson which invokes (*s*)*qel-* and compares *kalā* may have something to say for it, despite the cogency of the analogy of Greek *kónis*. We may, of course, have to fall back simply on spontaneous cerebralization, but we cannot ignore the difficulty.

Rūpa and *varpas* the author wishes to separate, tracing the former to the root seen in *lū-*, ‘ cut ’, and the latter to the root *ver-* ‘ cut ’, whence we have Sanskrit *vraśc-*, *vraṇa*, ‘ wound ’. No doubt ingenuity would point out that ultimately *lū-* may be no more than the weak form corresponding to *var-pas*. But, while this is quite possible, we must remember there are alternatives, the well attested roots *ver-* and *verp-* (Greek *ráptō*), and the author himself admits the extreme difficulty of semantic arguments by his candid reminder (p. 34) that primitive mentality accepts strange associations of ideas quite opposed to our ordinary mode of thought. The truth is that, so amazing are the possibilities, supported by valid examples, of semantic change, that arguments based on semantics are of little weight.

An interesting attempt is made on the derivation of *śaṣpa*, based in part on the theory that in Vedic literature it denotes not grass but grain, perhaps ‘ rice ’. This is plausible, but very far from proved by the arguments adduced. Then it is brought into connection with *sasya* and *sasa* of the *Ṛgveda*, and the palatal *ś* explained by the frequent confusion of dental and palatal, and the cerebral by the analogy of *puṣpa*. Ingenious but very far from conclusive ; the fact that in later Sanskrit *śaṣpa* always means ‘ young grass ’ is a very serious stumbling block, and the explanation of the palatal and the cerebral sounds is speculative to an exaggerated degree. Charpentier’s etymology is doubtless wrong, but there is more to be said for Leo Meyer’s comparison of Greek *kóros*, Latin *Ceres*, and Old High German *hirso*.

The effort to find a common basis for *śilpa* and *śrī* (pp. 43–51) is more attractive ; the sense of harmonious mixture is not impossible, but it is far from certain. Of the other etymologies suggested or discussed there is little to be said, save that it would be interesting to know if Dravidian *mandam*, ‘ council meeting ” suggested by Gundert as the source of *maṇḍapa*, could not be derived thence, the place of meeting being used for the meeting itself.

The author’s treatment of *-paya-* causative or transitive verbs is interesting, but to some extent vitiated by an effort to negative as far as possible the causative sense ; no good reason for this exists once it is admitted as it must be that a causative use does exist at times. Hence he is at pains (p. 83) to assure us that in JUB., iii, 14, 12, *evaṁvidam udgāpayeta* we have only the appearance of a causative. What does this mean ? Psychologically it seems plain that the idea is what we call causative and that is what is in point. So in AV., iii, 20, 8 *aditsantaṁ dāpayatu* the verb must have been felt as causative, just as in TS., ii, 2, 8, 4 *asmai pradāpayati* is intelligible only if felt as a causal. I have no doubt that *arpaya* was often felt as the causal of *ṛ*, ‘ go ’. It is impossible otherwise to understand AV., v, 22, 6 : *tāṁ vajreṇa sam arpaya*, or vi, 66, 1. The rendering ‘ strike ’ is purely gratuitous except as a loose paraphrase. We have in VS., i, 1 not a semblance but a simple reality of causal sense in *vaḥ prārpayatu*. The straits to which an author who departs from the direct route is reduced are seen (p. 97) in the treatment of VS., ix, 12 ; *Bṛhaspatiṁ vājam ajījapata*, where it has to be suggested that *Bṛhaspatiṁ* was not put in the instrumental because there was another instrumental *vayā* preceding, and that the two accusatives in TS., i, 7, 8, 4 follow the model of the VS. This, of course, is, wholly needless. In the same way there is no doubt that Sénart is right in taking *māpayāṁ cakre* in Chānd. Up., iv, 1, 1 as causative, and *dhāpaya-* in the RV. means ' cause to suck '. The post-Rigvedic usage can be relied upon to establish that of the RV., where as in the cases cited (i, 96, 1 ; 95, 5 ; v, 47, 4) the sense as causative is in perfect order. Nor is it easy to understand why in AB., ii, 36, 2 *vāpayāṁ cakruḥ* must be assigned to *vā*, and the author must know that forms like *vāpayām* are nominal derivates, though we can roughly treat them as equivalent when the verb *kṛ* is added to verbs. Whether the author is right in rejecting Whitney's rendering of *atiṣṭhipam* as causative in AV., vii, 96, 1 is not at all certain ; we have no reason to suppose that the Vedic seers were ignorant of floating kidneys as a form of disease. The author accepts Oertel's revised view (KZ., lxi, 137–41) of *lāpaya-* in the JB., but I am very dubious of it ; *sulāpā vai darśanīyena striyaḥ* is not naturally rendered ' weiber sind leicht von einem schönen (Manne) zu hintergehen '.

A just stress is laid by the author on the fact that the *-paya-* forms after *-ā* roots seem to have arisen from the fact that certain roots had forms in- *ā* and *-āp* ; the causative *-aya-* naturally was added to the *-āp* form, and hence other *-ā* roots were given *-paya-* causatives. The number of the roots with variants is not large but important. We have *dā-*, but also Latin *daps*, Greek *dapánē*, which are usually connected with *dā-*, ' cut ', but the two roots *dā-* can probably be reduced to one. We have *drā-*, but Greek *drapétēs*. We have *sthā-*, but also *sthapati*, where the short vowel points to a reduced form of *sthāp-*, and Gothic *stafs*. We have *snā-*, but also AV. *snapana*, where the short vowel points to *snāp-*, and Latin Neptunus. There are Armenian forms parallel to *kṣāp-*, corresponding to *kṣā-*. The *-p-* enlargement of roots seems to have served to add precision, tending in the direction of a causative sense, while *-aya-* had a like use.

Beyond this we can hardly go. To connect the *-p-* of the verbs with *-p-* nominal suffixes is natural but conjectural, and in any case various origins are possible, as the root *gup-* reminds us. The deictic particle *-pe* as in Latin *nem-pe*, *quippe* is legitimately adduced, for many suffixes may be traced to such particles. But, when this is said, the limits of what can be ascertained are probably reached, for there is remarkably little in other Indo-European languages to throw any light on the *-p-* formations.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

State Museum Library
7030
Lucknow

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
प्रो० बी० एन० पुरी
संग्रह
लखनऊ

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Man in India, Vol. XVI, No. 1.

1. The Present Position of Anthropological Research in India by C. Hayavadana.

   The author has shown in this paper the progress of ethnologic studies, their importance and their future prospects.

2. Marriage by Elopement among the Paniyans of Wynard.
3. A Few Fasts, Festivities and Observances in Orissa by N. Tripatti.

   This is a very interesting paper. The author has described the festivities, their importance and currency in Utkaldesa.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVI, New Series, Nos. 3 *and* 4, *January–April*, 1936.

1. Ānandabodha's authorship of Nyāyadīpika and limits for his data by P. K. Gode.
2. Balacarita by K. R. Pisharoti.
3. Studies in Bird Myth by S. C. Mitra.
4. Studies in Plant Myth by S. C. Mitra.

Prabuddha Bharata, August, 1936.

1. Relation of Self to knowledge by G. R. Malkani.
2. Ramkrishna and the Spirit of Service by Dorothy Stede.

The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, June, 1936.

This volume is devoted solely to a detailed history of Pahang by W. Linehand.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. XV, Pt. 1, *April*, 1936.

1. Vājasaneya Yāgñavalkya and his Times by S. N. Pradhan.
2. The Rashtrakūṭas and the Gaharavāḍas by D. D. Bharadwaja.
3. Madras Museum Plates of the Choḍas of Renadu by P. Srinivasacari.

   In this paper, the author has mentioned some Plates preserved in the Madras Museum for a long time. They form a set of five copperplates in all, one of them containing a record of a Baiḍumba Mahārāja and the other two separate records of two distinct Choḷa rulers of Renadu, Śrikaṇṭha and Belliyacoḷa by name.

4. The Incident of Javli by B. B. Misra.
5. The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck by Iswar Sahai.
6. Vedic Monotheism by A. K. Coomaraswamy.
7. Kalidas and the Hunas by K. C. Chattopadhaya.
8. Hindu Religious Movements in Medieval Deccan by S. Hanumanta Rao.

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, part 1.

The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey: Buddhacarita, XV–XXVIII, translated by E. H. Johnston.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVII, pt. II, 1935-36.

1. Vedic Gods : 1-4, by H. A. Shah.
2. Kavidarpanan by H. D. Velankar.
3. Epic Studies, V. Notes on Mahābhārata Commentator by V. S. Sukthankar.

Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. II, No. 2, *July*, 1936.

1. The Geology of Salem District by P. Sridhara Rao.
2. Forest and Forest Products of the Salem District by S. Raghunadha Rao.
3. Population of Salem District by K. Srinivasaraghavan.
4. The Place Names in Salem District by C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.

Journal of Oriental Research, January–March, 1936.

1. The Number of Rasas by V. Raghavan.
2. The Mayalur Plates of Vinayaditya by Somasekhara Sarma.

Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 45, *No.* 2, *June*, 1936.

1. The Sikayana Language, a preliminary grammar and vocabulary by A. Capell.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, pt. 4, *October*, 1933.

1. Irda copperplate of the Kamboja King Nayapaladeva by N. G. Majumdar.
2. Two Bhor State Museum copperplates by A. S. Altekar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, pt. 5, *January*, 1934.

1. Ropi plates of Paramaradevaraja: Vikrama Samvat 1059 by Bisheshwar Nath Reu.
2. Hathi-Bada Brāhmī Inscription of Nagari by D. R. Bhandarkar.
3. A Chola Inscription from Uttiramerura by K. A. Nilkantha Sastri.
4. A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its derivative scripts from about A.C. 300 by D. R. Bhandarkar.

The Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No 2, *July*, 1936.

1. Royal Patronage and Sanskrit Poetics by B. Upadhyaya.

   This paper describes and estimates the influence exerted by royal patrons upon the composition of certain well-known works on Sanskrit poetics.

2. The Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati by M. Winternitz.

   It gives a brief but critical introduction to 'Śārṅgadhara's guide (to poetry)'.

3. Some Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt by D. B. Dishalkar.

   It gives texts together with introductory notes of five inscriptions of Kumārapāla, viz. (1) Gāḷā inscription of V.S. 120 (1?), (2) Pāli inscription of V.S. 1209, (3) Bhaṭuṇḍā inscription of V.S. 1210, (4) Bāli inscription of V.S. 1216, and (5) Kirāḍu inscription of V.S. 1218.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, *June*, 1936.

1. Religious Policy of Aurangzeb by S. R. Sharma.
2. An Aspect of Becoming in Early Buddhism by I. B. Horner.
3. Humayun's Early Relations with Kāmrān (1514–33) by S. K. Banerji.
4. Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir by E. F. Allnutt.
5. The Development of the Bengali Script by P. L. Paul.
6. Two Traditions about Ancestry of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur by K. K. Basu.
7. The Ghorāghaṭ Inscription of Rājā Prāṇanātha by S. K. Saraswati.

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta, and
Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

P
A
58

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE SKANDHA-DOCTRINE

By C. A. F. Rhys Davids

In giving lately and by request an outline of what I had been doing in re-issuing my *Buddhist Psychology* (1st ed. 1914), I ended thus: 'One new note is strenuously affirmed. This is, that the resolution of the whole man into five portions (*khandhas*) is an editorial increment, quite out of date for, and unworthy of the first Buddhist missioners. Here I know I am charging windmills, but in this case I hold it an honour to be a Don Quixote.'[1]

What have I there said, in my tilting?

(1) That Buddhists, in placing the senses foremost long before we of Europe did, had worsened the idea of the man, the subject, the self, and had made mind, as a sort of sense, into a dummy-man. They were as a-psychological as are we. They clung long to a fivefold analysis of body-cum-mind, a defective one and clumsy, on the negatively worded plea, that it was made the better to eliminate the man or self. (2) Centuries later they refashioned their analysis, making the dummy-man into a mind (*citta*) having constant and contingent factors (*cetasikā*) like our genus and species. This appeared in their standard mediæval manual.[2] (3) But there is still an acquiescence among writers on Buddhism, let alone Buddhists, in that fivefold agglomerate as being a teaching permissible to ascribe to the Founder himself. I maintained, that to the critical writer, the peculiar ways in which the five sometimes find mention in the Piṭakas, whether as an evident gloss or insertion which doesn't fit, and sometimes are omitted where one would look for them, *e.g.*, in a category of 'fives', should have given pause to an ill-founded conclusion.

And I concluded with a *credo*, which, in that it is hypothetical, may be taken as provisional. Namely, that a religion, destined to be a 'world-religion', will not have begun with a teaching of man as, in nature, life, destiny, a less, but with the contrary. That to tell man, that the self, that is he, is not a central unity, with ways of coming to know and of expressing himself, i.e. with instruments of which he is user, but is merely the sum (or product) of those ways, is to teach a less in him.

---

[1] *Religions*, Jl. Soc. for Promoting the Study of Religions, London, April, 1936. The new edition is entitled *The Birth of Indian Psychology and its Development in Buddhism.*

[2] *Abhidhammattha-sangaha*, Pali Text Soc. ed.

In the confined limits of a manual I was not able to include a detailed examination of those glosses, insertions and omissions. Nor can they be all detailed in any one article, however generous the editorial management. But I give just a few, in the hope that some one else may feel moved to collaborate and amplify. . . . Evidence can only be contributive ; we have no documents telling of a stage in the early history of Buddhism when the *khandha* analysis came in. But the aggregate of contributive detail may together form a strong case. It might have been thought, that the long Khandha-Saṃyutta in the Third Nikāya, 158 Suttas in length, would have proved fertile. But that Saṃyutta may have been compiled precisely in order to give full emphasis to the teaching of a doctrine which *had become established* as fully and alone orthodox :—man as resolved into five khandhas, no more and no less. Any way I have gone through it, and give here the results in a contribution 'towards', as the German would say, any decision future scholarship may take in the matter.

Let me say at once, that in the majority of the 158 Suttas, the five khandhas form either the main topic, or an important part of it. And were the collection a manual of crude academic tuition, the contents would not call for the weighing I suggest is called for. But we have in it a quantity of versions of khandha-teaching, as essential to the main teaching, brought, either before, or in, or possibly after the Council of Patna, in Asoka's time : cc. B.C. 250-30, from different centres of Buddhist teaching in North India, all orally taught only, and as such, subject to the process of being handed on by monastic repeaters and teachers, none of whom will have been an automatic machine like our gramophones—subject in other words to the outlook and influence of individual selves and minds. And then there is the process of revision in order to standardization to bear in mind, a procedure of which we have no record, whether the revisors were many or few, or whether they worked in sections, one man only undertaking to revise, as the repeaters passed before him, a bunch of Sayings. I merely repeat these reflections, because we need to imagine, more than we do, the difficulties hampering effective revision in Piṭaka compilation, making it scarcely surprising if success was not complete, and making the amount of standardization that was achieved the more remarkable.

I come to certain features in the Collection chosen, which seem to suggest, that the fivefold scheme lacks the appearance of having been there from the birth of the teaching. These features are (1) intrusion of the five into what is apparently a more original way of summing up 'the man'; (2) where reference to the five suggests either insertion, or later appendix; (3) where the reference to the five interferes with, and is misfitting to a seemingly older procedure.

(1) Quoting from the Pali Text Society's edition, I would point to Saṃyutta III, pp. 77f., 80, 103, 136, 169f., where the subject is introduced as that of 'the body with *viññāṇa*' (*kāyo saviññāṇako*), and this is then, without any indication of this duality as being expanded, followed by description in the usual detail of the five khandhas. Now, in the first place, the method is not on the surface of it, natural. It would not be natural for us; I do not find it followed by the compilers generally. Secondly, we have *kāyo* for body, not the *khandha*-term *rūpa*. And the term *viññāṇa* has its older significance of, not one fourth part or aspect of mind, but of the man-as-minding, and of the man-as-persisting beyond life of the body, as we find it used in both early Upaniṣad (*Bṛh.*, 2. 1, 15) and certain Pali Suttas.

Again, we find (p. 151f.) the five somewhat thrust in where the talk is mainly on mind as called *citta*, a term somehow banished from the khandhas, nor is any attempt made to explain whether *citta* was in any way distributed among the four mental khandhas.

(2) In the first Sutta (p. 1) a sick old man has just left the Founder, encouraged by being told, that even if he ailed sore in body, he could keep well in the unailing 'self'. (The word used is *cittaṃ anāturaṃ, not attā*, but such a teaching would be both contrary to truth, and in such sheer opposition to the religion of that day, that I have ventured to assert *attā anāturo* will have been originally used.) He encounters Sāriputta—N.B. a brahman by culture—who explains to him that, to keep his *attā* (or his *citta*) well, he must never see it as in any way one of five khandhas. I cannot picture the later exegesis of the Sangha more forcibly represented than it is here, in this supplementary coaching of a visitor, who from the Fountainhead had heard of his visible and his invisible manhood, with no subdivision into five parts.

Again, in a talk to a sick disciple, Tissa (p. 106ff.), we get healing talk on the Way and its adventure, given by his cousin, Gotama, with no word in it of his khandhas as being unwell, but a disquisition on these is made to precede the Way-talk. If we can strip ourselves of the habit of looking on the five as basic to the teaching, we must, I think, see how forced is the entry of them here, when contrasted with the real Way-teacher's words later.

Again, let the reader disinterestedly consider the Sutta called Channa (p. 132ff.). Channa, apparently after the decease of the Founder, goes around the cells, at Benares, of the Order seeking teaching on 'dhamma'. The response is the meagre fare, that each of the five khandhas is impermanent (*anicca*), and void of self. But Channa has other notions of the teaching worrying him; they are worded as was one of the two mission-subjects *rejected* by the Founder, when he hesitated about teaching anything (Vin. Mahāv., I, 5, 2). And his *citta*, let us say, his will, did not 'leap forward' in response. He bethinks him of Ānanda, and tells him all about it. Ānanda has no comment or endorsement about khandhas. He tells him what the Teacher had told the inquirer Kaccāna (Saṃy., II, 17), to see all things in a state of becoming. Does this not suggest, that in those he first consulted, Channa found the 'new men' full of the new mind-analysis, the proto-Sānkhya coming so much into vogue, but that in the survivor of the 'Old Brigade', Ānanda, he found older stuff, void of a khandha-doctrine?

Yet once more: the Sutta named Gomayaṃ (p. 143) is similarly suggestive of the newer analysis intruded into the possibly older popular Way of exposition. A monk at Sāvatthī asks the Founder, whether there is any permanent element in body or mind, these being named by the fivefold list? The answer says nothing whatever about khandhas, but speaks only of *attabhāva*. Then abruptly, the Founder launches into a description, like that of the Mahā-Sudassana Suttanta (Dīgha, II, p. 169), of all the worldly means of enjoyment he once possessed as the ruler of Kusāvatī, and of how nothing of all that had persisted. Neither here, nor in that oddly elaborated narrative is there a word about khandhas.

For that matter it is worth noticing how singularly free are the Suttantas of the First Collection (Dīgha), with one important exception from mention of the khandha-complex. I find reference to it only in the last two, which are lists of catalogues. For instance, in the Suttanta called 'The Questioning of Sakka' (Sakkapañha, II, 282ff.), the talk is largely psycho-ethical, and opportunities for khandha-talk are plentiful. Yet no reference to them occurs. Here however, in our Saṃyutta, a context from that Suttanta is adduced (p. 13), just to give 'full meaning' (*vitthārena*) to a 'concise statement' (*sankhittena*), by describing how the term 'freed' is to be understood. The Second Collection, on the other hand, has a good deal to say in khandha-talk, whereof no more just here and now. The Fourth Collection (which I see as older than the Third and Second) has relatively very little about khandhas, and—a noteworthy feature—omits them from its list of 'Fives', as a 'five', only adducing reference to them as the last in a list of results, a last which could be cut out without impairing the sequence or force in the teaching.

Speaking of last sentences, I do not find, in this Saṃyutta, Suttas with khandha-talk apparently added appendix-wise. But such an addition seems fairly obvious in the 'important exception' just mentioned above. In the Dīgha account of the ‘ bo-tree episode ’ (II, p. 35, §§ 22), the supplementary nature of the ‘ contemplation of the rise and passing of the five khandhas of grasping ’ is patent.[1]

(3) This section I might have logically brought under the preceding, but I make it separate, because the introducing the fivefold complex is a patent misfit in a probably older context, and even mystifies the Commentator. I have only one Sutta to mention in it ; the first of the two called Hāliddikāni (the other being the last cited), p. 9. Here too we have an older set of Sayings mentioned : the Sutta-Nipāta section called Māgandiya-Sutta, (verse 844 of the whole work). The Sutta-Nipāta, by the way, makes no allusion to the khandha-doctrine.

The layman Hāliddikāni quotes a metrical Saying to the brahman disciple of Gotama, Kaccāna ‘ the Great ’, about the sage (*muni*) being a ‘ home-leaver ’, detached from worldly ties and the ‘ wordy warfare ’ these induce, and asks, he too, for a ‘ full meaning of this concise saying ’. He is told, that the body is the home of *viññāṇa*, namely of the intelligent principle or indwelling ‘ man ’. The latter is called ‘ the home-haunter ’. But ‘ the home-abandoner ’ has cut free from all that home implies. And so on, each word in the Saying being similarly parsed.

Were there here no mention of five khandhas, the parsing would have lost practically nothing. But just after the explanation, that home meant the body, the four mental khandhas are inserted : feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), activities (or plans, *sankhārā*), but the fourth, *viññāṇa*, is omitted since this has just been called, not body, the ‘ home ’, but the ‘ home-haunter ’. And the exegesis holds, that this is omitted from the contents of the ‘ home ’ ‘ to avoid confusion ’.

I judge that here we have the older dual division of *kāya* (body) and *viññāṇa* (man-as-intelligent) cluttered up with the newer division of the person-complex or *sakkāya* into five khandhas, with an overlapping of the five on to the second term of the duality.

Viññāṇa was coming to be looked upon, not as a name for the persistent man, the man who arrives in his new world at death,—without earth-body, but, as *viññāṇa*, still intelligent,—but as a name for *one aspect* of mind, the mind which was just then beginning to absorb interest as a body of uniform processes, analogous to those of body as is the sword to its sheath, the plant to its *kośa*, a new interest brought out so strikingly in the second Suttanta of the Dīgha, the Sāmaññaphala (I, p. 77). And in this Saṃyutta-sutta we have the older teaching and the newer, the dual and the fivefold, jumbled together, because the newer 'five' have been inserted into the older 'two'.

---

[1] I would here confess to an oversight in p. 183 of my *Birth of Indian Psychology*. I have written of the ‘ Burning Sermon ’ as if it made allusion, in a supplementary way to the khandhas. This is true only of the *Second* Utterance. The Sutta referred to, Saṃyutta, iii, 71, forms an appendix to the ‘ Burning ’ theme : ‘ The khandhas are on fire ’.

These are all the instances of more or less manifest intrusion which I have found in this Saṃyutta. And seeing that its existence, as a special collection of 'kindred sayings' will have been due to the importance attached to this fivefold aspect of the man, it is remarkable that there are so many what I call 'left-ins' from an older view of the man.

A word on the number 'five', and the change from *kāya* to *rūpa*. Not that I can contribute anything here of positive worth in explanation. I do but call attention to matters where I find attention withheld.

That man-as-we-know him should have been divided up into one bodily and four mental (*a-rūpino*) parts must have been due to some reason. Buddhaghosa gives the current (or his own?) explanation of the doctrine as a whole,[1] but does not ask, I believe, 'Why five, no more, no less?' We need not go far to see in five a comprehensive unit in Indian thought (cf. Pali Text Society's Dictionary), probably derived from the *pañcangulika* formation of the human hand. Five again, I read, is the lowest group-unit of families constituting the *grāma* or village-entity. But since we are in the field of personality, I incline to think, that the pattern for the five will have lain in the five senses: *pañcindriyāni*. The Buddhist Sangha did its best to make a sixfold system of these, adding the dummy-man *manas*, mind, to the five. Yet they did not so prevail over usage as to get the senses spoken of as the six; it was at best 'the five, mind-as-sixth', and that but rarely. Their main object, as Vibhajjavādins, was to shrivel up the man or self, from being considered as user and valuer of his instruments, to being looked upon as wholly a complex of these, in name, a mere label. So utterly did their Founder's warning in his so-called second utterance come to be set at naught.

Lastly, the calling 'body', not *kāya*, but *rūpa*. *Kāya*, it must be remembered, means 'group', as in the more usual *nikāya*. So long as the man was contemplated over against the 'group' of his instruments, this term was felt as fitting. But when, with the rise of mind-analysis, such as is revealed already going on in the Chāndogya and Bṛhadārañyaka Upaniṣads, the mind was detached from the idea of self in a more pointed way and looked upon as a plurality, *kāya* became unfit for body, and the older complement of *nāma*, in the Vedic term *nāmarūpa* will have seemed alone fit. The change was from the newer to the older, but it was fitting in view of the new view of the mind.

---

[1] Visuddhi-magga, Ch. XIV (p. 478, P.T.S. ed.).

SULTAN BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJRAT AND THE PRINCELY REFUGEES FROM THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1534)

By S. K. BANERJI

Bahadur Shah had come to the throne in 1526 A.D. His reputation for munificence and other princely virtues was so high, that needy persons from all parts of India had resorted to him. The recent Revolution had thrown out of employment most of the Afghans, who till then had formed the ruling class. Both the common Afghans as well as the nobility gathered in Bahadur's court, the former as ordinary soldiers [1] and the latter in a more dignified capacity. Of these Afghan nobles, two have been especially mentioned (1) Alam Khan Jighat, the late governor of Kalpi. He had supported Babur while engaged, in 1529, against the Afghans of Behar. For some unrecorded reason, he was dissatisfied with Humayun and fled to Bahadur, who granted him, after the fall of Raisen, May 1532, the territory round Raisen,[2] Bhilsa [3] and Chanderi.[4] It was hoped, that under him, the jagir would form a distant portion of Gujrat kingdom. It will be noticed that with the late annexation of Nagaur, Ajmer, Ranthambhor and Malwa, the Gujrat kingdom had a common boundary with the Mughal kingdom for a distance of more than a thousand miles. It may also be pointed out that Alam Khan Jighat remained faithful to his new master, and fought against Humayun till he was captured and disabled by the Mughal king.

(2) The second was Sultan Alam Khan Alauddin Lodi and his son Tatar Khan. Alauddin was Sultan Buhlul Lodi's son and during Ibrahim's last days, was a candidate for the Delhi throne. Babur supported him till he discovered his incompetence when he put him aside, and fought against Ibrahim for his own hand. Thus after the battle of Panipat, we find Alauddin, instead of being king of Delhi, a prisoner in the distant Qila-i-Zafar in Badakhshān.[5]

---

[1] After Bahadur's death, they went away to serve under Sher Khan.

[2] In lat. 24° 41′, long. 78° 12′.

[3] In lat. 23° 59′, long. 74° 6′.

[4] In lat. 23° 22′, long. 77° 56′.

[5] Erskine : *History of India*, Vol. II, Humayun (E.H.), p. 41 considers him dangerous because of his birth and pretensions.

From there he managed to escape to Gujrat and met with a cordial reception from the Sultan Bahadur.

Alam Khan Alauddin had not entirely forgotten about his royal pretensions ; only now in Bahadur's court, they were repeated by his son, Tatar Khan, instead of himself. Tatar was an active youth of considerable merit and at every suitable opportunity he harped on his father's claims to the Delhi throne. Bahadur favoured Tatar for his military qualities,[1] but did not pay much heed to his pleadings. Tatar's ambition was to obtain for his father, the throne of Delhi and he had high hopes that Bahadur would imitate his father, Muzaffar, who had returned Malwa to Mahmud II, and restore Alam Khan to his heritage. There were several reasons why Bahadur was not keen on Tatar's project :—

(*a*) Alam Khan had never actually sat on the throne of Delhi and so cannot claim that sympathy which Mahmud II of Malwa evoked in Muzaffar.

(*b*) Babur had put him aside from the throne of Delhi, because of his incompetence. Bahadur, who might easily have supported Tatar himself, hesitated to support his father, a worthless prince.

(*c*) Before his flight to Bahadur, Alauddin lived for several years in prison. In 1534, he was not known to have any local influence in Mughal India.

(*d*) In asserting Alauddin's claims, Bahadur would have to fight the renowned Mughal troops. He hesitated to do so, for he himself had seen them fight at the battle of Panipat and noticed their superiority. He was convinced that no purely Indian troops, including the Afghans, would be able to cope with the Mughals.[2] Tatar Khan protested against such views by representing that Babur's veterans had now changed into luxury-loving dandies and hence would not be able to contend with Bahadur's ever-victorious troops.[3]

---

[1] An example had occurred in the last chapter when starting several days after Muhammad of Khandesh and Khudawand Khan, he reached Chitor earlier. He showed military skill in capturing two places Tilhati and Perkusah and also two of the gates of Chitorgarh.

[2] See A.H.G., p. 229.

[3] A.T.W.H.G., p. 5.

آن مغلان که حضرت سلیمانی دیده اند بصرافت خود نمانده اند - بنازو نعمت پرورده و بعیش
و تنعم بسر برده - پیش کرده اینهمارا تاب مقاومت سپاه نصرت پناه و بادشاه جوان که هرگز شکست
نخورده و پیروز بوده نمانده *

But for the present Bahadur remained adamant and would not stir.

Next arrived in November 1534, a still more distinguished personage in Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the eldest son-in-law of Babur. He was older than Humayun by several years and had earned distinction in Babur's Bihar campaign. He had twice rebelled, once immediately after Humayun's accession and again in July 1534. To Bahadur, his supreme qualification was his being a Mughal and closely related to the ruler of Delhi. Bahadur welcomed him, attended to his personal needs,[1] and placed him at the head of all the Mughals that had gathered in his court[2] and gradually matured his scheme against Delhi.

Thus Bahadur Shah had two sets of people, each with the ambition to recover Delhi ; one, the Afghans of which Tatar Khan (on behalf of his father) might be considered the leader and the other, the Mughals with Muhammad Zaman at their head. In either case, the utmost gain that Bahadur would achieve would be the right of suzerainty over the kingdom of Delhi. This consideration places Bahadur in a favourable light, for in following his father's example in restoring a neighbouring kingdom to a prince, he was undergoing a much greater risk than his father, and it is also possible that if Tatar Khan had realized his dream of making his father an independent ruler, even the small suzerainty would have ceased to operate.[3]

The rivalry between the two sets hastened matters. Muhammad Zaman, who had recently arrived was not yet ready for a move and so Tatar Khan could forestall him by proposing an expedition into Mughal territory. Bahadur was pleased with his rapid march and later capture of the outposts and gates of Chitorgarh and was prepared to supply him with resources from his kingdom. He permitted him to proceed to Ranthambhor which was to serve him as a base and obtain a *cror* of Gujrati tankas [1] to be spent on gathering recruits from all directions and when he was ready, to march out and threaten Agra. In order to distract the Mughals from the main object, two subsidiary campaigns were also projected, one under Alam Khan Alauddin himself and the other under Burhānul Mulk Nirpāli, the former was to aim at the capture of Kalinjar not yet fully subjugated by Humayun,[2] and the latter was expected to create disturbance in the Delhi district or further west in the Punjab.[3]

---

[1] See Badauni (Newal Kishore edition), p. 92 for the cartloads of candied conserve of roses (گلقند) sent to Muhammad Zaman for the treatment of his heart-ache.

[2] A.H.G., p. 230, l. 4 has مَن كَانَ مِنْهُمْ فی دیوانهِ جَمَعَهُمْ تَحْتَ لِوائهِ فصار امیراً علی الاِسْتِقلالِ

A.T.W.G.H., p. 5. که جذب سپاه مغول سازد و جنگیان کار آمدنی را بطرف خود کشد

[3] M.S., fol. 159*a*, l. 5 has
درین امر اراده او (Tatar Khan) این بود که من بادشاه زاده ملک دهلی ام و از فتح این
جنگ مملکت دهلی بتصرف من در آید لشکرے بسیار از افغانان گرد من جمع میشود تا آنزمان
همایون بادشاه و سلطان بهادر جنگ خواهند کرد یکی شکست می یابد دو قوت دیگری فتوری برود
آنزمان میتوانم از عهد او بر آمد - عنان سلطنت ملک دهلی بدست من خواهد افتاد *

The rumour of some such expedition had reached Humayun, compelling him to return hurriedly from Kanar [4] and postpone, for the present, his campaigns against the Afghans. When he reached Agra, he found that he had returned none too soon, for the enemy had already come forward for a conflict with the Mughals in that region.

Humayun's quick return frustrated to some extent, Bahadur's design ; for during the Mughal king's absence in Bihar, all the three divisions of Tatar, Alam and Burhānul Mulk would have scored results and the goal, the capture of Agra, might have been achieved. It seems Bahadur Shah had expected the success of the three divisions and hoped to complete the discomfiture of the Mughals by a personal direction against them. He had instructed Tatar Khan to remain on the defensive and wait for his arrival. The actual conclusion, viz., the complete discomfiture of Tatar, had never entered his calculation.

What happened may be briefly told. Tatar Khan boldly went forward, unmindful of the enemy's strength and captured Bayāna [5]—a notable achievement—and sent ravaging columns even to the gates of Agra. There was panic in the city till Askari and Hindal arrived from Delhi with some 18,000 soldiers under distinguished Mughal commanders like Qasim Husain Sultan,

---

[1] Which A.H.G., p. 230 says equalled 40 *crors* of Delhi tankas.

[2] We have seen that Humayun was satisfied with the perfunctory submission of the Raja on payment of an indemnity of 12 '*mans*' of gold.

[3] See A.N., p. 128.

[4] In Kalpi district.

[5] Situated in 26° 57′ N. and 77° 20′ E., 53 miles S.W. of Agra, it forms a railway junction. In Mediæval India it contained a particularly strong fort, as is clear from the remains even to-day. The rocks stretching north and south make the place easy to defend and therein lies its strategic importance. From the earliest days of Muslim rule (cir. 1200 A.D.) for the next 3 centuries it remained the headquarter of a province. When Sultan Sikandar Lodi founded Agra as his capital, the importance of Bayāna declined.

Zahid Beg,[1] Dost Beg. They recovered Bayāna,[2] Tatar Khan retreating to Mandrael.[3] There he waited with some confidence, for he was within 50 miles of Ranthambhor, his headquarters, and possessed an army of 40,000 men.[4] Probably he yet dreamed of establishing another Lodi dynasty at Agra and later on at Delhi, with his father as its first king. He was soon undeceived. Within a few days Mirāt-i-Sikandari's *select* troops melted away at the prospect of a battle and there was nothing to wonder at it. The soldiers had been hastily collected by a lavish distribution of Gujrat wealth and hence were without much discipline. They had forced their commander to retire from Bayāna, and now when Tatar was eager for a contest, deserted him wholesale.

The Battle of Mandrael, November 1534.

Thus, at Mandrael, Tatar Khan saw the end of his dream of securing the throne of Delhi. He was left with only 3,000 horse.[5] Hindal advanced from Bayāna with 5,000 Mughal troops and a fierce battle took place, in which Tatar Khan, disdaining to flee, as he was afraid to meet Bahadur for disobeying his orders of remaining on the defensive, sold his life as dearly as possible. At last he fell with some 300 of his followers, November 1534.

With the disappearance of Tatar Khan the main project of an attack on Agra fell through; the two subsidiary contingents working against Kalinjar and Delhi also failed in achieving any result. They realized that they were so distantly separated from each other that no co-ordination was possible between their military movements; and singly either failed to make any impression on the Mughals.

The consequences of the battle.

The direct consequence of the battle so far as the relations between the two kings, Bahadur and Humayun were concerned, was practically nil. Humayun did not complain of Bahadur's aid to Tatar Khan nor did the Sultan Bahadur follow the defeat up by other expeditions. Humayun kept quiet on the subject, guessing probably that it was purely the result of the enthusiasm of the mad-cap, Tatar. Humayun ignored the other two expeditions also. For the present, he remained perfectly satisfied with the complete discomfiture of the enemy in all the three quarters.

But for Bahadur, it was not so easy to get out of the war; for he had complicated matters by receiving Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who had been placed in prison for the serious crime of treason against the king. Let us recapitulate some of the incidents of the past. In June 1534, after the foundation of Din-panah, Sultan Bahadur sent a message of congratulations and Humayun responded by generally permitting him to keep all his late conquests, e.g., Malwa, Raisin, Ranthambhor, Ajmere, and Nagaur and professing amity and good will.[1] The reception of Muhammad Zaman, a few months later, nullified all the efforts to maintain cordiality between the two kingdoms.

---

[1] Humayun's brother-in-law, being married to the queen, Bega Begam's sister. See G.H.N., p. 134, n. 4.

[2] From Khurāsān Khan, one of Gujrat noblemen.

[3] Situated in 26° 18′ N. and 77° 18′ E. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, 190 calls it Mandlaer.

[4] M.S. makes it a select army of 30,000 men.

[5] A. N. Farishta has 10,000, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* has 300.

Muhammad Zaman Mirza's affairs.

Muhammad Zaman M., we have seen, had rebelled in 1531 as well as 1534. Humayun had ignored the first rebellion, allowed him to continue as Governor in Bihar. He had hoped for a salutary effect of his generosity on his brother-in-law. But the ever-restless Zaman was not won over and three years later, he combined with Muhammad Sultan and made a more serious effort to defy the government of Humayun. The king by his prompt measures nipped the rebellion in the bud, defeated them in battle at Bhojpur and captured both of them and since he could not repeat his generous gesture of the first occasion, he placed them in prison and in order to put an end to all their political aspirations, gave orders to the jailor, his own uncle, Mirza Yadgar Beg *Taghai*[2] to blind them as well as another prince Wali Khub Mirza.[3] The order was carried out in the cases of Muhammad Sultan and Wali Khub but Muhammad Zaman escaped the penalty because of the partiality of the *Taghai* or his men[4] and a few days later fled away from the prison[5] to Bahadur Shah. The *Taghai* also, for fear of encountering the king's wrath at the neglect of his orders, followed in the wake of Zaman and reached Bahadur's court at Chitor, November 1534.

Let us recapitulate the following points in connection with Muhammad Zaman's flight to Gujrat :—

(*a*) That Humayun had behaved kindly towards Muhammad Zaman and his wife Masūma Sultan Begum. He had excused the former's rebellion at his accession, and continued him as governor of Bihar and showed great consideration to the latter by allowing her the most costly tent and its being pitched next to the king's.

---

[1] A.H.G., p. 227.

[2] He is Humayun's maternal uncle as well as father-in-law and it was his daughter, Bega Begam that was captured by Sher Shah in 1539 A.D.

[3] T.A., p. 194, l. 23 records Humayun's order for the blinding of Muhammad Zaman and A.N., p. 124, l. 17 of Muhammad Sultan.

[4] T.A.

[5] A.N., p. 124 says, he escaped by showing a forged order.

(*b*) When he found that his mildness of treatment brought no fruit except the repetition of disaffection, he promptly crushed it and captured the disturbers including Muhammad Zaman.

(*c*) He made the best arrangement, according to the Mediæval ideas, for the welfare of the State. He placed Muhammad Zaman and the other captive Mirzas with his own maternal uncle, who, he trusted, would act in his interest. To stop further conspiracies being hatched, the prisoners were ordered to be blinded. He spared them the extreme punishment of death and thus compromised between the State exigency and his father's dying injunctions to be kind to his relations.

(*d*) The whole of the later complications was due to the Taghai's disregard to Humayun's orders. Muhammad Zaman Mirza's flight to Gujrat brought about a conflict between the two kingdoms, Gujrat and Delhi, in which Gujrat suffered and Delhi did not earn any special repute.

To such a prince, who had twice sinned against the king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah offered a ready welcome, only a few months after his message of amity to Humayun. This was naturally taken by the latter as a change of heart and initiation of a new policy, not friendly to himself. Humayun felt disappointed but hesitated to launch a policy of war against his late correspondent. So he contented with making just a demonstration by moving out to Gwalior and staying there for a couple of months.[1]

To-day, the historian realizes that Humayun's policy lay in taking courage in both hands and go directly to the aid of the besieged Rajputs at Chitor. But he could not rise above the political convention of his day which forbade him from rendering aid to an ‘ infidel ’ when engaged in a war with another Muslim king. Hence, another of Humayun’s half-measures, viz. move out to and a long stay at Gwalior. He hoped that just as on the previous occasion, warned by this demonstration, Bahadur had signed a treaty and retired from Chitor, similar results would follow on this occasion also. But Bahadur did not desist from the continuation of the siege and Humayun too, passed on to Sārangpur with a more warlike determination.

---

[1] A.N. gives the date of moving out to be November 8th, 1534 (beginning of Jamada-ul-awwal 941 A.H.). Rauzat-ul-Tahirin (R.T.) British Museum Or. 168, fol. 614*b*, l. 3 makes Humayun proceed straightway from Gwalior to Malwa. Its words are

بعزم رزم سلطان بهادر بجانب گراليار و مندوشتافت *

G.H.N., fol. 23*b* refers to the length of stay as two months. It appears that Humayun had stayed in Gwalior at least twice, the period of stay being, on each occasion, to be two months. Farishta's reference on p. 213 last line is with reference to the first occasion. The second occasion is the one we are now considering. On either occasion Humayun's object was to make a demonstration as a warning to Bahadur. See Humayun's letter in A.T.W.H.G., p. 8, ll. 3-4.

VARUṆA AND OURANOS

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

The difficulties of attaining any certain results in the field of Indo-European religion are such that no new theory resting on serious argument can lightly be dismissed. Hence it is desirable to glance at the proposal of M. Georges Dumézil[1] to place in a new setting the position of Varuṇa and his Greek counterpart Ouranos. M. Dumézil does not doubt that the two words are closely connected. He accepts the demonstration of Solmsen[2] that the Greek forms of the name can all be carried back to an original U̯oru̯ano, almost identic with Varuṇa from U̯oruno, and the original of the Uruwana in the list of Mitanni deities. In fact the desire to separate the words is really indefensible. The realm of uncertainty, however, is reached when the derivation of the terms is examined. M. Dumézil here makes an important choice. He does not accept derivation from the Indo-European root *u̯er-*, 'shut', Sanskrit *vṛṇoti*, making Varuṇa heaven as the covering, but prefers to accept Petersson's[3] connection with *u̯er-*, 'fasten', so that Varuṇa is essentially the god who binds with his fetters. M. Dumézil makes the further observation that the suffix *-no-* added to the enlarged root *u̯eru-* is reminiscent of the suffix seen in *dominus* and *tribunus* in Latin and in certain Germanic terms, so that the meaning would properly be 'master of the bond'.

M. Dumézil naturally stresses the close connection between Varuṇa and his noose in the *Ṛgveda* and the later literature. When a black cloth cannot be secured at the Rājasūya, any cloth will do, for its knots make it connected with Varuṇa.[4] For Ouranos, however, the connection is less clear. It is remarkable that binding by Ouranos is not noted in the earliest form preserved of his myth, the version of Hesiod,[5] which refers to the binding by Kronos of the other offspring of Ouranos and their release by Zeus. According to Hesiod Ouranos, hating his offspring by Gaia, thrust them back into the source whence they had come, to her great indignation. Apollodoros,[6] on the other hand, certainly talks of Ouranos binding the Kyklopes, as well as of the binding by Kronos of his adversaries, and the Orphic texts[1] recognize the same trait of Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus alike. But it is very hazardous to suggest that the binding was a primitive feature of the myth of Ouranos, and, unless it were, the etymology suggested is far from made plausible. It is by taking this feature as primitive that M. Dumézil is able to make his theory attractive. We have, on the one hand, Varuṇa as the lord of bonds, the holder of sovereign power, the master of Māyā ; on the other, the simpler, more barbarous, trait of Ouranos as the sovereign threatened by his sons, his natural rivals as heirs to his power, whom he binds, though vainly, in order to secure himself against their attack. With much ingenuity it is suggested that we have an echo of the fate of Ouranos in the curious legend, told in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*,[2] of Bhṛgu, son of Varuṇa, who was so conceited of his knowledge of sacred lore that he thought himself superior to his father, the gods, and other Brahmans who studied holy writ. Varuṇa, however, chastened him by depriving him of his vitality and causing him to see in hell the sufferings of the wicked. We are asked to see in Bhṛgu the parallel to the Titans, and in the act of Varuṇa the parallel to the casting in chains of the sons of Ouranos and their imprisonment in Tartaros. This is very ingenious, but distinctly far fetched. The legend which is isolated seems merely one of the many vain imaginings of the priests, not a relic of old tradition.

---

[1] *Ouranós-Váruṇa : Etude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne.*
[2] *Untersuchungen zur griech. Laut- und Verslehre*, pp. 297ff.
[3] *Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegner*, pp. 223ff., 231ff.
[4] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v, 2, 5, 17.
[5] *Theogony*, 126ff.
[6] *Biblioth.*, i, 1–7.

There is still less force in the ingenious attempt to find a closer parallel to the binding by Ouranos of his sons in a notice in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[3] From it M. Dumézil deduces the doctrine that every scion of warrior or kingly race was regarded as born in fetters whence he must be set free by giving a golden bond to the priest, binding him figuratively in his place. But this reads far too much into the passage, apart altogether from the essential point that the reference is to every Rājanya and not to the son of the king alone. The passage deals with a special, not regular, form of offering, intended to secure the special energy in destroying foes of a Rājanya ; it is made to Indra and Bṛhaspati, and no mention whatever is made of Varuṇa apart from the other gods. It is, therefore, impossible to use it as in the slightest degree as confirming the legend of Bhṛgu, or hinting at hostility between Varuṇa and his son.

---

[1] The fragments and texts are collected in O. Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922), and M. Dumézil relies in part on O. Gruppe's treatment of their evidence in his work, *Die griechische Culte und Mythen*, i (1887).

[2] i, 44. The version in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 6, 1 omits the rendering of Bhṛgu inanimate ; it is no doubt a refinement.

[3] ii, 4, 13, 1.

We see, therefore, that it is hopeless to seek in the Vedic literature for any parallel to the hostility between Ouranos and his sons in the case of Varuṇa. Can we find any evidence which provides a parallel to the impotence brought upon Ouranos at the instigation of the outraged Gaia by the instrumentality of Kronos? The *Ṛgveda* is admittedly silent, but it is not an encyclopædia of legends, and the popular legends current at the time could not find place therein. The latter statement may be questioned, but the former is valid in so far that the mere silence of the *Ṛgveda* is not conclusive. But the evidence adduced is of the poorest order. It consists of a single stanza in the *Atharvaveda*[1] which occurs in a hymn intended to be used in a rite to remedy impotence; the plant *kapitthaka* is said to be used, and is addressed in the words: 'Thee that the Gandharva dug for Varuṇa whose virility (?) was lost, thee we dig as a plant that restoreth manly vigour'. The doubtful word is *mṛtabhraje*, but the commentary *naṣṭavīryāya* may be correct; the point is not important. There is not the slightest evidence that we have the trace of an old popular legend of the curing of Varuṇa by the aid of a plant dug out by a Gandharva. On the contrary, the verse seems significant of the type of Atharvan spell, where the great deities are freely introduced to magnify the hocus pocus of the priest or spell maker. It is significant that the same hymn invokes Agni, Savitṛ, Sarasvatī and Brahmaṇaspati to assist in the work of regeneration. The mention of the Gandharva is natural in view of the relation of that creature to matters of sex; otherwise these beings stand in no special relation to him. The assertion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] that the Gandharvas are the people of King Varuṇa is late and schematic, while the inclusion of the name of Varuṇa in epic lists of the Gandharvas is clearly irrelevant, though Hopkins[3] suggests from it the conclusion that the Gandharvas were water phenomena, Varuṇa's connection with the waters being admitted on all hands. Still less value attaches to the fact that in the *Atharvaveda* in a hymn[4] to destroy the virility of a rival reference is made to the aid of Indra and the *vrata* of Varuṇa. These great gods are simply brought in to deck out the spell. We may, therefore, safely disregard the evidence adduced to show the impotence of Varuṇa as an important trait in his nature, noting also that there is not even the faintest hint of the causing of this impotence by mutilation by a rebellious son.

---

[1] iv, 4, 1. For *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 3, 6, 5, see Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i, 96. The epithets *baṇḍa* and *khaṇḍa* do not there occur.

[2] xiv, 4, 3, 7.

[3] *Epic Mythology*, pp. 153, 158.

[4] vii, 90.

M. Dumézil, however, has a further line of argument no less ingenious. He finds it in the Rājasūya, the ceremonial of the consecration of kings, a rite which shows in essential features, in his view as in that of Hocart,[1] un-Aryan features, but which also preserved ancient matter. Now this rite is essentially connected with Varuṇa, though the decline of the popularity of that god in favour of Indra has brought about the substitution of Indra as the chief deity concerned. The connection with Varuṇa is indicated in the fact that it is here and there stated that the acts done by the king are dictated by the fact that Varuṇa himself performed such actions in the rite. He who desires sovereign lordship is the person who should offer, as did in like case Varuṇa.[2] The Hotṛ priest in the rite should be one of Bhṛgu's line.

The most important element of the rite is the sprinkling or anointing of the king, carried out first by a Brahman, a relative (*sva*), a Rājanya, and a Vaiśya, and then by the king himself, who afterwards offers, together with his favourite son, a sacrifice to Prajāpati in which he presents the son, declaring him to be his father, and himself as father of his son, plainly a deliberate attempt to secure for his favourite son a share in the kingship. All this version of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* goes smoothly, but M. Dumézil draws a very important argument from the fact that the ritual Sūtras, not the Brāhmaṇa, contemplate at this point or later the recitation of the legend of Śunaḥśepa, which is told at length in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[3] In his view this is of vital importance. It points to an ancient practice whereby the king at his consecration used to offer in sacrifice to Varuṇa his son or at least a substitute. Varuṇa, he points out, accepted the substitution of Śunaḥśepa in lieu of the princely Rohita who showed a reasonable dislike to immolation, and declared the Rājasūya as the rite. This action of Varuṇa's was the guarantee for the divine character and efficacy of the rite, and therefore remembrance of it was maintained by the late commentators, though the ritual itself had been changed. Confirmation for this view of the original ritual is found in the muddled version of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* which clearly is valueless, and in the argument of Bharata in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] against the performance of the Rājasūya as a rite involving the extermination of princely races. Clearly this view is unsatisfactory. The legend of Śunaḥśepa is a very elaborate tale, in which no actual sacrifice occurs, and, what is vital, it has a very different motive. It is the case of the vow of a king to slay a child, wholly unconnected with the royal consecration, and its connection with that rite seems to be purely artificial. Certainly it is quite misleading treating it as if it were implied in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[1] and it is only by doing so that we obtain the idea that it was an essential feature of the consecration that the king's son or a substitute should die. Still less authority is there for the suggestion that the king's son was slain as equivalent to his father.

---

[1] *Kingship*, pp. 70ff.

[2] *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xv, 12. 1.

[3] See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i, 282, 283.

[4] vii, 83, 13.

There is, it need hardly be said, nothing whatever to suggest that Varuṇa meditated slaying his own son in his performance of the rite. But we are told that after Varuṇa was consecrated his vigour departed, probably as the result of the sprinkling over him of the waters of consecration, and that he recovered it from the cattle into which it had passed. The *Śatapatha* assures us that the king's vigour does not depart but he acts as if it had. He carries out a mimic raid against a hundred cows belonging to a relative, namely that one who has earlier taken part in the sprinkling, but having thus manifested his recovery of strength he restores the booty. All this, of course, seems a simple symbolism of royal power; by the rule of magic the king's mimic action will make him strong in actual cattle raids. The parallel with Varuṇa we naturally attribute to the priestly ingenuity which has cast a mystic character over acts of simple magic. But M. Dumézil has a far more subtle explanation to offer. It moves in the field of magic, but it invokes the doctrine of the close connection between the king and the life of vegetation which results in the self-immolation of kings to renew the worn out life or the offering of a substitute. In this connection the passing of the king's vitality to the cattle is eminently in keeping, just as in the rite itself he attests his connection with nature by touching an *udumbara* branch and begging it to bestow sustenance upon him.

This carries us, however, no great distance, and M. Dumézil has further refinements to make. He insists on the fact that the king's loss of vigour follows on the sprinkling by a relative, who, voluntarily or not, devitalizes him and deprives him of his virility in order to bestow it on his herds. Have we not here a parallel to the emasculation of Ouranos by Kronos? Ouranos oppresses his relations and is emasculated by one of them; the result incidentally is to render earth fecund with the Giants, Erinyes, and the Nymphs, and to produce Aphrodite from the foam of the sea ; it is the hostility of earth to Ouranos which creates the situation. What have we in Vedic literature to correspond ? Take the oppression motive. We have seen that there is no force in the idea of Varuṇa oppressing Bhṛgu, and so must fall back on the oppression of his relative by the king in the action of the cattle raid. But it is plain that there is no real oppression, but a mere mimicry, parallel with the sham combat with a Rājanya which the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* [1] gives instead. Still less real is the oppression in the rite given by the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* [2] in which the weak relatives of the king are despoiled by him ; we have once more a symbolic exhibition of royal superiority, nothing parallel to the action of Ouranos. Nor is there even recorded the taking away of the king's vigour by his son. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [3] is quite clear in distinguishing the position of the son from that of the relative (*sva*) ; the son neither sprinkles nor deprives the king of vigour. It is of Varuṇa that the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* [4] relates that on his consecration a third of his vigour went to Bhṛgu, and it is not suggested that Bhṛgu had any share in besprinkling his father. There is clearly no real tradition which makes the Rājasūya concerned with restoring the royal vigour through immolation and transfer of that vigour to a successor, who thus avenges oppression. The scene [5] in which the consecrated king addresses earth with the words : ' O mother earth, injure me not, nor I thee ' establishes the relationship of mother and son between the two in the Vedic doctrine. The motive is perfectly simple ; consecration makes the king holy, full of magic strength, and between him and earth a new relation must be established to prevent mutual injury. Surely nothing can be further removed from the relation of embittered wedlock which causes Gaia to plan the overthrow of her husband, Ouranos. Even if we assume that the true relationship was wife and husband, and if we make the further assumption that the relative was earlier the son (or where succession went to the brother in another kind of family,[6] the brother), we should be far from a real parallel to the psychology of the tale of the Ouranidai in the psychology of the Rājasūya. Moreover these assumptions would be wholly invalid ; we are under no possible obligation to find in Vedic relation any parallel to the legend of the Ouranidai which may well belong to a different milieu, and which may be derived from pre-Aryan Greek religion which, as we know, deeply affected in every aspect [1] the religion of the Greece we know from the texts.

---

[1] v, 4, 2, 3 is quite inconsistent with the use of the legend.

---

[1] i, 8, 15.

[2] ix, 1, 14ff.

[3] v, 3, 5, 12 ; 4, 3, 1 opposed to v, 4, 2, 8ff.

[4] xviii, 8–11.

[5] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v, 4, 3, 20ff.

[6] This suggestion of two kinds of family seems quite unwarranted. The Vedic version is perfectly sound in distinguishing the mere relative and the chosen son.

M. Dumézil himself is not unaware of the vast gulf between the Vedic and the Greek testimonies. He suggests that even in the most archaic form there need have been no exact parallel between the royal rites. In certain Indo-European cantons, those of the future Greeks, the scenario of the royal accession followed the scheme revealed in the classic legend of Ouranos; the new king corresponded in the rites to the son of Ouranos, on whose head fell the sufferings of the transition. In mundane language in these cantons the accession of a king followed on the putting aside of the old king when he became aged or reigned badly; he would be slain or at least deprived of his virility as no longer needed or even dangerous. Now there seems no real evidence enabling us to carry back such a rite to Indo-European times, and it is pertinent to remember that in Greece the terms used for kingship ignore the root *rāj*-, fundamental in India, and from its occurrence elsewhere naturally deemed Indo-European, in favour of *basileus* and other terms, of all of which it must be confessed that the origin is obscure, even if we have no definite means of assigning them to the pre-Aryan inhabitants of Greek lands.[2] Even if we were to assume that Greece knew of such royal ceremonials of accession in pre-historic ages, we would hardly be able to assert their Indo-European character.

But it is very difficult to accept the legend of Ouranos as based on such a ritual. M. Dumézil is in difficulties with the fact that Ouranos unquestionably is the sky. He finds his solution in the view that the sovereign god necessarily is husband of earth, and that he is thus identified with the sky, since that according to views current on five continents is regularly regarded as the husband of earth. Is this plausible? Why not accept the perfectly simple explanation that Ouranos is from the first the sky, adopting the etymology, the possibility of which M. Dumézil does not question, which makes the name denote 'the coverer'? Is there anything in the barbarous legend of the Ouranidai which prevents us from regarding Ouranos as primarily the sky? The answer seems clearly in the negative. In fact the essential part of the legend is unmistakably a form of the myth of the separation of sky and earth which is found in various forms in the mythology of Polynesia, as

---

[1] M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932).

[2] Dumézil, p. 46, n. 1 refers to the discussions in *Eos*, xxxi, 519–556 as indecisive.

Andrew Lang[1] long ago pointed out. Doubtless especially in the Greek version, but also in some degree in Polynesia,[2] other ideas have been united with the myth. Hesiod reveals traces of reflection. Gruppe[3] no doubt correctly recognizes the motive of the putting an end to the excessive exercise of the procreative faculty by Ouranos and the substitution or ordered creation under the auspices of Aphrodite. But the appearance of that deity is admitted by M. Dumézil[4] himself to point to the intervention of Asianic or Semitic influences, which renders it unreasonable to use this motive as part of the essential legend. Indeed the idea of the emasculation of Ouranos may be definitely non-Aryan; it is of course a phenomenon well known in legends of Asia Minor, and it may be thence that it came to be connected with a simpler myth of separation without this feature. M. Dumézil himself is probably not inclined to lay serious stress on his arguments that Indra, the successor in certain regards to the kingship of Varuṇa, in late notices appears as emasculated, and that in the legend of Śunaḥśepa the name of the hero is of phallic implication.

If we accept Varuṇa as the sky god, we have at once no difficulty in explaining his close connection with the waters of the heavens and his development to sovereign power, as Professor Macdonell[5] long ago pointed out. This is infinitely simpler than to seek to explain his connection with the waters by the fact that the waters are the great ritual agency, 'le milieu rituel par excellence', and that Varuṇa is the guardian of ritual order, since he is lord of bonds. Still less attractive is the suggestion that Varuṇa's connection with waters is connected with the idea of the king as conferring fecundity. What may be noted in passing as interesting is the fact that the connection of Varuṇa with the ocean, which has given birth to various conjectures with which I have dealt elsewhere,[6] is paralleled in Greece, for Okeanos alone among the Ouranidai remains faithful to Ouranos, his father, and certain Orphic teachers placed Okeanos in the place of his father as first god and first father.

It is further interesting to note a point made by M. Dumézil, which tells in favour of the traditional connection between Varuṇa and Ouranos. In the Greek legend Gaia is oppressed by the children which she bears to Ouranos but which he buries in her bosom, thus distending her painfully. This may be a reminiscence of Varuṇa's punishment of the wicked by making them swell up with dropsy. We cannot go beyond conjecture, but the action of making to swell is definitely connected with the deities whose names suggest original identity, and the conjecture is thus infinitely more legitimate than those based on audacious combinations of statements easily otherwise explicable. We cannot, however, venture to bring these facts into connection with the fact that some savages regard fatness as royal or the power of kings to cause, as in Fiji, or to remove, as there and in England, swellings by touch. This carries us far beyond the field of legitimate speculation. Still less can we see in the theoretic impotence of the Āryan god, precursor of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdāh, the source in the Mazdean theology of the conception of the initial impotence of the sovereign god, to the profit of his rival who is sometimes his brother. No doubt the conception of the struggle between good and evil, life and death, in Iran is derived from simpler ideas, but there is nothing to suggest that this special view counted at all.

---

[1] *Custom and Myth*, pp. 45ff. See Dixon, *Mythology of All Races*, ix, 30ff.

[2] M. Mauss cited by Dumézil, p. 23, n. 2.

[3] Op. cit., i, 584ff. Cf. P. Mazon's ed. of *Theogony*, pp. 28, 29.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 35, 93.

[5] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 27.

[6] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ix, 515–20; *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 81–94.

If we ask why Ouranos plays so small a part in Greek religion, the answer, of course, is that his place was taken by Zeus, and thus of his kingship we have only faint traces as in his knowledge of the secret laws of the world over which even Zeus is not supreme. Why Zeus prevailed we cannot say ; he may have been the god of tribes more successful than those who worshipped the sky as Ouranos. In India the superiority of Varuṇa to Dyaus is very great ; it is natural to suggest extraneous influences, and, while they cannot be proved and efforts to find a Hittite or Austro-Asiatic origin [1] for the deity are far from convincing, it is perfectly possible that the conception of Varuṇa was influenced by ideas of morality and of royal government current in Asiatic lands with which, as we know, the Indians at various times had contacts. If this were the case, it would explain the fact that Varuṇa has so distinctively an ethical character. It is, of course, held by some authorities including M. Dumézil that Mitra is the Aryan god of contracts, but it is far from certain that that was his origin. There is still much to be said for the old view [2] that Mitra in his connection with Varuṇa represents the sun. We are left, in fact, with the impression that, while many gods are not gods of nature and much myth may well be due to ritual, Varuṇa and Ouranos remain duly to be referred to the conception of sky gods.[1]

---

[1] See Keith, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ix, 515–20.

[2] Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i, 98. The root seems to be *mei-*, 'bind' seen in Sanskrit *mekhalā* and Greek *mitrē*, rather than *mei-*, 'exchange'; see Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, ii, 241. Contrast Carnoy, *Les Indo-européens*, pp. 172ff.

It may be added that the view taken above of the significance of the Śunaḥśepa legend renders me unable to accept that tale as a proof of the former existence in India of the practice of slaying the king, or his son, or his wife, or a Brahman as substitute. On this conception M. Dumézil has erected in his *Flamen-Brahman* an interesting and highly ingenious theory of the origin of the Brahman caste, whose position is ultimately to be referred to the habit of kings of keeping men to act as substitutes during the periods, such as epidemics, famines, or the necessity of reviving the life of nature from time to time, when the royal blood should be spilled for the public good. Such men would be treated with formal deference, like other destined victims, and would take part in the slaughter of one of their number, thus acquiring a sombre prestige which set them apart and clung to them long after the actual practice of human sacrifice ceased. To discuss this theory here would carry us from the immediate subject, and it must suffice to point out that the alleged evidence for the existence of any such practice of the slaying of the king in Vedic or pre-Vedic evidence is negligible, and that much simpler and more natural explanations can easily be found for the position of the Brahman.

---

[1] See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i, 262, 263, 282, 283; ii, 347, 348.

HEARTH AND HOME—II

By Girija Prasanna Majumdar

III. Hearth and Home of Ruling Princes

The main object of attraction and importance in a royal capital, from the point of view of secular architecture, is the homestead of kings and princes (*rājagṛha*). Rāja-prāsāda (royal palace) is the dignified name to denote the royal residence. The term *rājāgāra* is also met with to designate such a residence. The names of palaces and state-elephants became immortalized with the names of various dynasties of kings. The Pāli records eloquently speak of the magnificence of the Kokanada-Pāsāda, which was costly built by Bodhi-rājakumāra.[1] Buddhaghosha says that the name of this palace was derived from the lotus.[2]

The Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākha Datta refers to Sugaṅgā-Pāsāda which was built by Chandra Gupta Maurya in Pāṭaliputra. This palace came to be called Sugaṅgā evidently on account of its situation on the bank of the Ganges. The Hātigumphā inscription says that king Khāravela caused to be built a Mahāvijaya-pāsāda which cost him thirty-eight hundred thousand pieces of Indian money. The palace was so named evidently to perpetuate the memory of the victorious career of the Jaina King of Kaliṅga.[3]

The heavenly prototype of all royal palaces on earth was, of course, the Vaijayanta-prāsāda, or Palace of Victory, which was known to be the grand residence of Śakra, or Indra, the King of the gods, of the Thirty-three, and Vanquisher of the asuras.[4]

Each Capital,[5] or city in which the royal residence was situated, was fortified against enemy's attack. It was surrounded by a wall[6]

---

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, Bodhi-rājakumāra Sutta.

[2] *Loc. cit.*,—Kokanadanti Kokanadaṃ vuccati padumaṃ, so ca maṅgala-pāsādau olokanakaṃ padumaṃ dassetvā kato, tasmā kokanadoti saṁkhaṃ labhi.

[3] Barua—Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udaygiri and Khandagiri Caves, p. 289.

[4] See Kulāvaka Jātaka, Fausböll, No. 31 (203); see also Monier Williams; Śabdakalpadruma, *s.v.* Mahāvaijayanta Prāsāda.

[5] The Śukraníti (I, 425–428) directs 'that in a place that abounds in various trees, plants and shrubs, and is rich in cattle, birds and other animals, that is endowed with good sources of water and supplies of grain and is happily provided with resources in grasses and woods; that is bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas, and is not very far from the seas, and that is an even-grounded, picturesque, plain the ruler should build his capital'—S.B.H., XVI, p. 28; cf. also Kamandakiníti, IV, 50–56.

[6] Cf. Mānasāra, Ch. XXXI, where a city is required to be surrounded by a *prākāra* which may be of stone, brick or wood. It is built for strength, beauty

(*prākāra*) provided with four gates in the maximum, on four sides, each gate called a *dvāra*, and being also named the east gate, the south gate, the west gate and the north gate, after the name of the quarter which it faced. The city of Rājagṛha, and the city of Śrāvastī [1] had each four gates on its four sides. But the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta leads us to imagine also the existence of a royal city provided with only one royal gate, and closed by so thick and high a wall as not to allow even a cat to pass out of the city save and except by that one gate.[2]

A king had residences more than one, and even in cities more than one. King Aśoka speaks of his private residence in Pāṭaliputra and in other outer cities and towns (*bahiresu nagaresu*, R.E.V.). The Pali works broadly speak of three residences of princes—one for summer,[3] one for winter and one for the rains.[4] The residence within the city-wall consisted of two parts, inner and outer (*antaḥ-śālā, bahiḥ-śālā*). The inner part of the main palace included the residences of the queens, the princesses, and the private council hall. Other buildings forming necessary adjuncts to the palace in its inner part comprised the coronation pavilion (*abhisekādi-maṇḍapa*), the arsenal (*āyudhālaya*), the store-house (*vastu-nikṣepa maṇḍapa*), the house for keeping ornaments (*bhūṣaṇālaya*), the dining hall (*bhojana-maṇḍapa*), the kitchen (*pacanālaya*), the flower-pavilion (*puṣpa maṇḍapa*), the baths (*majjanālaya*), the bed-chamber (*śayanālaya*) and several others. In the outer part was situated the

---

and defence; cf. also Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, 53; Sumaṅgala Vilāsiní, I, p. 41; The Besnagar Inscription, Mem. A.S.I., No. 4, pp. 128, 129; Khāravela Inscription at the Hāthigumphā, Udayagiri; Cullavagga, V. 14, 3; for details see Acharya's Dictionary, pp. 388–395; Coomaraswamy—Ind. Arch. Terms, p. 268 (reprint); Arthaśāstra, Ch. 24, pp. 52–54; Agnipurāṇa, Ch. 48, V. 8, 12; Garuḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 46, V. 19; etc.

[1] See Law—Śrāvasti in Indian Literature p. 21. See also Beal's Buddhist Records, I, p. xliv; II, p. 4; Dhammapada Commentary, III, p. 380.

[2] Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Ch. I. The City of Palibothrá (Patna), however, was found by Megasthenas and others to be defended by a massive timber palisade about 25 miles in length (Buddhist India, p. 35), 'pierced by 64 gates crowned by 570 towers, and protected externally by a broad and deep moat, filled from the waters of the Son.'—Smith, Early History, p. 119; cf. also Mitra, Indo-Aryan, I, pp. 44-45; McCrindle-Strabo (XV, 36).

[3] Samudrāgāra: a summer house by a lake, Mālavikāgni-Mitra, Act IV; quoted in Ind. Arch. Terms, p. 269.

[4] Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 92, Śiamese Ed.—tiṇṇaṃ utūnaṃ anucchavike tayo pāsāde kāresi, ekaṃ nava-bhūmikaṃ, ekaṃ sattabhūmikaṃ, ekaṃ pañcabhūmikaṃ,—'the king caused to be made for the prince three palatial buildings suited to three seasons of the year, one of them nine-storeyed, one seven-storeyed and one five-storeyed'. Cf. Jātaka, Vol. 5, p. 490—tiṇṇaṃ utūnaṃ anucchavikā divya vimāna-kappa tayo nivāsa-pāsādo—'three residential palaces suiting three seasons of the year'.

residences of the crown prince (*yuvarāja*), of the family priest (*purohita*), of the ministers and others, likewise the hall of public audience (*āsthāna maṇḍapa*), temples, etc.[1] The homestead also contained pleasure-gardens, flower-gardens, groves, tanks, etc., in their proper places ; stables for horses, elephants, cows, etc., generally made near the main gate ; pavilions to witness ram-fights and cock-fights (*meṣa-yuddhārtha-maṇḍapa*, *kukkuṭa-yuddhārtha-maṇḍapa*) and also musical entertainments. A zoo, and an aviary were also maintained within the royal homestead. The Mānasara divides palaces into nine classes with regard to their size or dimension, and the Bṛhat-saṁhitā [2] into five classes each suitable for a prince of a particular status, whether a *cakravartin*, a *mahārāja*, or one of a still lower status.[3] It is doubtful whether such nicer differences were actually maintained, the erection being determined more by individual choice, taste and means than royal status. It goes without saying that the main building was erected on a carefully selected site, and that it was placed within some sort of square traditionally distinguished as Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Puṣpadanta, or the like, altogether 64 names of squares being mentioned in the Śilpaśāstras. The homestead of a king or prince consisted of a palace and other adjuncts, all within a city, and pleasure-gardens without. The city was called the *pura*, *nagara*, or *mandira*.[4] The pleasure-garden was called *uyyāna* (Sk. *udyāna*), or *rājoyyāna*. The Veṇuvana adjoining the City of Rājagaha and the *rājāgāra* adjoining Ambalaṭṭhikā were two pleasure-gardens that belonged to king Bimbisara of Magadha. Ambalaṭṭhikā was created midway between Rājagaha and Nalanda. Similarly, Mahāvana belonging to the Licchavis was a pleasure-garden adjoining Veśāli. Jetavana, too, was originally a pleasure-garden of prince Jeta, adjoining the City of Sāvatthi. Aśoka's Rock Edict, VI, and the Mahāsutosoma Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 537) referred to *uyyāna* as a special place for royal diversion. These pleasure-gardens served also the purpose of public parks with *śālās* and *maṇḍapas* affording shelter and retreats to all visitors including the ascetics and recluses.

The garden-house of the king must have been built within the enclosure of such a pleasure-garden, or a public park. From the description given in the Mahāsutosoma Jātaka it appears that such gardens were full of shady and flowery arbors. The presence of roaming deer was a special feature of these gardens. The kings and princes used to make a processional drive to those gardens, the conveyances being horses, elephants and chariots.[1]

---

[1] Mānasāra, Ch. XL. Dr. P. K. Acharya's edition ; cf. also his Indian Architecture According to Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra, pp. 57–58 (Rāja-gṛha-vidhāna).

[2] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 52, Vāstuvidyā ; cf. also Matsya P., Ch. 254. S.B.H., XVII, ii, pp. 295–297, English transl.

[3] Mānasāra, Ch. XLI, P. K. Acharya's edition.

[4] Suttanipāta, Pārayanavagga, Vatthugāthā—Kosala-maṇḍiraṃ=Kosala-puraṃ ; cf. Jātaka, Vol. 5, p. 480, where the maṇḍira is explained as meaning—*rājadhāni-gehaṃ*, royal residence in the capital.

The Nandanavana of Indra's heaven stands as the celestial prototype of all the royal gardens on earth. The *ārāmas* were neatly kept forests, or wood-lands, in distant places. King Pasenadi of Kośala had such a *ārāma* in Naugaraka, a township on the border of Kapilavatthu. It is to this *ārāma* that the king made a state-drive with all royal retinue and pomp (*mahocca rājānubhāvena*). The *ārāmas* are described as a calm vicinage, pleasant, noiseless, undisturbed by traffic.[2] Lumbiní, the sacred Sāla-groves (*maṅgala-Sālavana*) of the Śākyas, situated on the bank of the river Rohini, which was destined to be the place of Buddhas nativity, is another example of this royal *ārāmas*. The Jātaka-nidāna-kathā gives the following poetical description of this *ārāma* : ' At that time the Sāla trees were full of blossoms from root to the top of the foliages, and inside the arbors and bunches of flowers the five classes of bees and various species of birds put forth sweet carols '. The Sāla-grove of the Mallas of Kuśínāra which was destined to be the place of Buddha's demise is another such example of royal *ārāmas*. According to the Jātaka-nidāna-kathā the *Cittalatāvana* of Indra's heaven is the celestial prototype of these *ārāmas*.[3]

The Rāmāyaṇa gives a graphic description of the Aśoka-vaṇikā, which was Ravana's pleasance outside the city-wall. The pleasance was surrounded by a wall. Within the enclosure was a sylvan grove (*vṛkṣavāṭikā*) with the *sāla*, the *aśoka*, the *bhavya*, the *champaka*, the *uddālaka*, the *nāga* and the mango trees, all in blossoms in season. The grove was surrounded by artificial mounds, contained herds of deer, and many sweet-singing birds. The place was surrounded with various kinds of trees, and the earth appeared beautiful, strewn with heaps of fragrant and charming flowers fallen from the trees. Nearby were tanks large and of various other sizes with transparent and sweet water, fitted with bathing ghats having beautifully made steps set with jewels and crystal posts. The bank was artistically lined with columns of trees, while the watery portion looked exceptionally beautiful with full blown lotuses and water lilies. The tank served as a spacious retreat for the geese, swans, *cakravākas* and a host of other aquatic birds. The trees on the banks were entwined with hundreds of creepers having flowering *santāna* and *karavíra* as diversions. Not far from these series of tanks was a high hill with a beautiful and wonderful peak. All elevations of this picturesque hill were decked with trees and hilly abodes (*śilāgṛha*). A long and beautiful stream of clear and sweet water issuing from this hill flowed through this garden. Its banks were artistically lined with trees with many hanging branches and creepers that touched the water. Beside the hill was a lotus pond gay with many birds. There also was to be seen a big tank full of cool water. Its steps were all jewels being set with stones, and around were many palatial buildings, all made as though by the hands of Viśvakarmā himself. Everywhere were to be seen rows of artificial mounds, and flowery groves. The fruit and flower-trees had golden and silvern pavements and terraces at their bases. A large *śiṃspā* tree with spreading branches and adorned with a big foliage and entwined with creepers and fitted with a golden terrace at the base added much charm to the scene.[1]

---

[1] Uyyānasampannaṃ pahūtamālyaṃ migācirūpetapuraṃ surammaṃ hayehi nāgehi ratheh' upetaṃ hitvā kath' eko ramasí araññe, 479 ;—Jātaka, Vol. 5, p. 506. For processional drives of kings and princes, see Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 63 ; Barua and Mitra, Prākrit Dhammapada, p. 99.

[2] Pāsādikāni pāsādaniyāni appasabdāni, appanigghusāni, vijanavātāni—Majjh. N. III, Dhammacetiya Sutta. See Bahrut Illustrations of Pasenadi's drive—Cunningham, Pl. XIII ; Barua—Bahrut Bk. II, Jātaka Scenes, p. 46.

[3] Jātaka, Vol. 1, p. 62 : Sakalaṃ Lumbini vanaṃ Cittalatāvana sadisaṃ.

According to the Rāmāyaṇa too the Nandana-vana is the heavenly prototype of such a royal pleasance outside the city-wall (*sa Nandanavanasaṃkāśa*, Sundara Kāṇḍa, XV, 3).

As for the royal residence within the city-wall, we have already suggested it was the central, or main object[2] of interest so far as secular architecture is concerned. The description of its surroundings is, indeed, a description of the city itself. We have many typical descriptions of prosperous Indian cities and towns in both literature and inscriptions.[3] It is certain that the cities or towns, all of which were more or less fortified, were built according to some definite plans. The town-planning [1] forms, indeed, an important topic not only in the Śilpaśāstras, but also in all treatises on royal polity, the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the Purāṇas. Kuvera's City, Alakānandā, or Alakā in Uttara-Kuru serves as the semi-human, or semi-divine prototype of all magnificent and prosperous cities.[2]

---

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, Ch. XIV, 1–52 ; in Chapter XV also a succinct description is given of the Aśokavanikā. There it is compared with the Nandana-vana, containing various animals and birds, palaces and mansions, adorned with ponds abounding in beautiful lotuses and water-lilies ; provided with many comfortable seats, sylvan retreats and bowers and arbors with beautiful flowers of all seasons and fruit trees. The Karṇikāras, the Kiṃśukas, the Punnāgas, Saptaparṇas, Campakas and Aśoka trees were in flowers. The palace was white as the Kailāsa hill and built on thousand pillars. All its stairs were made of coral and its pavements made of burning gold. In one word 'it was like the garden of Nandana, or like that of Kuvera, or perhaps it surpassed the both in excellence'.

[2] Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, Ch. VI. 15, where Ravana's palace is described as the ornament of the City of Laṅkā—लङ्काभरणमित्येव.

[3] City of Ayodhyā—Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. 5 ; City of Laṅkā—*ibid.*, Sundarākāṇḍa, Chs. 4, 5, etc. ; Mahāsudassana City,—Digha Nikāya, Mahāsudassana

The Viśvakarmaprakāśa lays down certain general guiding principles of town-planning and house-building,—Building Bye-laws as Dr. B. B. Datta would call them. These are :—

(1) That the town should be laid out first, and then only houses should be planned.

(2) That the trees should be planted first and the premises should be erected thereafter.

(3) That the houses should be provided with verandah, and a flight of steps should lead down from the high plinth of the verandah ; and stone couches, a *vedikā* or elevated seat, should be constructed on each side of the door.

(4) That a hierarchy in the number of the storeys and heights of secular buildings and residences should be maintained so as to make all of them slope up towards the central height of the palace.

(5) That as far as practicable there should be maintained uniformity in the height of buildings in the same street.

(6) That all the houses should be so built as to face the main roads, and there should be another lane at the back to allow a passage for sweepers.

(7) That the doors of a house should be so designed as to be on the same level, and same straight line with one another.

(8) That the new houses should be constructed in such a manner that they will not encroach upon homesteads of others, and that every house should have a water course of sufficient slope.[3]

Suttanta, Vol. II ; City of Indraprastha—Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch. 217 ; Kaliṅganagari—Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udaygiri and Khandagiri Caves—Barua (pp: 19, 287–291, notes) ; cf. also Hāthigumphā Inscriptions of Khāravela—Jayswal ; City of Sāgala—Milinda Pañña, pp. 1-2 ; City of Srāvastí—Law, Srāvastí in Indian Literature ; City of Pāṭāliputra—Arrian, Ind., Ch. X ; a Naga Capital in the Vidura Paṇḍita Jātaka, Fausböll, No. 545.

[1] See, for useful references and information, B. B. Datta's Town-Planning in Ancient India ; Venkatarāma Ayyar's Town-Planning in Ancient Deccan ; R. Unwin's Town-Planning in Practice.

[2] Milinda-pañña, p. 2—Āḷakamandāviya devapuraṃ ; cf. Dīgha Nikāya, III, xxxii, 7, pp. 201-202.

[3] For details see Datta's Town-Planning in Ancient India, Ch. IX, pp. 245–257. Texts quoted below are quoted in Datta's Town-Planning. Viśvakramāprakāśa, Ch. II, 11, 206–209 :

Some idea of the actual surroundings of the royal homestead proper, as described or indicated by various Indian authorities, may be formed in the light of the following :—

1. The first point to be noted is the city-wall enclosing it on all sides with four gates, generally high-towered and provided with ornamental arches (*pākāra gopura toraṇa*), and a pillar at the main city gate. The Pali records generally describe the pillar as an *esiká*,[1] or *indakhila*[2] which was nothing but a strong wooden column (*sāradāru-tthamba*). The principal gates were to be four, opening on four sides and these were known as Brahma, Aindra, Yámya and Sainapatya, according to the Arthaśāstra,[3] and beginning probably from the east.

2. The second point was a ditch or ditches all round the city-wall.

3. The main roads, lanes and bye-lanes and water-courses, parks and squares and public tanks. According to the Arthaśāstra the first demarcation of the grounds inside the city-walls was to be made by opening three main roads from west to east and three from south to north. The roads were made both for patrol purposes and for easy communication, traffic and sanitation. There were also secret passages for escape in times of danger.

4. The residential houses of the people of all the four castes, which are located in the outer zone.

5. The markets of various descriptions with shops, warehouses, store-houses, etc. are properly located.

6. The quarters of various artisans and guilds and corporations of workmen ;

7. The quarters of courtesans, musicians and the like ;

नगरं विन्यसेदादौ पश्चाद् गेहानि विन्यसेत् ।
अन्यथा यदि कुर्व्वाणस्तदा न शुभमादिशेत् ॥ १०३
आदौ हट्टाणि विन्यस्य पश्चाद् गृहाणि विन्यसेत् ।
अन्यथा यदि कुर्य्यात्तु तद् गृहन्नैव शोभनम् ॥ १०४
ब्राह्मणानां चतुःशालं क्षत्रियाणां त्रिशालकम् ।
द्विशालं स्यात्तु वैश्यानां शूद्राणामेकशालकम् ॥ १२६।२, and so on.

[1] . . . . Jātaka, Fausböll, No. . . .

[2] Khuddakapáṭha Commentary, p. 185 ; indakhilo ti nagaradváravinivāranatthaṃ ummārabbhantare aṭṭha vā dasa vā hatthe paṭhaviṃ khaṇitvā ākoḷitassa sāradārumaya-tthambhass' etaṃ adhivacanaṃ.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. iv, 56 ; p. 59, Eng. ed. (1923).

8. The factories, the picture-galleries, the musical halls, the reading-halls, the burial grounds, and cremation grounds, the hospitals, the maternity homes—all these are suitably located.

9. The sacred trees and temples of presiding deities of the town, the guardian deities of all quarters were set up in quarters appropriate to them. The Arthaśāstra recommends the centre of the city as a proper site for building the abodes of such gods as Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaiśrāvaṇa and Viṣṇu.

10. In the immediate quarters of royal officials, the Superintendent of the city is included, and

11. The treasury, the Accountant General's Office, and other Secretariat Offices.

12. The Council hall was a notable appendage to the palace with the Sudhamma-deva Sabhá as its heavenly prototype. The Bhahrut representation of the Vejayanta-pāsāda and the Sudhamma-Deva Sabhā may be taken to suggest the relation of one to the other.

13. The alms-houses, charity halls, educational institutions and the residences of śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, rest-houses for visitors.

From these immediate surroundings within the city-wall one has to pass to the royal residence with its compound, high enclosure and towering gates, placed in the central area of innermost zone. This residence, as outlined in the Mānasāra (Ch. XL) cited before, is broadly divided into two parts, namely the outer (*bahiḥśālā*), and the inner (*antaḥśālā*). The constituent elements of this residence, both in the outer and in the inner part, have also been noted. The inner part is to be called *antaḥpura* in the language of the Arthaśāstra (Bk. I, Ch. 20), and *olodhana* (R.E.V.) in the language of Aśoka. So far as this inner part is concerned the inscriptions of Aśoka refer to the following items: (1) *Mahānasa*, the royal kitchen (R.E.I.); (2) the dining-hall implied in the term *bhuñjamāna*; (3) the harem (*orodha*); (4) the bed chamber (*gabbhágára*); and (5) the *vraca* or the amusement park.[1]

The Arthaśāstra lays down certain general rules for the construction and maintenance of the inner parts of the royal residence[1]:

1. That a site should be selected which is naturally best fitted for the purpose.

---

[1] R.E., VI. According to Barua *vraca* is evidently the Sanskrit *varca*, which means *rūpam* (*vide* Śabdakalpadruma—*sub voce*). In other words, *vraca* is connected with musical entertainments and similar pastimes—Aśoka Edicts in New Light (Calcutta, 1926), p. 81.

2. That it should consist of many courts, one within the other, enclosed by a parapet and a ditch and provided with suitable entrance.

3. That the residential palace should be constructed on the pattern of the treasury house (see Bk. II, Ch. 5).

4. That there should be somewhere in the centre a *mohanagṛha* (secret chamber) with passages made through the walls.

5. That the *mohanagṛha* may also be made in the underground chambers, decorated with the figures of goddesses and sanctuaries carved on wooden door-frame and connected with many underground passages for exit.

6. That the same may be built also in an upper storey provided with a hidden staircase, with a passage for exit in a hollow pillar, the whole construction being fitted with such mechanical contrivances as to enable it to collapse when necessary.

7. That the walls in the inner part should be made of mud mixed with ashes produced by lightning and wetted in hail-water so that it may be rendered altogether fireproof.

8. That the buildings should be provided with such plants as *jívantí*, *śveta*, *muṣkakapuṣpa*, *vandāka*, *pejata*, and *aśvattha* to keep off all venomous snakes.

9. That cats, peacocks, mongooses and such other animals, and birds should be maintained that eat snakes.

10. That the parrots, *śārikas*, and *bhṛṅgarāja* birds should also be maintained because they shriek while they perceive the smell of snakes.

11. That on one side in the rear of the inner part the residence of women should be made provided with all kinds of medicine useful in midwifery and female diseases, as also with well-known pot-herbs and a water reservoir.

12. That the residences of princes and princesses should be built up outside this inner court, while in front of this should be arranged rooms for toilet.

13. That the Council hall, the court, and the offices of the heir-apparent and those of different superintendents or departmental heads, should also be built there.

Such was, and is, indeed, the general pattern of royal residences inside the city. A highly poetical description of the royal residence of Ravana, the king of Laṅkā, has been given in the Rāmāyaṇa, and it may be briefly summarized as follows :—

The palace of Ravana, situated on the top of a mountain, was surrounded by a bright, high, and strong wall, guarded by terrible warriors. The arches over the gateways were decorated and plated with gold and silver. Outside, a moat adorned with white lotuses and water-lilies surrounded the wall. The palace abounded in splendid courts and gateways, with broad roads for the war chariots and other vehicles to pass through. These thoroughfares were guarded by mounted soldiers, and were lined on both sides, at regular intervals, by mounted statues of heroes, made of ivory (*gajásthitair-mahāmātraiḥ*). In the outer zone of the palace grounds were located the beautiful residence of mighty warriors of the commanding class, well furnished, provided with war-chariots, and other military equipments and surrounded by wide grounds containing enclosures for lovely birds and beasts (private zoo and aviary) in well laid out and artistically planned artificial gardens. No garden was complete without sylvan retreats, bowers, and ponds. Near the palace of Ravana and surrounding it were the splendid residences of princes and royal officials interspersed with, and enclosed each by, beautiful gardens. The palace itself was protected by troopers, infantry, male and female, and war-chariots. Nearby were built stables for horses and elephants, and houses for other conveyances, covered all over with net-works of gold and other precious metals.

Interspersed, but well planned and æsthetically arranged, were charming bowers and plant-houses, gymnasium, picture-galleries, sporting rooms, dwellings for dalliance during day time and at night, and wooden mounds, or raised platforms of the shape of a mountain.[1] The palace itself was filled with enclosures for peacock fight, and hoisted with flagstaffs. The treasury inside the palace was well-guarded. The royal residence contained rows of several structures having decorated windows made of gold and silver and set with precious gems, and with birds in hanging cages. The towers were splendid and resembled mountain peaks. It surpassed in beauty, the best secular structures, incomparable in loveliness.

The bed chambers used by Ravana himself, were superior and grand, stainless and spacious, half a *yojana* wide and one long, abounded in many rooms. The sleeping apartments were grand, graceful, provided with jewelled staircases, crystal floors and terraces, decorated with female statues made of ivory and metals, set with precious stones. The chambers had jewelled pillars, the floors were heavily carpetted with parti-coloured and beautifully designed square carpets and furnished with canopies that matched with other furniture. The rooms were always perfumed with various sweet smelling frankincense, their walls decorated with flower garlands, festoons and green foliage—the whole atmosphere being invigorating and delightful. During night time they appear as if in a conflagration on account of the bright and shining illumination. In other parts of the palace were quartered dancing halls, music halls, halls for drinking—all well equipped for the purpose. The inner apartments (*Ravanāntaḥpuraṃ*—39, Ch. 11) also contained bowers (*latāgṛhaṃ*), picture-galleries (*citragṛhaṃ*), night-houses (*niśāgṛhāni*). It also included gardens, ponds, tanks, aviary, and zoo.[1]

---

[1] लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशाला गृहाणि च ।
क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्व्वतकानि च ॥ ३६
कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवागृहकमेव च ।
ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने ॥ ३७, Sundarakāṇḍa, Ch. VI.

IV. HEARTH AND HOME OF THE WANDERERS

Among the *religieux* of ancient India those whose principle of life was not to have a fixed habitat, and not to have anything to call their own in this world, may be broadly classed as Wanderers (*parivrājakas*). They were recluses of some type. The recluses of the Śākyaputriya Order (Buddhist), the Nirgrantha Order (Jainas), and those of the Âjívika Order may be regarded as representatives of those *religieux*, who passed as Śramaṇas, Muṇḍakas (shavelings), and Bhikṣus (mendicants). Those *religieux* who passed and were known as Tridaṇḍins, Ekadaṇḍins and the like, were the recluses of the Brahmana type. The very initiation into any of these Orders implied a passage from home into homelessness (*agārasmá anagariyam pabbajitá*). In this section we are to watch how even such *religieux* came to have some sort of Hearth and Home, and what that hearth and home gradually turned out to be. Not to have any fixed dwelling, not to have any other means of subsistence than what was offered by Nature, or by men of their own accord, were indeed the twofold motto of their lives, and yet the dire necessity arose for having some fixed abodes, especially during the rains, as it was then not easy for them to wander about the country. In the absence of abodes, especially built and publicly dedicated to them they had to seek and find out some suitable shelters, whether in caves and caverns, the shades of trees, the deserted houses, or local sanctuaries, the potter's premises being included. The most delightful abode was no doubt some sheds, or pavilions in royal gardens. We are, therefore, to watch how these gardens, the natural caves and caverns, and the sites of age-old sanctuaries, were converted into permanent retreats of those wandering mendicants, the Śākyaputriya recluses, the Nirgranthas, the Âjívikas, the Acelakas, the Ekadaṇḍins, the Tridaṇḍins and the rest.

---

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, Chs. IV, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, and XII, pp. 721, 724–737, Text with Bengali translation, Calcutta.

The tradition of both Buddhism and Jainism has preserved the memory of a number of royal gardens that were subsequently converted into permanent retreats for the wanderers of different Orders. The *Veṇu-vana* (Bamboo-grove) and Jivaka's Mango-grove (*Ambavana*) in the vicinity of Rājagaha being royal pleasance in Ambalaṭṭhikā situated between Rājagaha and Nālandā, the *Mahā-vana* in the vicinity of Veśāli, the *Nigrodhārāma* (Banyan-grove) in the vicinity of Kapilavatthu, the *Jeta-vana* (Prince Jeta's Garden) in the vicinity of Sāvatthí, and the *Bhesakalā-Vana* in the vicinity of Kosambí are some of the most well-known royal gardens in which the early Buddhist monasteries were built. The *Aśokārāma* in the vicinity of Pāṭāliputra is another such notable instance in the history of Buddhism. The *Śaṅkhavana* in the vicinity of Âḷabhí, *Sahassamba-vana* (Thousand-mango grove) in the vicinity of Kampillapura, and the *Sahassamba-vana* in the city of Polāsapura are some of the ancient gardens and groves that became permanent centres of Jainism.[1] The Tinduka-grove which was a famous garden of queen Mallikā, wife of Pasenadi, in the vicinity of Sāvatthí, afforded a common retreat for all wandering ascetics, particularly for those of the Brahmana-type.

Formerly, these were royal gardens, each provided with one or more *sālās* (sheds or pavilions) open to all chance visitors. 'First come first served' was the principle which guided the temporary occupation of those *sālās* by different religious orders who were not supposed to stay long in one place. The great advantage of those gardens was that they were situated neither very far, nor very near the town, from which the wandering recluses had to gather their daily food by begging. Regarding queen Mallikā's garden we are told that it was beautifully enclosed on all sides by rows of Tinduka[2] or Timbaru trees. 'It was a flower and fruit garden, as well as a park, at first provided with one shed (*ekasālaka*), and subsequently with many sheds'.[3] Other *sālās* had to be added in order to make accommodation for a large number of recluses belonging to different orders.

---

[1] Law—Śrāvastí in Indian Literature, p. 11. See Uvāsagadasāo (Eng. transl.), Chs. IV–VII ; see for further instances, Jaina-Sūtras, S.B.E.

[2] Dígha-Nikāya, I, p. 178 : Tindukachire ekasālake Mallikāya ārāme.

[3] Law's Śrāvastí, p. 20 ; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsiní, II, p. 365 : Tindukāchíra-saṅkhātāya timbaru rukkha pantiyā parikkhittatta tindukāchīraṃ ettha paṭhamaṃ ekāva sālā ahosi pacchā . . . . bahū sālā katā . . . . Mallikāya pana Pasenadirañño deviyā uyyānabhuto so pupphaphalasampannārāmo.

From the description of Jívaka's Mango-grove under the Vulture's Peak in the outskirts of the city of Rājagaha, it is clear that there was a big shed with an open pavilion attached to it, so big as to accommodate as many as some thirteen hundred persons.[1] According to Buddhaghosa the Maṇḍala-māla in the Jívaka's garden was nothing but a covered platform for sitting purposes (*nisídana-sālā*). In the Bharhut Sculpture the said Maṇḍala-māla has been represented 'as an open-pillared shed, with two rows of octagonal pillars, supporting a flat rectangular roof, composed of beams and rafters and adorned with a line of small crenellated battlements'.[2] Buddhaghosa, however, points out that 'the name *maṇḍala-māla* was generally applied to two kinds of building constructions: (1) in some instances, to a circular one-peaked house, thatched (roofed ?), round a single peak, in the duck-and-quail style; and (2) in some instances, to a circular waiting-hall, surrounded by a set of pillars'. But in this instance it meant only 'a sitting-hall, put up in a park or garden, accessible to the public'.[3] The Maṇḍala-māla, or Maṇḍaka with a fine ceiling became afterwards a notable part of monastic structure.

The Veṇu-Vana which was the royal garden belonging to King Bimbisāra of Magadha, was also known as Kalandakanivāpa, or Squirrel's-feeding-ground. It is in this garden that King Bimbisāra erected a permanent retreat for the Buddha and his followers with some new additions of buildings and *sālās*. According to Buddhaghosa Ambalaṭṭhika was the name of a building on the outskirts of Veṇuvana. This building was used as a *padhāna-ghara*, or a solitary chamber for meditation.[4] Here the Pali commentator speaks of a state of things which came to prevail after the conversion of the Bamboo-grove and the Mango-grove into Buddhist Monastic abodes. Previously both of them were royal gardens and groves. The *rājāgāra* in Ambalaṭṭhikā was formerly a building to which all *religieux* had the equal right of temporary use.[5]

The Buddhist literature gives us a detailed description of how the Jetavana, Prince Jeta's garden, to the south of the City of Sāvatthi was secured by purchase from the owner, prince Jeta, by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika, and how the banker proceeded to clear the site, and to erect the entire monastic abode. We are told that it was a most remarkable royal pleasance containing some sandal among other valuable trees. As a first step to the work of erection of the famous monastery the banker ordered his men to cut down the trees and level the ground, and all the trees but the mango and sandal were cut down. In the second stage the banker began new building operation, the erection of monastery residence costing him eighteen crores over and above the donations received from his friends. Prince Jeta himself is said to have constructed a vestibule, or a seven-storied building, according to some stories, on the same site. For the Master alone the great banker built the Gandha-kuṭi, the Karerimaṇḍala-māla, the Kosamba-kuṭi, and the Candana-māla to serve as his four private chambers (*nivāsāgāra*).[1]

---

[1] Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

[2] Barua—Bharhut, Bk. II, Jataka Scenes, p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 43; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsiní, Siamese Ed., I, p. 58: Katthacideva kaṇṇikaṃ gahetvā haṃsa—vattaka-channena katā kūṭāgārasālāpi maṇḍala-mālo ti vuccati. Katthaci ekaṃ kaṇṇikaṃ gahetvā thambapantiṃ parikkhipitvā katā upaṭṭhāna-sālā pi maṇḍala-mālo ti vuccati.

Idha pana nisídana-sālā maṇḍala-mālo veditabbo.

[4] Papañcasūdaní, Siamese Ed., III, p. 119: Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ viharatíti veḷu-vana vihārasya paccyante padhānaghara saṃkhepe viveka kāmānaṃ vasanatthāya kate Ambalaṭṭhikāti evaṃ nāmake pāsāde.

[5] Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 1.

Buddhaghosa in his Sumaṅgala-Vilāsiní, II, p. 407 informs us that the Kareri-kuṭi, the Kosamba-kuṭi, the Gandha-kuṭi and the Salaḷa-ghara were the four main buildings in Jetavana. 'The Kareri-kuṭi derived its name from a Kareri or Varuṇa tree which stood with its shady bower at its door, just in the same way that the Kosamba-kuṭi was so called because a Kosamba tree stood before it. The Salaḷaghara alone was erected by King Pasenadi and the rest were erected by Anāthapiṇḍika. The Kareri-kuṭi was built like a celestial mansion on a foundation of pillars. Not far from the Kareri bower in front of the Kareri-kuṭi was built a sitting shed, called Karerimaṇḍala-māla. The bower itself stood just between the Gandha-kuṭi and this shed '.[2]

According to the Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā ' the banker caused the Gandha-kuṭi to be made for Buddha in the centre, and around it and according to a set plan, he caused to be constructed (cellular) abodes for the eighty great disciples, each sufficient for one man, and to be provided (for all) one-pinnacled, two-pinnacled, duck-and-partridge-roofed, long-chambered and maṇḍapa-like retreats and tanks as well as places to walk, to retire during the night, and to stay during the day '.[3]

---

[1] Barua–Bharhut, Bk. II, Jātaka Scenes, pp. 30, 31 ; cf. Paramatthajotikā II, p. 403 ; cf. also Fausböll's Jataka, I, pp. 92, 94 ; Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., I, p. 361.

[2] Law's Śrāvastí, pp. 24, 25 : Karerī ti Varuṇarukkhassa nāmaṃ Karerimaṇḍapo tassā kuṭikāya dvāre ṭhito, tasmā Karerikuṭikā ti vuccati, yathā Kosambarukkhassa dvāre ṭhitattā Kosambakuṭikā ti. Anto Jetavane kira Kareri kuṭi-Kosambakuṭi-Gandhakuṭi-Salaḷagharan ti cattāri mahāgehāni (Law, p. 24).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24 ; Fausböll's Jataka, I, p. 92.

According to the Vinaya account the Buddhist monastic abode of Jetavana consisted of :—

Vihāras (dwelling-rooms),
Pariveṇas (retiring-rooms),
Koṭṭhakas (Store-rooms over the gateways),
Upaṭṭhānasālās (Service halls),
Aggisālās (halls with fire-places in them),
Kappiyakuṭis (store-houses outside the vihāra),
Vaccakuṭis (closets),
Caṅkamas (cloisters),
Caṅkamanasālās (halls for the exercise),
Udapānas (wells),
Udapānasālās (sheds for the wells),
Jantāgharas (bath-rooms),[1]
Jantāgharasālās (halls attached to the bath-rooms),
Pokkharaṇí (tanks), and
Maṇḍapas (pavilions).[2]

There was a section of Buddhist monks who are said to have founded their centre of activity in localities adjoining such populous and flourishing cities as Benares, Sāvatthi and Rājagha. One of the three places was Kíṭāgiri, 'a very fertile track with abundance of rain-water enabling it to yield three harvests of food grains.' They built '*pariveṇas* (monastic abodes) in public places . . . . . laying out and maintaining fruit and flower gardens'.[3]

Leṇa[4] is the general Pali term to denote five kinds of Buddhist monastic abodes, viz. *vihāra*, *aḍḍhayoga*, *pāsāda*, *hammiya*, and *guhā*.[5] In some passages *leṇa* as a particular kind of construction is distinguished from *guhā* (cave) and *tiṇa-kuṭikā* (straw-thatched cottage).[6] In the Milinda Pañña the *leṇa* has been distinguished from *pāsāda* (residential building), *kuṭi* (cottage), *guhā* (ordinary cave) and *pabbhāra* (cavity with a sloping projection as its covering roof), *dari* (grotto), *bila* (chasm), *vivara* (hollow), and *pabbatantara*

---

[1] According to Coomaraswamy this is a hot bath-room (Indian Arch. Terms, p. 260). See Mahāvaṃsa, XV, 31; Cullavagga, V, 14, 3; VIII, 8, 1; Mahāvagga, I, 25; 12-13; S.B.E., XIII, p. 157, note 2.

[2] Law's Śrāvastí, pp. 23, 24; cf. also Barua's Bharhut, II, pp. 27–31; Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, Vol. II, pp. 104-105, fig. 54.

[3] Barua's The Old Brahmi Inscription of Mahāsthāna, I.H.Q., Vol. X, No. I, p. 63.

[4] For a full dissertation on the term *leṇa* see Barua's Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, notes, pp. 272–303.

[5] Vinaya Mahāvagga, I, 30. 4; I, 77; II, 8. 1.; III, 5; VI, 33. 2; VIII, 7. 1; Vinaya Cullavagga, VI, 1. 2; see Pali-English Dictionary *sub voce* Leṇa.

[6] Vinaya Sutta-Vibhaṅga, IV, 1. 1.; XIX, 1-2, 1.

(crevice).[1] A *pabbhāra* conveys the idea of a slope or projection (*ninna, poṇa*),[2] and also that of a *pabbata-kucchi*.[3] The Vinaya Piṭaka contains passages stating that the *pabbhāras* had to be cleared and fashioned for making *leṇas*.[4]

The Indasāla guhā which is famous in Buddhist literary tradition as well as in art, was a sacred cave in Mt. Vediyaka, situated to the west of Rājagaha. According to Buddhaghosa the cave was placed between two hills, and the range was called Veḍiyaka because 'it was surrounded on all sides by grassy and flowery woodlands, looking like so many *maṇivedikās*, grown at its foot'. As described in the Pali Sakka-pañña Suttanta (D.N., II, pp. 269-270) the cave 'which was uneven became even, which was narrow became wide, which was dark became lighted as if by the superhuman powers of the gods'. Buddhaghosa says that natural cave had to be 'surrounded with Kuṇḍas, fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave-dwelling with the finest chunam plaster, and adorned with the garland and creeper designs' (? friezes), before it was dedicated to the Buddha.[5] The cave, according to Buddhaghosa, came to be known as Indasāla, because a Indasāla tree marked its entrance.

Three well-finished caves, called *kubhā* in Mt. Khalatika (the bald-headed hill), near Gaya dedicated by king Aśoka to the Âjīvikas stand out to-day, as some of the earliest known cave-dwellings of the recluses concerned. There is also a half-finished cave in the same hill which is characterised by the same high polish inside. It was for the same class of Âjīvika recluses, or ascetics, that king Dasaratha constructed cave-dwellings in a parallel range of hills, called Nāgārjuna. As stated in a dedicated inscription attached to them the cave-dwellings were intended to provide their inmates with shelter during the rains (*vāsa-nisídiyāya*). The very first of the cave-dwellings constructed by Aśoka was called Niguhakubhā (The Banyan Cave) for no other reason than that a Banyan tree stood prominently in its front.[6] These cave-dwellings are typical instances of *pabbhata-kuccis*, or hollowed chambers in rocks.

One may next turn one's attention to the large number of

---

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 151.

[2] For full references see Pali-English Dictionary, *sub voce Pabbhāra*.

[3] Niddesa-Commentary, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 172; Pabbatagabbharāti pabbata-kucchiyo.

[4] Vinaya Mahāvagga, VI, 15. 1: Pabbhāraṃ sodhāpeti leṇaṃ kattukāmo.

[5] Barua—Barhut, Bk. II, Jātaka Scenes, pp. 55-56; Cunningham's Bharhut, Pl. XXVIII, 4; Barua, Scene 56; See also Cunningham's Mahābodhi, Pl. Barua's Gaya and Buddha Gaya.

[6] For other instances, See Smith's History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.

Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills and also in Bhubaneswar proper. All these caves, called *leṇas*, were famous erections of King Khāravela, his queen consort, sons and officials, and all were meant to serve as *Kāyanisīdas* (resting places) of the Arhata (Jaina recluses). Some of them, notably the Hāthigumphā bearing Khāravela's inscription, stand as typical *pabbhāra*, rocky projection. Others are rock-cut dwellings, some of which are two storeyed and pillared. It is clear from the inscriptions that the building-shaped cave-dwellings on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills consisted each of a *pāsāda* in front with some *koṭhās* (rooms) in the interior ; some of them were fitted also with *jeyās* (pent-roofs). The mouldings of pillars and friezes adorning some of these cave-dwellings still excite wonders in all chance visitors. The cave-dwellings in Bhubaneswar proper were constructed on the same pattern, and it is to be regretted that they are not all as yet exposed to view.

From hills in Orissa one may proceed to the hill at Nāsik bearing a large number of rock-cut monasteries, all meant for the residence of a certain sect of Buddhist teachers, called Bhadrayānikas. These monasteries were all built under the auspices of the Sātakarṇi rulers. The monasteries stand all at a certain height on the same side of the rock with a spacious road in front of them ; some of them serve as a big dining hall, some as a big lecture hall, some as a spacious kitchen, and the majority of them as bed chambers with hidden cells for the purpose of study and meditation.

The Kānheri caves, and the cave-temples of Ajānta, Bāgh, at Ellora, at Siriguja in Ceylon, the Elephanta caves near Bombay—are all remarkable developments from the ancient cave-dwellings above referred to. The ruined city of Pagan, Upper Burma, still contains some Pagodas artificially built on the pattern of the Indian *leṇas*, dark, calm and solitary inside. We need not mention that all important hills abound in caves and grottos affording shelters for the recluses and ascetics.

India abounded, then as now, in sacred spots (*devasthānas*, *devaṭṭhāna*). As a matter of fact there was no place or locality which was not believed to be under the control or protection of a presiding deity. The wandering recluses or ascetics found those spots, sacred in the eye of the people, to be the fitting places for occasional residence, as well as for meditation. The age old shrines or sanctuaries are broadly classified and described in the early records of Buddhism as *ārāma-cetiya* (sacred grove) *vana-cetiya* (sacred woodland) and *rukkha-cetiya* (sacred trees).[1] These groves, woodlands and trees were popularly believed to be the abodes of some deities, whether *yakkhas*, *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, *piśācas*, fairies, or benevolent gods and goddesses.[1] The *pāsānaka-cetiya* (rocky shrine), situated between Rājagaha and Gayā was one of those sacred spots on which was built a vihāra by the Buddhist.[2] The city of Vesālī alone contained as many as six time-honoured national shrines, called the Udena-Cetiya, the Gotamaka-Cetiya, the Sattambaka-Cetiya, the Bahuputta-Cetiya, the Sārandada-Cetiya, and the Cāpāla (? Pāvāla)-Cetiya.[3] Each of them was but a notable example of the tree shrine. It may be assumed that there was hardly any village, or a town, which did not contain any such shrine. From the description of the Cetiyas in Vesālí alone it appears that they were mostly Banyan trees, each endowed with some sort of sylvan personality. The Bahuputta-Cetiya, for instance, was just 'a spreading banyan tree with many shoots, symbolical of a man's increase in family'.[4] The trees stood indeed, as natural landmarks of various holy spots on which the local people had built some sort of a rude structure, whether a mere terrace at the foot of the tree, or a tower,[5] or a chamber. These sacred spots are important as providing sites [6] for the erection of residences of the Buddhist and other recluses and ascetics.

---

[1] Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, p. 246.

V. HEARTH AND HOME OF THE HERMITS

The *Araṇya*, or Forest, with its sombre woodland and quiet vicinage was found to be the ideal place for those who wanted to live away from the turmoil of a crowded locality.[7] In point of fact the first religious home of India was built in such a place.

---

[1] Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, vol. I, p. 117.

[2] Suttanipata Commentary.

[3] Dīgha-Nikāya, II, p. 102 ; Udāna, VI, i ; B. C. Law's Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 74 ; Barua's National Shrines of the Vṛjis, *I.C.*, I, p. 124.

[4] Cf. also Dhammapada Commentary, III, p. 246 for rukkha-cetiyáṃ ; Divyavadāna, p. 201 ; Law's Note, pp. 74, 76 ; Barua's National Shrines, *I.C.*, I, p. 126.

[5] The Ṭaṃ-kiṭa Mañca, the abode of Yakkha, Sucíloma, in Gaya may be mentioned as an ancient example of such towers. See Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, I, p. 88 ; Barhut, Bk. II, Jātaka Scenes, p. 62.

[6] Udāna-Commentary, VI, i : Iti Sabhān' ev'etāni Buddhuppādato pubbe devatāpariggahitāni cetiya-vohārena voharitāni. Bhagavato vihāre kate pi tath'-eva sañjānanti.

[7] Arañña-vanapatthāni pantāni senasanām—is the oft recurring Pali expression to denote the lonesome forest retreats of the ascetics. The term *arañña-vanapattha* is taken by Buddhaghosa to mean a solitary retreat in a woodland on the outskirts of a locality, and a *panta* to denote a similar retreat far away from human habitation,—Majjhima Nikāya, Bhayabherava Sutta ; Vanapattha Sutta ; Papañcasudanī, Part I, p. 155, Siamese Ed. ; Araññāni dāmantaṃ atikkamitvā manussānaṃ anupacāraṭṭhāna bhāvena vanapatthāni. Pantāniti atidūrāni.

The earliest known description of the charm of such a forest is met with in the famous Araṇyāṇi Sukta of the Ṛgveda (X, 146): The forest exists, as it were, in its own right, unmindful of the village, and without the least sense of fear. When the drone of crickets mingles with the cry of *vṛsāravas* the forest becomes exalted and resonant as with cymbals. When the cows remain grazing there, it looks like a habitat; while at eventide it sends back the cattle home, and the waggons carrying the fuel. At day time one man calls his cow, another cuts down the timber, while waiting till eventide one thinks there is a cry. The forest injures none unless some lurking dangers (tigers and robbers) assail. Feeding upon the sweet fruit, a man penetrates a forest at will. The poet praise the musk-scented, fragrant, fertile, uncultivated woodland, the home of wild animals.[1]

In the word of the Buddha that spot is delightful where holymen reside . . . . . Delightful are the forests where the man of the world finds no charm. They are delightful to those saintly men who are free from passion and do not seek the allurements of the sense.[2]

The forest had become the acknowledged religious house of India some centuries before the rise of Buddhism. The Āraṇyaka sections of the Brāhmana Literature stand out as remarkable achievements of ancient India that keep alive the memory of those ideal homes. The Rāmāyaṇa testifies to the existence of a long stretch of hermitages from the bank of the Saraju in Kośala down to the bank of the Godāvari. It is evident from the description in the Rāmāyaṇa that the hermitages were generally built on the banks of some rivers, or hill streams, or near some lakes or pools, or at the confluence of two rivers. The forests were resonant day and night with the drone of the crickets and gladdened with carols of all sweet-singing birds. The sacrificial fires were kept ablaze, emitting smoke. The inmates of the religious home usually lived on the fruits and roots that could be gathered. The beasts and birds roamed about freely without any fear of harm. The Ṛṣi was full of hospitality to all guests and visitors. Pañcavaṭi, noted for its grove of five sacred trees, was the last hermitage in the South, on the bank of the Godāvarī which was visited by Rāma with his wife and brother.[1]

---

[1] Text: Araṇyānyaraṇyānyasau yā preva naśyasi | Kathā grāmaṃ na pṛcchasi na tvā bhīriva vindatī oṃ || Vṛṣāravāya vadate yadupāvati ciccikaḥ | Aghāṭibhiriva dhāvayannaraṇyānirmahīyate || Uta gāva ivādantyuta veśmeva dṛśyate uto araṇdhāvayannaraṇyānirmahīyate || Uta gāva ivādantyuta veśmeva dṛśyate uto araṇ-

[2] Dhammapada, verses 98-99;
Yatthārahanto viharanti taṃ bhūmiṃ rāmaṇeyyakaṃ ||
Ramanīyāni araññāni yattha na ramati jano ।
Vītarāgā ramissanti na te kāmagavesino ||

The Buddhist Jātakas, too, bear the same kind of testimony to the existence of a large number of ancient hermitages along the Vindhah Range and on the banks of the Godāvari.[2] In the Jātakas each of the notable hermitages is said to have been beautifully laid out by Vissakammā, the heavenly architect.[3] The direction given in the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka shows that generally a dense forest, or the bank of a river was to be selected as a proper site for a hermitage (Jātakas, Vol. V, 143). Even in historical times Bāvarī [4] a family chaplain to the king of Kośala, is said to have built a hermitage on the banks of the Godāvari. There were as many as three different settlements of the Jaṭilas in three parts of Gayā at the time of the rise of Buddhism. The *aggāgāra*, or the fire-room, in which the holy fire was kept ablaze, was the *sanctum sanctorum* of the hearth and home of this class of hermits.[5]

The Jātakas give descriptions of various *āśramas* (hermitages) which differed in size and magnitude. The general plan of them was no doubt the same.[6] The hermitages mostly consisted of *paṇṇa-*

---

[1] Cf. Āraṇyakāṇḍa, Ch. 15. Here Rama built an *āśrama* on a site which was even-grounded, graceful and surrounded with flowering and fruit-trees. Nearby was the beautiful Godāvari, charming with lotuses, bordered by flowering trees, and swarmed with aquatic birds. The wood was thronged with herds of deer and resonant with cries of peacocks and other birds. The adjacent hills had many natural caves, and were covered with sālas, palmyras, *tamālas*, dates, *panasas*, *nīvāras*, *tiniśas*, *punnāgas*, mangoes, *tilakas*, *ketakas*, *champakas*, *syandanas*, *candanas*, *nīpas*, *lakucas*, *dhavas*, *aśvakarṇas*, *khadiras*, *samis*, *kiñcukas*, and *pāṭalās*. Laksmana built the *āśrama* on this site. It consisted of two spacious huts furnished with pillars of bamboos, graceful, 'spread with *sami* boughs tightly fastened with strong cords, covered with *kuśa*, reeds and leaves; with floors levelled and charming, beautiful to look at and exceedingly excellent'. 10–23.

[2] Sarabhaṇga Jātaka, Vol. V, Fausböll No. 522.

[3] *Ibid*., F. No. 522; Mūga-pakkha Jātaka, Vol. VI, F. No. 538; Vessantara Jātaka, F. No. 547.

[4] Law's Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, p. 26.

[5] Barua, Gaya and Buddha Gaya, Vol. I, p. 217.

[6] See Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, Pls. XLII, i; XLIV, vi; XLVI, ii; XLVIII, vii, XLVI, iv; XXVI, vii; XXXIII, vii; Cunningham's Mahābodhi; Barua's Gaya and Buddha Gaya, Vol. II, Fig. 67. In one of the representations (Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXIII, vii) the hermit's leaf-hut appears as a cottage 'with an enclosure of bamboo palisade, supporting a well thatched dome-shaped roof with one pinnacle'. In another representation (Barua's Barhut, Jātaka Scenes, p. 99) the ascetic's dwelling hall described as Jaṭila-sabhā, is represented as an arched open chamber.

sālās (leafy-huts), and cottages thatched with straw. Some of the hermitages were laid out over an extensive site, demarcated by some sort of a fence. Some of the hermitages were run as educational institutions with an accommodation for a large number of pupils.[1] In some instances natural caves were used as abodes.[2]

Many of the hermitages mentioned in the Jātakas were built in the Himalayan region, but none of the hermitages described in any literature of the world, can vie with the *āśrama* of the princely sage Viśvantara (Pāli Vessantara) in size, glory, and magnificence. All that is to be known of the hearth and home of the hermits of ancient India at its best, may be known from the Jātaka description of the *āśrama* of Viśvantara.

Viśvakarma, the heavenly architect, was ordered by Sakkra, king of the gods, to build a hermitage on a pleasant spot in the dales of Mt. Vanka of the Himalayan region. Visvakarma went and made two hermitages 'with two covered walks, rooms for the night and rooms for the day ; alongside of the walks he plants rows of flowering trees and clumps of banana, and makes all things necessary for hermits . . . . driving away all unhuman creatures and all harsh-voiced beasts and birds.'

The full grandeur of the original description of the āsrama may be brought out in the following words of the translator :

> 'Sir brahmin, younder rocky mount is Gandhamadan hill
> Where lives the King Vessantara with wife and children still.
> See yonder, trees with many fruits, green on the mountain
>   side,
> While the dark mountain-peaks uplift till in the clouds they
>   hide.
> There shrubs, and creepers, horsear, sāl, and many another
>   tree [3]
> Sway in the wind like drunken men for any one to see.
> High up above the rows of trees the birds in concert sing
> Najjuha, cuckoo, flocks of them, from tree to tree flitting.
> Thronging among the leafy twigs they bid the stranger
>   come,
> Welcome the guest, delighting all who make the woods their
>   home,
> Where with his children now abides Vessantara the King.

---

[1] Fausböll Nos. 238, 245.

[2] The Jātakas immortalized the name of Nandaka Guhā, serving, as it did, as an abode of Pacceka Buddha. For a cave-dwelling of the hermits, see Barua's Gaya and Buddha Gaya, Vol. II, Figs. 73, 73(*a*).

[3] Other trees are : Dhava, Aśvakarṇa, Khadira and Spandana.

Mango, rose-apple, jackfruit, sāl, all kinds of myrobolan,
Bo, golden tinduk, many more, including the banyan ;[1]
Plenty of figs, all growing low, all ripe, as sweet as sweet,
Dates, luscious grapes, and honeycomb, as much as you
can eat.
The mango-trees are some in flower, some with the fruit
just set,
Some ripe and green as any frog, while some are unripe yet.
A man may stand beneath the trees and pluck them as they
grow.
The choicest flavour, colour, taste, both ripe and unripe
show.
It makes me cry aloud to see that great and wondrous
sight,
Like heaven where the gods abide, the garden of delight.
Palmyra, date-palm, cocoanut grow in that forest high,
Festoons of flowers garlanded as when the banners fly,
Blossoms of every hue and tint like stars that dot the sky.
Ebony, aloe, trumpet-flower, and many another tree[2]
Acacias, berries, nuts, and all as thick as thick can be.
Hard by there is a lake bespread with lilies blue and white,
As in the garden of the gods, the Garden of Delight.
And there the cuckoos make the hills re-echo as they sing,
Intoxicated with the flowers which in their season spring.
See on the lilies drop by drop the honey-nectar fall,
And feel the breezes blowing free from out the south and
west,
Until the pollen of the flowers is waften over all.
Plenty of rice and berries ripe about the lake do fall,
Which fish and crabs and tortoises dart seeking with a zest,
And honey drips like milk or ghee from the flowers one and
all.
A frequent breeze blows through the trees where every
scent is found,
And seems to intoxicate with flowers the forest all around :
The bees about the scented flower fly thronging with their
hum,
There fly the many-coloured birds together, all and some
Cooing and chirping in delight, each with his mate they come.

---

[1] Other trees are : Kapittha and Kapitāna.

[2] For a full list see Childers. The following are added by the translator : Kuṭaja, Kuṣṭha, Uddālaka, Somarukka=Somavakka (Somavalkya), and Putrañjīva.

Festoons of flowers garlanded as when the banners fly,
Blossoms of every hue and tint, sweet odours wafted by,
Where with his children now abides Vessantara the King.
The foliage of the pepper-tree in that fair spot is seen,
No dust is ever blown aloft, the grass is ever green.
The grasses like a peacock's neck soft-cotton to the touch
Grow never more than inches four, but always just so much.
Kapittha, mango, rose-apple, and ripe figs dangling low,
All trees whose fruit is good to eat in that fine forest grow.
There sweet and clean and fragrant streams as blue as beryl flow,
Through which disporting up and down the shoals of fishes go.
A lake lies in a lively spot, with lilies blue and white,
Hard by, like that which is in heaven i' the Garden of Delight.
Three kinds of lilies in that lake present them to the sight,
With varied colours : some are blue, some blood-red, others white.
As soft as linen are the flowers, those lilies blue and white,
And other herbs grow there : the lake is Mucalinda hight.
And there in number infinite the full blown flowers you see,
In summer and in winter both as high as to the knee.
Always the many-coloured flowers blow fragrant on the breeze,
And you may hear drawn by the scent the buzzing of the bees.
All round about the water's edge are standing in a row
The ebony, the trumpet-flower, and tall kadamba-trees.
Six petals and many another tree with flowers all a-blow
And leafy bowers all standing round about the lake one sees.
There trees of every shape and size, there flowers of every hue,
All shrubs and bushes, high and low are spread before the view.
The breezes swiftly waft the scent from flowers white, blue, and red,
That grow about the hermitage wherein the fire is fed.
Close round about the water's edge grow many plants and trees,
Which tremble as they echo to the murmurs of the bees.

The scent of all the lovely blooms that grow about that shore
Will last you if you keep them for a week, or two, or more.
Three kinds of gourds, all distinct, grow in this lake, and some
Have fruit as big as water pots, others big as a drum.
Mustard, green garlic, lilies blue to pick, and flowers full-blown
Jasmine, sweet sandal, creepers huge about the trees are grown.
Sweet jasmine, cotton, indigo, and plants of many a name
Cress, trumpet-flower grow all around like tongues of golden flame.
Yea, every kind of flower that grows in water or on land,
In and about this lovely lake lo and behold they stand.
There crocodiles and water-beasts abide of every sort,
Red deer and other animals for water do resort.
Turmeric, camphor, panick-seed, the liquorice-plant, and all
Most fragrant seeds and grasses grow with stalks exceeding tall.
The wood is full of elephants, of antelopes and deer
Where hanging down from all the trees great creepers do appear.
There mustard grows, and sugar-cane, and many kinds of rice,
And beans and other plants and herbs, all comers to suffice.
Yonder the footpath leads you straight unto his settling-ground.
Where never hunger, never thirst, and no distaste is found,
Where with his children now abides Vessantara the King.'

THE CRIME OF THAGI AND ITS SUPPRESSION UNDER LORD W. C. BENTINCK

By ISHWAR SAHAI

Causes of growth.—Here let us pause to analyze the causes of the growth of Thagi till 1828. Some western writers have suggested that the religions of India, Hinduism and Islam, helped its growth or at least sanctioned it. One writer says that 'under the sanction of religious rights and promises this pest is spreading through our dominions'. Another writer remarks, 'Their (Thags) occupation is sanctified by the national religion—that the Thags regard themselves as engaged in the special service of one of the dark divinities of the Hindu creed. . . . . The genius of Paganism, which has deified every vice, and thus provided a justification of the indulgence of every evil propensity, has furnished the Thags with a patron-goddess, worthy of those whom she is believed to protect'. Colonel Sleeman speaks in the same strain. The truth, however, seems to be that neither Hinduism nor Islam had anything to do with their growth. Mr. Somerville, who traces all crimes in India to three sources, one of which is the religious practices, says in the preface [1]: 'I admit that the selection of a title such as this ("Crime and Religious Beliefs in India") is open both to ambiguity and misunderstanding. Religion has no bearing on crime. Theoretically this is correct ; but actually history offers no single parallel so prone to provoke the worst of human passions as religious intolerance. There is no worthy emotion, belief or desire in the heart of man that through ignorance, misconception or deliberate intention is not capable of evil and so it is with these deeply psychological oriental beliefs, so pure at their source, yet so much maligned and distorted by ignorance and prejudice by the common mass . . . . . Mind you, I write of the ignorant only . . . . .' From this it will become dear that Indian religious systems had no bearing on Thagi. But then it cannot be denied that ignorance of the principles of their religion coupled with the enormous outgrowth of superstitions and the mistaken beliefs of the ignorant Hindus did furnish a cause for the growth of Thagi.

Poverty and unemployment contributed their share to the growth of Thagi. The disbanded Pindaris and other soldiers must have found it profitable to join the Thags and flourish in the chaotic atmosphere.

---

[1] Somerville—Crime and Religious Beliefs in India—Preface.

The British was unaware of the Thags. When they came to know about them, they took measures which did not check their growth. The policy of avoiding the Thags and allowing them to emigrate to Indian States was mischievous in its results, for the Thags swarmed in Malwa, Rajputana, Central India, where they carried on their depredations unchecked, as order had not been restored there as yet.[1]

The most important cause, 'which more than any other promoted its extension', was in the opinion of Colonel Sleeman, 'the illogical application in practice of the maxim "that it is better ten guilty men should escape the punishment of death and all the eternal consequences which may result from it, than that one innocent man should suffer that punishment".'[2] The law of evidence, followed in prosecuting them, was that 'the testimony of a number of confessing prisoners shall not be considered a sufficient ground to authorize the detention of their associates' and to sentence them to death. And as the methods of the Thags and their precautions precluded the possibility of direct evidence, the law of evidence proved favourable to them.[3]

Since Lord Hastings's time a very important reason had begun to operate. The English authorities had begun to feel that the crime had been extirpated. From the notice of Thagi made by Lord Hastings about his government, we learn that 'there is believe that by this time the pest in question (i.e. Thagi) has been rooted out'.[3] Naturally this feeling slackened administration. Colonel Sleeman and Captain Reynolds were also deluded in thinking that the Thags had been crushed. The truth was that the crime was spreading fast, so much so that 'its roots had penetrated and spread over a large area within the British dominions'. In the north and the south they infested almost all the principal roads. Konkan was the only part free from their depredations. But the greatest number of the Thags infested the roads of the Central India partly as a result of its unsettled condition and partly because of the policy of permitting emigration to non-British territories.[4] The roads, therefore, of India in 1828 (when Lord W. C. Bentinck came to India) were not safe for travellers.

Need of effective measures.—The crying need of the hour was reform. It was, however, not the great extent of the crime that awakened the British Indian Government from their administrative nap. It was rather the result of certain lucky circumstances that their delusion and false notion of security from the Thags received a rude shock and gooded them to adopt effective measures.[1] These circumstances were the arrest of 105 Thags by Mr. Molony; of a gang by Mr. Wardlaw; and of one more by Captain Borthwick in 1829. Shortly after Colonel Sleeman also captured one gang in Bhopal. The arrest of the gang by Captain Borthwick was attended with peculiar circumstances. It was made on a mere suspicion of their carrying opium. On being charged with Thagi, they pleaded innocence. The sawars insisted on their detention, till one, Khaimraj, to save life, became an approver and disclosed everything. These seizures naturally alarmed the authorities. At the same time, Major Stewart wrote to the Government that the 'expeditions of these murderous gangs have, of late years, become the greatest calamities with which Malwa has been afflicted; and it will not fail to attract the notice of Government . . . . . and that the very pacification of the country has led to the extension of this muderous system, to a degree unknown before'. The cumulative effect of these things was that 'the feelings of every one, whose feelings were of any importance to the cause of the suppression of Thagi, from the Governor-General and Vice-President of the Council Sir Charles Metcalfe to the humblest individual, seemed to be deeply and simultaneously interested, in promoting the cause of their suppression'. It was also realized that the ineffectual and isolated measures followed till then had miserably failed, and that some exceptional measures should be adopted to cope with the situation.

---

[1] H. H. Wilson—History of British India, Vol. III, p. 278.

[2] Ramaseeana, pp. 50–53.

[3] Affairs of the E.I. Company (General Appendix), No. 2.

[4] (*a*) Ramaseeana, pp. 32-33. (*b*) Thornton, pp. 350–353.

Measures under Bentinck.—Therefore arrangements were made for their more effectual suppression. Under the orders of the Government a department of Thagi was established under Mr. F. C. Smith, the Police Commissioner on November 15, 1829. The instructions of the Supreme Government, on the receipt of the case of the arrest of a gang by Captain Borthwick and of the depositions of the approvers, were as follows :—

'The evidence of the five approvers is confirmed by the discovery of murdered men at various places as indicated by them, and by the discovery of the booty. They belong to various chiefs. Since they do not belong to any particular chief, and since they are the enemies of all good Government, they should be treated as pirates' and 'subjected to condign punishment by whatever authority they may be seized and convicted . . . . . Under this view of the case and adverting to the relative situation of the British Government as the paramount power, the Governor-General-in-Council has no hesitation in authorizing and directing capital punishment to be inflicted on the leaders, and all the gang who shall be proved to have been employed as the stranglers. With regard to those who aided in decoying and enticing the victims to their fate, or to remove or to conceal the bodies, they must be held to be accessories both before and after the fact, they are equally criminal as the principals, and deserving the same punishment of death ; but His Lordship in Council authorizes you to commute the sentence of capital punishment into transportation for life with hard labour, beyond seas, or confinement for a certain term of years, according to the circumstances of each particular case. Such of the prisoners as have acted merely as followers of the gang, employed in the performance of menial duties, such as syces or grass-cutters, and did not as accomplices, share in the plunder ; and boys also under 14 years of age, of whom there are three or four amongst the prisoners ; are to be kept in confinement for such periods as you may consider proper'. It was suggested that the plan of punishing the accused in their own villages was very difficult and need not be followed. Further 'wherever a doubt may exist in his mind as to the fact of the party being one of the gang (notwithstanding the identification of one or more of the evidence), that individual is to have the benefit of the doubt, and his case to be reserved for further orders'. The procedure was also laid down. All witnesses were to be separately called and asked to identify the accused. Then Captain Barthwick was to write his own opinion about the accused's guilt, and the punishment he should be given. Then Major Stewart should give orders. As for the five approvers to whom Captain Barthwick promised pardon, they wrote, 'it does not appear whether unconditional release, on the conviction of their associates, was distinctly pledged to them or not. Considering the past course of life which these individuals, who have taken an active share in all the atrocities to which they depose, have led, his Lordship in Council feels extremely reluctant to let them again loose on the society, without security for their future good behaviour. If by pardon was meant that their lives, which had been forfeited by their crimes, should be spared, they may be considered to be treated with great lenity if no severer punishment be inflicted than confinement until they can give good security ; and you will be pleased to send them, under a guard, to the care of the Governor-General's Agent in Bundelkhand ; with whom you will arrange as to the time of their despatch, and the place where they may be delivered over to the escort which that officer may propose to send to the frontier of his jurisdiction, for the purpose of relieving the guard which may be sent from Midnapore. The

---

[1] Ibid.

Agent to the Governor-General will receive instructions regarding their disposal, until they can furnish such security as he may see proper to accept. You may apprize the five approvers of this decision, in order that they may know their destination, and obtain means for obtaining the security required'. The result of this trial was that 40 Thags were sentenced to death, and the rest were transported or imprisoned for life.

As already noted, because the chief causes of the growth of Thagi were the defective law of evidence, inadequacy of administration and their strong organization, it was thought that 'to suppress associations of this kind ..... a departure from rulers like these [as observed before], however suitable to ordinary times and circumstances ..... becomes indispensably necessary; and as they have matured their system to deprive all governments of every other kind of direct evidence to their guilt but the testimony of their associates, it behoves all Governments, in order to relieve society from so intolerable an evil, to mature another by which their testimonies shall be rendered effectual for their conviction without endangering the safety of the innocent'—a plan similar to that suggested by the able magistrate of Chittur in his letter, dated December 6, 1809.

Hence was begun the system of approvers, which destroyed mutual confidence among the Thags and also furnished direct evidence. Yet circumstantial evidence, identification of the Thags accused, the tracing of looted property—were not to be overlooked. Further, Colonel Sleeman started a separate file for every Thag whose name became known to him, in which all information obtained about him from different informers was collected. Thus, as soon as an accused was arrested and identified, a mass of evidence was usually at once forthcoming to secure his conviction. Some files of this kind are preserved in Ramaseeana. Besides this, he also compiled a vocabulary of the Thag slang, which helped the authorities in arresting and convicting the Thags.[1]

To neutralize the defects of the system of perpetual changes in the magistracy of a district, the trial of Thags of Hyderabad and Indore was, with the consent of the Nizam and the Holkar Governments, made over to the British Resident at their respective courts, but subject to the revision and final orders of the Supreme Government. Similar arrangements were made with Oudh. The trial of all those, not committing murders in the Regulation districts, was done by the Governor-General's Agent in the Sangor and

---

[1] Ramaseeana—(Vocabulary) and (Appendices).

Narbada territories. Later on, he was also given the charge of trials of Hyderabad Thags. In the Regulation Districts such trials were made over to the regular tribunals; but with the previous sanction the venue of the trial was changed to some other district or to the court of the Commissioner of Allahabad Division, Mr. Stockwell, who consented to undertake that work in addition to his other duties.[1]

When it was found that the area over which the Thag activities spread was very extensive, some officers were added. Mr. Wilson was given the charge of the Doab on the 14th September, 1832; Mr. Mcleod, of Rajputana, Malwa, and Delhi on the 21st February, 1833; and Mr. Reynolds, of the south of the Sangor and Narbada territories on the 12th May, 1832. Ultimately on the 7th January, 1835 a resolution was passed by the Governor-General in Council, which ran thus [2]:—

'It being necessary for the entire suppression of the horrible system of assassination called Thagi, which has recently been ascertained to prevail to a most lamentable extent over the greatest part of India, that additional means should be employed in tracing and apprehending individuals charged with these crimes; and it being essentially requisite also, for the protection of innocent persons, to add to the number of European superintendents employed in directing the operations of informers, so as to obviate the practices of oppression or extortion by the subordinate agents employed in this department, the Governor-General has been pleased to make the following arrangements :—

'Mr. F. C. Smith, the Agent to the Governor-General in the Sangor and Narbada territories, will exercise, as heretofore, a general control over the officers employed in the suppression of Thagi and he will conduct the trial of all individuals charged with having committed this crime, excepting where the offence is charged to have been committed within the company's provinces, or in the kingdom of Oudh.

'In the former case, the individuals accused will be made over to the constituted authorities, and in the latter, the trials will be conducted by the resident at Lucknow. Trials which may be conducted in the regulated provinces will be referred to—the Nizamat Adalat, or otherwise disposed of, as the regulations may direct. All other trials will be referred through the Secretary in the political department for the final orders of the Governor-General in Council'.

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 56–58.
[2] Asiatic Journal (1835), pp. 128-129.

The names and designations of other officers employed all over India for the suppression of Thagi in 1835 were as follows:—

1. Mr. D. F. Mcleod—Personal assistant to Mr. F. C. Smith in this department.
2. Colonel Sleeman—Superintendent under Mr. F. C. Smith, stationed at Jubbulpore.
3. Lieut. Briggs—Assistant to Mr. F. C. Smith in Rajputana.
4. Mr. J. C. Wilson—Assistant to Mr. F. C. Smith in the Lower and Upper Doab and Rohilkhand.
5. Capain Reynolds—Superintendent under Mr. F. C. Smith in the Deccan, in communication with the resident at Hyderabad.
6. Lieut. Elwall—Assistant to Captain Reynolds.
7. Captain Paton—Assistant to the resident at Oudh.
8. Lieut. J. D. Shakespear—Extra-assistant to the resident at Lucknow, in the general duties of his office.
9. A number of officers in Bihar and Malwa were appointed later on.

Besides the arrangements noted above, in March, 1831 a company of Nujeebs was added to the Jubbulpore police corps, exclusively for employment under Colonel Sleeman in his duty; and in April, 1835 another company was added to the same corps for employment under Captain Reynolds. The officer commanding the Sangor Division, Brigadier-General O'Halloran anxious to afford his aid in promoting the success of the measures adopted by the British Government against the Thags, had given Colonel Sleeman the services of a detachment under the command of an excellent native officer in Bundelkhand; and Brigadier-General Smith, on his succession to the same post, remained equally anxious. In July, 1833 Mr. Wilson and Mr. Mcleod were each given a detachment of 40 regular sepoys and 20 troopers. The aid of the chowkis and village watchmen was also taken.

As a result of these efficient measures a large number of Thags was arrested between 1829 and 1835. One thousand five hundred and twenty-four Thags were committed for trial by different officers at different places. Out of them 376 were sentenced to death; 883 transported for life; 80 imprisoned for life; 18 imprisoned for life on security; and 68 were awarded imprisonment for shorter periods. In this way, 1,412 were punished. Of the remaining 112, 21 were acquitted; 11 escaped before the sentence was passed; 31 died during the period of trial; and 49 were made approvers before their committal.[1]

---

[1] Ramaseeana, p. 38. [A chart giving all the details is also given in the book.]

Thus by the time of retirement of Lord W. C. Bentinck a good deal had been accomplished. In Oudh Colonel Low and Captain Paton had considerably succeeded. Hence Colonel Sleeman expressed his view that he had no doubt of a successful result to their efforts in that quarter; if the active pursuit and co-operation of the local magistrates continued. In Western Malwa Captain Barthwick had arrested a large number of Thags. Likewise little remained to do in Gujerat, Rajputana, and the Delhi territories. Thus except in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the organization of Thags had been successfully broken up. In these provinces Mr. P. Smith and Mr. C. W. Smith had tried to suppress Thagi, yet much remained to do. The reason for this was that the Thags there had taken to river Thagi, carrying their activities on boats from Calcutta to Benares. Though they had so far defied the attempts of the British authorities, their final extirpation was only a question of time.[1]

As for the Deccan and the South, though great progress had been made by Captain Reynolds, the Bombay Government and local authorities, yet all the important bands of Thags had not been arrested and their organization was not completely broken up.

In short, in 1835 Thagi as a regularly organized fraternity of murderers had ceased to be a great menace to the travellers.

Later work.—Still, it was feared that the remaining Thags might revive Thagi. But the machinery evolved under the Governor-Generalship of Lord W. C. Bentinck was expected to finally exterminate them. It was however, considered necessary in 1836 to pass an Act: 'That whoever shall be proved to have belonged, either before or after the passing of this Act, to any gang of Thags, either within or without the territories of the East India Company, shall be punished with imprisonment for life; that every person accused of the offence made punishable by this Act, may be tried by any court which would have been competent to try him if his offence had been committed within the Zillah where that court sits; and that no court shall, on a trial of any person accused of the offence made punishable by this Act, require any fatwa from any law-officer'. This law, though very strict, was not considered unjust, for the enormity of the crime admitted of nothing but exceptional measures.

A perusal of the Annual Calendar for the years from 1836 onwards will show that the crime steadily diminished. In 1860 the crime ceased to exist, as E. Balfour says, and from that date no mention of Thagi is found.

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

Causes.—The causes of the final disappearance of the Thags were more than one. They themselves believed that their downfall was attributable to their disregard of the vow of secrecy, of omens, and of the rules which excluded certain classes of men from becoming victims, and to the ' ikbal ' of the British Government. There is no doubt that the weakness of the Thag organization was to a considerable extent responsible for their final extinction. But that was by no means the sole cause. Some Thags changed their tactics and there is reason to believe that some of them took to other forms of crime—Megpunnaism, poisoning, dacoity, etc. Somerville says that ' thieving is becoming a profession highly organized and perfectly equipped '. The records of the Government of India show that dacoity became more common. S. M. Edwardes observed a frequency of poisoning cases. *The Calcutta Review* (1860) wrote that ' Thagi has been suppressed by the vigorous efforts of the British Government ; and men are rarely in these days strangled by the wayside, but they are poisoned by hundreds and thousands . . . '

But the most important cause was the efficiency of the measures adopted and executed, and their moral impression on the people and the Thags. *The Calcutta Review*, *The Asiatic Journal*, and other contemporary journals all praise the efficiency of the measures. That the Thag organization, which was growing formidable in 1828 and was ever-increasing, was finally crushed in 1860, is the greatest proof of the effectiveness of the measures. As a matter of fact it had been (completely or) considerably shattered in 1835 and had only lingered on till 1860. So great indeed was its success that *The Calcutta Review* suggested that the Thagi (and Dacoity) Department should not be abolished, and that the measures and methods followed by it should be adopted in suppressing other forms of crime.

Concluding Remarks.—The credit for the ' suppression of the Thagi was due to the active and energetic measures of the Indian administration rather than to the policy of Lord W. C. Bentinck ',[1] but then it must not be overlooked that ' he vigorously supported the measures taken against them, and urged on his lieutenants to make a speedy end of these enemies of public peace ' ; and that it was during his Governor-Generalship that the Thag organization had been shattered. In the galaxy of the functionaries who tried to suppress it, the name of Colonel Sleeman shines with great lustre, and its suppression has therefore been rightly associated with his name.

---

[1] Boulger—Lord William Bentinck [Rulers of India Series], p. 78.

THE KÂKATÎYA RUDRADÊVA

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

About the history of the dynasty that grew to power towards the close of the eleventh century A.D., and ruled over Tellingana, in the eastern part of the present dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam, much has yet to be said and known.

The dynasty is known as 'Kâkatîya'. Kumârasvâmî Sômapîthin, son of the famous Kôḷâcala Mallinâtha, in his commentary on the *Pratâpa-rudrîya*, the well-known treatise on Alaṁkâra (Rhetoric), by Vidyânâtha, derives the word 'Kâkatîya' from 'Kâkati', which is one of the names of Durgâ: '*Kâkatir=nâma Durgâ śaktir=Êkaśilâ-nagar=êśvarâṇâṁ kuladêvatâ* | *sâ śaktir=bhajanîyâsy=êti Kâkatîyaḥ* ‖.[1] But against this fact that the worship of the *kula-dêvatâ* or family deity, Durgâ, under the name of Kâkati, was responsible for the origin of the dynastic name Kâkatîya or Kâkatya, we have got the evidence of an inscription, viz. the Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapati-dêva (1260 A.D.), according to which Kalikâla Côḷa, described, as an ancestor of the dynasty, went 'to Dakṣiṇâpatha in the course of a hunting expedition, and alighting there on a famous town called "Kâkati" pitched his extensive camp near it'.[2] Kâkati as a place name occurs also in some other records, the most important being No. 204 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905, in which Kâkati is referred to as the '*kula-pura*', 'family city' of the Kâkatîyas.[3] And since Kâkati was an ancient place, the conjecture has been made that the family name Kâkatîya, Kâkatya or the like is based upon the original connection of the members of the line with that city, which is sought to be identified with Kânkêr, 'the head-quarters of the state of that name, situated immediately to the north of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces', which 'was formerly called Kâkêra, Kâkaira and Kâkaraya'.[4]

Besides the Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapatidêva, the unpublished Pâkhâl inscription of about the time of the same prince also refers to Karikâla Côḷa, of the Solar race, as one of the predecessors of the royal family.[1] By Karikâla- or Kalikâla-Côḷa, the allusion is unquestionably made to the greatest of the early Côḷas, dating from about the sixth (or the third) century A.D., and round whose name had gathered in course of time various legends and traditions, that have been collected by Dr. Hultzsch.[2] He is referred to as one of the ancestors of the Côḷa kings in the Udayêndiram plates of a Côḷa feudatory of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa family,[3] and in the Leyden grant issued in the 21st year of Râjarâja I's reign.[4] He is also mentioned, as an ancestor of the Teḷugu-Côḷa princes, in the Arulâḷa-Perumâḷ (Conjeeveram) temple inscription,[5] Tiruvorriyur inscription,[6] Tiruvalangadu inscription,[7] Tiruppasur inscription,[8] etc. of Tammusiddha, in the Madras Museum plates of Śrîkaṇṭha,[9] and so on.

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 198, footnote 11.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 347f. and vv. 11-12.

[3] Ibid., p. 348.

[4] Ibid., p. 349.

In the inscriptions of Tammusiddha, Karikâla-Côḷa is stated to have constructed the (flood-) banks of the Kâvêrî, and to have lifted Mount Mêru with his play-staff, whereupon the quarters were greatly disturbed. This, when read along with the statement of Karikâla's hunting expedition in the Deccan and alighting there on the town of Kâkati, as in the Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapati, is, we must agree, apt to represent the latter, too, as an equally embellished account of the popular mind.[10] The grant, then, by itself, does not prove anything beyond that there was a town, Kâkati, in the Deccan, and it was established sometime, or perhaps long, before that was issued. But deprived of the connection between the town and Karikâla, who is alleged to have been an ancestor of the Kâkatîyas, the theory of the origin of the name 'Kâkatîya' derived from the name of the town, with which is associated the legend of Karikâla,—loses its cogency. Again, the distance of Kânkêr from Anmakôṇḍa or from Warangal is least encouraging for accepting the identification of Kânkêr with the town Kâkati.[11]

---

[1] No. 82 of the *Epigraphical Collection for* 1902-3.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 377f.

[3] Ibid., No. 76, pp. 382f.

[4] *Arch. Surv. South India*, IV, pp. 206f.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 153.

[6] Ibid., p. 150.

[7] Ibid., p. 123.

[8] Ibid., p. 126.

[9] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 24, No. 174, and *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 123, note.

[10] Cf. on this point *The Kaveri, The Maukharis and The Sangam Age*, by T. Aravamuthan, University of Madras, 1925.

[11] For a still less admissible theory about the origin of the Kākatīyas, viz. that they originally migrated from Kâgati, a village in the Mysore State, see *J. Andhra His. Res. Soc.*, VI, pp. 124-25.

If, however, we do not wholly disregard the evidence of the commentary on the *Pratâparudrîya* that Kâkati is a name of Durgâ, as noted above, it is possible to offer another suggestion regarding the origin of the name Kâkatîya (or Kâkatîśa), on the basis of the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapâmbâ.[1] In verse 60 of this inscription, Gaṇapati is said to have obtained great prosperity through the favour of Pârvatîśa, lord of Pârvatî, i.e. Śiva (*Pârvatîśa-prasâda-prâpta-khyâta-sampat*), while verse 3 refers to the race of the Kâkatîśas (*Kâkatîśânâṁvaṁśo*). If Kâkati is a name of Durgâ, the expression 'Kâkatîśa' denotes Śiva, as does the expression 'Pârvatîśa', and we know that the Kâkatîyas or Kâkatîśas were Śaivites. The family name Kâkatîya would thus appear to have been derived from the religion the members of the family professed (the religion being probably inherited from their ancestors, whose original home was at the place called Kâkati).

The Kâkatîyas, since the time of Gaṇapati, the powerful nephew of Rudradêva, advanced claim to belong to the Solar race (*Sûryya-vaṁśa*), and thus to the Kṣatriya caste, and the claim is most unambiguously asserted in the Kâñcî Êkâmranâtha inscription of Gaṇapati, wherein occurs the expression '*bâhujânâṁ kul=êsminn=ajani*' (v. 8). But that this claim is a preposterous pretension has been betrayed by an inscription in a mosque at Budapur in the Mahaboob-nagar District, which records the building of two temples by a general of Gaṇapati, and 'clearly and definitely mentions that the Kakatiyas were of the fourth caste',[2] i.e. Śûdras, and this is exactly the inference drawn previously by Hultzsch as to their caste, in view of the fact that they intermarried with Śûdra chiefs.[3]

The first known historical ancestor of the Kâkatîya family is Prôḷa I, who seems to have flourished as a petty chief in the last quarter of the eleventh century. His son was Bêta, also called Bêtma, Bêtêśa and Bêtarasa, who is styled as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and was a feudatory of the (Western) Câlukya king Tribhuvanamalladêva (Vikramâditya VI). It was in his time that Anamkôṇḍa became the capital of the family, which continued to be as such till it was transferred to Warangal, probably towards the close of Gaṇapati's reign (cf. No. 231 of Epigraphical Collection for 1905, dated A.D. 1254). Bêta also had the *viruda* of 'Tribhuvanamalla', just as another feudatory of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya VI, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddêva the Śântara chief of Paṭṭi-Pômbuccapura, had, but it is difficult to explain how these feudatories could have borrowed the *viruda* or epithet of their overlord. Prôḷa II, alias Prôḍa, Pôḷarasa, etc. was the son and successor of Bêta, and must have ascended the throne some time before the Câlukya-Vikrama year 42 (A.D. 1117), the date of his Anamkôṇḍa inscription.[1] He commenced his rule as a feudatory of the same Vikramâditya VI, and spent much of his life in warfare, both offensive and defensive.

---

[1] *E.I.*, III, pp. 94f.

[2] *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. I, published by the Lakshmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad Dn., 1935, No. 20 (Kâk).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 268, note 6 ; also cf. *J.A.H.R.S.*, III, pp. 112–15.

The immediate successor of Prôḷa II was Rudradêva, his eldest son by Muppala-dêvî. He is sometimes represented as Pratâparudra I, in which case the adopted son of his nephew's daughter, Pratâparudra (1291–1330 A.D.), designated in the *Paradâra Sôdara Râmana Kathê*, a poetical work by Nanjuṇḍa,[2] as Vîrarudra, becomes liable to be styled as Pratâparudra II. But Rudradêva's denomination as Pratâparudra I is not warranted by historical documents, and as such, it is, as has already been pointed out,[3] a mistake.

Rudra's inscription from Anamkôṇḍa,[4] which is a most valuable record for the early history of the Kâkatîya kingdom, is dated in Śaka 1084, or A.D. 1162, and the various exploits of his, recorded in the inscription, require that the commencement of his reign should be placed sometime earlier. We have indeed an inscription of his time discovered at Dâkṣârâma, which is dated in Śaka 1080, equivalent to A.D. 1058.[5] As a tentative hypothesis, we may place the beginning of his reign in or about 1156 A.D., rather than in 1158 A.D., as proposed by Mr. M. Rama Rao[6] under the idea that Prôḷa II must have been alive till the early part of 1158 A.D., as it was in that year that he sided with Vijjala or Vijjaṇa of the Kalacuri race against his Câlukyan overlord, Taila III. But Prôḷa's taking sides with the Kalacuri prince in his design of dethroning Taila[7] is but an inference made from the datum in Rudra's Anamkôṇḍa inscription that he, Prôḷa (at a certain day of time) measured swords with Tailapa.[8] If even the inference be correct, there is no evidence that Vijjaṇa, in whose name there is an inscription dated in Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157,[1] made Taila flee to Annigêri after this date.

---

[1] Ibid., IX, pp. 256f.

[2] *Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department*, for the year 1929, Bangalore, 1931, p. 41.

[3] *J. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 25.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, 1882, pp. 9f.

[5] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Hultzsch, IV, No. 1107.

[6] *J.A.H.R.S.*, V, p. 234.

[7] *Early History of the Dekkan*, R. G. Bhandarkar, 3rd ed., pp. 156-57.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, pp. 13 and 17.

Tradition embodied in the *Pratâpacaritram* makes Rudra kill his father in the Svayambhu temple through oversight, while according to an inscription from Dâkṣârâma, Côḍa II, son of Gôṅka II, and a chief of Vêlnâḍu, is the slayer (evidently in some battle) of Prôḷa, as is indicated by the expression '*Kâkati-Prôḷanirdahana*' used of him.[2] A conjecture based on the version of this inscription has been made that after the fall of Taila III, Rudra's father invaded the Vêḷnâḍu country, when in all probability Côḍa II killed him.[3] But if tradition is seldom a trustworthy evidence, we must also be slow to credit all such versions of inscriptions. We know, the Yâdava king Siṁghaṇa of Dêvagiri boasts of having been 'the uprooter of the water-lily which was the head of the king of Teluṅga',[4] which clearly goes to intimate that Siṁghaṇa killed (in battle) the Kâkatîya Gaṇapati, who was his contemporary king of Teliṅgana, but Gaṇapati had had outlived Siṁghaṇa by at least 13 years, and ruled at the earliest up till April, 1260 A.D., the date of his Garavapadu inscription.[5] In case of Taila III also, he is styled in an inscription from Nekkonda in the Mahaboob-Nagar District, as '*Rudravidravana*',[6] which for certain cannot imply that Rudra was overthrown by Taila III.

There is no evidence whatever that in 1158 A.D. there took place a formal proclamation of independence by the father of Rudradêva.[7] On the contrary, we find Rudra himself begin his rule as a feudatory of the Câlukyas, as is borne testimony to by the Anamkôṇḍa inscription, which besides describing him as a *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, distinctly alludes to his allegiance to an overlord by the use of the expression '*pati-hita-carita*', 'he whose actions were for the advantage of his lord'.[8] However nominal the allegiance might have been, Rudra did doubtless owe it, or a semblance of it, to the Câlukyan throne, irrespective of the political upheaval that took place there. It was in his later career that Rudra asserted independence after the downfall of the Câlukya Sômêśvara IV, although even then the titles of a paramount sovereign were not borne by him.

---

[1] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[2] Cf. *J.A.H.R.S.*, V, p. 237.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, pp. 197-98.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 346f.

[6] *Tel. Inss.*, Vol. I, Câl. Ins., No. 33.

[7] Cf. *J.A.H.R.S.*, V, p. 237.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, pp. 12 and 16 ; cf. p. 10, Fleet.

As to his military exploits,[1] the Anamkôṇḍa inscription first records that he broke the power of a Ḍômma and having again and again put him to flight, acquired a number of towns, possessed of all things that were the best of their kind, and that he subdued one Mêda also.

It is difficult to ascertain who this Ḍômma was, but Fleet's conjecture that 'he may have been the leader of some aboriginal tribe which had not then lost his power', based upon the fact that '*ḍôma*, *ḍômba* or *ḍama* is the name of a despised mixed caste', is wholly beside the mark. Ḍômma may, however, be the same with the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśara* Ḍômme Râju, who is mentioned along with Mêda Râju and Jagaddêvudu in a Telugu inscription found in a ruined temple at Nagunur in the Karimnagar District, as to have won a victory over an army of 80,000.[2]

Mêda also appears to have been the Mêda Râju of the above inscription. But the locality over which he, or the other chieftain Ḍômma, held sway cannot be determined until fresh materials are forthcoming.

Rudra is next described in the inscription as one 'who destroyed the pride that arose in the time of war of the glorious Maiḷigidêva; and who acquired the wealth of the country of Śrî-Polavâsa'.

The text (ll. 58–61) is as follows:

Śrîmân-Maiḷigidêva-saṁga-samaya-prôdbhûta-darpp-âpahaṁ prâpta Śrî-Polavâsa-dêśa-vibhavaṁ Śrî-Rudradêvam sadâ.

Dr. Hultzsch's identification of this Maiḷigidêva with the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Mallugi,[3] father of Bhillama, is the accepted view, but Mr. Rama Rao, dissenting, says, 'Mailagi has been wrongly identified with the Yadava king of that name. This is opposed to the data given in the Anumakonda inscription. It is said that Rudra obtained the overlordship of the "Polavâsadêśa" by defeating Mailagi. A Mailagi figures in a record at Jagatyâla and the taluq of that name is even today known as "Polâsa".'[4]

The date of this Mailagi remains, however, unknown. But supposing that he was a contemporary of Rudradêva, the respectful mention of Maiḷigidêva, an opponent though, as 'Śrîmân Maiḷigidêva' in the inscription is manifestly indicative of that he was not a petty chief but belonged to an illustrious family, just as another opponent of an illustrious family, Tailapadêva, has been respectfully mentioned as Śrîmat-Tailapadêva in the same inscription (l. 29). In the next place, a careful perusal of the text of the inscription will bring home that there is no causal connection between the acquirement of Polavâsa-dêśa and the defeat of Maiḷigi (i.e. the former is not the effect of the latter), as is generally believed to be. No real reason, therefore, exists why the identification of Hultzsch should be discarded. Rudra's reign thus marks the beginning of the hostilities of the Kâkatîyas with the Yâdavas, which continued to be during the next four reigns.

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, pp. 17-18.
[2] *Tel. Inss.*, Vol. I, No. 17, see p. 210.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 198.
[4] *J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, p. 26.

In the subsequent description of the inscription as to Rudra's military feats, we find that,—

(1) One Bhîma established himself by slaying a chief named Gôkarṇa ;

(2) Côḍôdaya died out of the fear of Rudra ;

(3) So did Tailapa (III) die through fear of Rudra, when Bhîma 'assumed a transitory position of sovereignty', which, in the best of probability, means that Bhîma, after the death of Taila III, temporarily conquered some of the eastern portions of the territories belonging to the Western Câlukya dynasty[1] ;

(4) Bhîma, 'the vilest of kings', who was the murderer of his elder brother (not necessarily Gôkarṇa, as is assumed by Mr. Rama Rao[2]), and had illicit connection with his step-mother, was assailed by Rudra, when he had heard, through his spies, of the wealth of his kingdom and of his evil deeds ;

(5) Rudra, having 'advanced three or four steps' from his kingdom, sacrificed (burnt) the city of Vardhamâna-nagarî, which might or might not have been the capital of Bhîma ; and

(6) Bhîma abandoning all his possessions shamelessly betook himself to the forests, accompanied by his brother, mother and wife, but Rudra pursued him, burnt the city of Côḍôdaya, and then cut down the forest which was his (Bhîma's) fortress, and made there a great and wonderful lake in the centre of a city.

The identity of this Bhîma, who, as it follows from the inscription, was the most powerful of the rivals of Rudra, has not yet been settled. We now know of a Bhîma as brother of one Vaidyanâtha, who got some territory from Tailapa (III), while he was a prince, from an inscription at Panagal, in the Nalgonda District, of the time of Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyâṇa,[1] but whether he is identical with the Bhîma under discussion cannot be divined.

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 11.

[2] *J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, p. 27.

Côḍôdaya is doubtless the Udaya, who in the inscription of Rudradêva is spoken, in connection with his father, of having been first vanquished and then re-instated in his kingdom by Prôḷa II. He is, again, the prince whose daughter, Padmâ, became the queen of Rudra,[2] and is identified with the Telugu Côḷa ruler who is mentioned in an inscription from Jetcherla in the Mahboob-Nagar District, dated in Śaka 1084 (A.D. 1162), as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kandûri Undayana Côḍa Mahârâja of the Karikâla family.[3]

But we cannot rightly comprehend why, while pursuing Bhîma, Rudra burnt the city of his father-in-law, Côḍôdaya, who had already died (' out of Rudra's fear '), unless we agree with Fleet that Bhîma taking advantage of Côḍôdaya's death appropriated a part of his dominions,[4] and suppose withal that the ' city of Côḍôdaya ' lay near about the forests in which Bhîma had taken shelter.

It is no exaggeration saying that Rudra's campaigns and conquests sowed the seeds of the future empire of the Kâkatîyas. There is in his Anamkôṇḍa inscription a specification of the eastern and southern boundaries of his dominions, which are the shores of the Salt sea and the Śrî-Śaila Mount (Kurnool District) respectively. As to the southern boundary, the veracity of the statement is upheld by the existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool District.

The relation of Rudradêva with his successors is the next point, that requires more or less elaborate discussions. He had no son to succeed him. His successor was Mahâdêva, the eldest of the three brothers he had,[5] and father of the celebrated Gaṇapati. Mahâdêva seems to have had a short reign, but it is above comprehension why he is not sometimes reckoned in our days as a king at all.[6] In the Ganapêśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati (v. 11), it is distinctly recorded that ' After king Rudra had gone to heaven, the earth was cherished by king Mahâdêva, the sun of whose valour extinguished the light of (other) kings, as of stars ' (*Divaṁ gatê Rudra-nṛpê babhâra bhuvaṁ Mahâdêvavibhur=vvinêśuḥ* I *pratâpa-bhânâ (vu)-ditê*

---

[1] *Tel. Inss.*, Vol. I, Cāl. Ins., No. 37.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 83.

[3] *J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, p. 27.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 11.

[5] Ekâmranâtha Ins. of Gaṇapati, v. 11.

[6] Cf. Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, Madras, 1932, p. 355 ; also H. Krishna Sâstrî, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 259.

yadîyê têjâṁsi bhanâm=iva bhûpatinâṁ॥).[1] The Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapati also tells us that, 'Then his (Rudra's) younger brother, the glorious Mahâdêvarâja ruled the entire circle of the earth right up to the Cakravâla mountain, the residential rampart of the Sêvuṇa (*king*) breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the Krauñca mountain cleft by Śaravaṇabhava (i.e. Kumâra)'.[2] No less explicit is the Cêbrôlu inscription of Jaya or Jâyana, the general of Gaṇapati, on this point, as it records that, '*Tata stat-s=ôdaryya(ḥ) sva-bhuja-dhṛta-sâmrâjyamahimâ Mahâdêva kṣôṇî-ramaṇa iti gîtas=tribhuvanê* . . . .'[3]

According to the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapâmbâ (v. 5), Mahâdêva was killed in battle.[4] But it is not stated with whom the battle was fought. There is, however, a reference, as already noted above, in the Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapati, to that the elephants of Mahâdêva made a breach in the ramparts of the residence of the Sêvuṇa king, who appears to have been the Yâdava king Jaitugi I (1191–1209 A.D.),[5] rather than his predecessor Bhillama (1187–91 A.D.). On the other hand, in the Paiṭhan grant of the Yâdava king Râmacandra, Jaitugi is said to have slain the king of Trai-Kaliṅga (doubtless a Kâkatîya king) in battle, and to have seized the whole of his kingdom.[6] The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Kâkatîya Mahâdêva died while fighting with the Yâdava king, Jaitugi I.

The Paiṭhan grant of Râmacandra speaking further of Jaitugi I says that 'this ocean of compassion fetched Gaṇapati, the speech of whose mouth was sweet, from the prison-house and made (him) lord of (his) country'. Also in the Bahâḷ (in Khândêśa) inscription of the time of Siṁghaṇa II, son of Jaitugi I, dated in 1222 A.D.,[7] Jaitugi is said to have made Gaṇapati lord of the Andhra country. But who had imprisoned Gaṇapati?

'The words of the Paiṭhan grant', remarked Prof. Hultzsch,[8] 'leave it doubtful if Gaṇapati, before he was installed on the throne by Jaitugi I, had been kept imprisoned by this king, or by his own father Mahâdeva, or by his uncle Rudradeva'. But there could have hardly any point in the laudable exultation of Jaitugi's compassion, were he the person to have tormented Gaṇapati by imprisoning him. In the second place, does not the boast that Jaitugi made Gaṇapati lord of the Andhra country lose much of its force, if we go to apprehend that he himself had kept Gaṇapati in captivity? Again, on the other hand, the theory of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Gaṇapati was probably placed in confinement by Rudradêva[1] does not also appear tenable. For, after Rudra ruled Mahâdêva, and the latter on his accession might well have released his own son from incarceration. Gaṇapati, therefore, was, in all likelihood, imprisoned by Mahâdêva, evidently for his misconduct or treason. There is an inscription, dated in 1262 A.D., and found in a mosque at Budapur in Mahaboob-Nagar District, in which we are told that Gaṇapati was associated with the government of the country, even while Rudra was alive.[2] It may not be improbable that Gaṇapati, having thus qualified himself in the art of government, coveted the Kâkatîya throne on the death of Rudra, but his father, Mahâdêva, succeeded to keep him inclosed in a jail, and to rule, till when he was killed in battle with Jaitugi, who set Gaṇapati free and made him king.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 90 and 85.
[2] Ibid., XVIII, p. 354.
[3] Ibid., V, pp. 144-145, v. 9.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 97.
[5] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 314f.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 112.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 198.

Mr. Rama Rao wants us to believe that since the earliest record (discovered as yet) of Gaṇapati, whose reign commenced in 1198 A.D., is dated in Śaka 1131, or A.D. 1209 A.D., which would be his tenth year,—he 'remained in the Yâdava prison between 1198 and 1209, but was liberated and restored after that date'[3]! Apart from the facts that after 1209 A.D., it was Siṁghana, the son of Jaitugi, who was on the Yâdava throne of Dêvagiri, and that nothing carries off the possibility of an inscription of Gaṇapati with a date anterior to 1209 A.D. being found in the future,—the absurdity of the hypothesis lies on the surface of it.

As Mahâdêva reigned after Rudra for some time, both the brothers could not have died in battle on one single occasion. There is no knowing how Rudra died. The oft-quoted passage from the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hêmâdri's *Caturvarga-cintâmaṇi* that Jaitugi 'assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battlefield and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Raudra (*Raudrasya raudrâkṛtêḥ*), the lord of the Tillaṅgas, and vanquished the three worlds',[4] is often construed to mean that Jaitugi killed Rudra. But even if there be any historical truth beneath the surface of this highly poetical and ornate language of a court-poet, it cannot be applicable to Rudra, for the reading of the text is definitely and admittedly 'Raudra', i.e. 'the son of Rudra', but the Kâkatîya Rudra had no son. To say that it is a scribal error for 'Rudra' would be begging a question, while to suppose that a Sanskritist like Hêmâdri wanted to allude to Rudra by the employment of the term 'Raudra' would be worse than idle. I do not know if such an expression in such a case may refer, in the absence of a son, to the immediate successor (of the king), but if it does, the history of the Kâkatîyas becomes much easy and smooth. Or else, we must forbear to turn to account in Kâkatîya history the passage from the *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, which yields no pertinent sense.

---

[1] *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd ed., p. 186.

[2] *Tel. Inss.*, Vol. I, Kâk., No. 21.

[3] *J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, p. 34.

[4] See R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd ed., pp. 186 and 243.

It is interesting to note that Rudra's name is omitted in the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapâmbâ,[1] the younger grand-daughter of Mahâdêva. The omission is difficult to account for, since it does not look comparable with the omission of Skandagupta's name in the Bhiṭâri seal of Kumâragupta II, or that of Kumârapâla, the Pâla king of Bengal, in the Manhali grant of Madanapâla.

An inscription of the time of Rudra engraved on a pillar at Pillalamarri in the Nalgonda District, registering the gift of a subordinate of his, is dated in the Śaka year 1117,[2] corresponding to A.D. 1195. This, or the year following, was probably Rudra's last regnal year.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 94f.

[2] *Tel. Inss.*, Vol. I, Kâk. Ins., No. 7.

THE BṚHANNĀRADĪYA AND THE NĀRADĪYA PURĀṆA

By RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

As these two Purāṇas are closely interrelated and as either of them has sometimes been taken to be the original *Nāradīya Purāṇa*,[1] it is necessary to examine them with a view to understand their true character.

The *Bṛhannāradīya* [2] is purely a sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. It describes the Vaiṣṇava feasts and ceremonies illustrated by various legends and contains chapters on the glorification of the Ganges, the duties of the castes and the Āśramas, the funeral sacrifices and expiations, and so forth. It is pre-eminently a work on Viṣṇu-bhakti (devotion to Viṣṇu) which is said to have ten gradations, viz., Tāmasādhamā, Tāmasa-madhyamā, Tāmasottamā, Rājasādhamā, Rājasa-madhyamā, Rājasottamā, Sāttvikādhamā, Sāttvika-madhyamā, Sāttvikottamā and Uttamottamā.[3] This Bhakti is repeatedly declared by the Purāṇa to be the only means of salvation.

The title '*Bṛhannāradīya*' given to a work both in the body of the chapters [4] and the colophons shows that it is not the original *Nāradīya P.*, the words *bṛhat*, *vṛddha*, etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. It cannot be held that the *Bṛhannāradīya P.* 'is generally so called to distinguish it from the *Nārada*—or *Nāradīya*—Upapurāṇa',[5] for, we shall see below, the present *Nāradīya Purāṇa* was composed, or rather compiled, after the *Bṛhannāradīya* mainly with the chapters of the latter. That the *Bṛhannāradīya* is not the original *Nāradīya P.* but only an Upapurāṇa, is established by other evidences also.

---

[1] See Haraprasad Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V (Purāṇa MSS.), Preface, pp. cxxxv–cxliii. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 557. *Viśvakoṣa* (a Bengali encyclopædia), edited by Nagendra Nath Basu, Vol. XI, p. 627.

[2] The Vaṅgavāsī edition is generally the same as the ASB. edition. Both consist of 38 chapters. There are, of course, occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

[3] *BNār.*, 14, 195–207.

[4] *BNār.*, 1, 36—purāṇaṃ nāradīyākhyaṃ bṛhad vedārtha-saṃmitaṃ; 1, 66— . . . bṛhannārada-nāmadheyaṃ . . . purāṇaṃ ; and 38, 132— . . . . bṛhannārada-saṃjñitaṃ.

[5] Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, I, p. 557.

The *Matsya* (53, 23), the *Skanda* (VII, i, 2, 43) and the *Agni P.* (272, 8) describe the *Nāradīya P.* as follows :—

> 'yatrāha nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpāśritān iha |
> pañcaviṃśa (*Agni* reads pañcaviṃśat) sahasrāṇi nāradīyaṃ
> tad ucyate' ||

According to this description the *Nāradīya P.* was declared by the sage Nārada in relation to the Bṛhat Kalpa. But in the *Bṛhannāradīya*, though Nārada is found to speak to Sanatkumāra, there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa. Moreover, the *Bṛhaddharma P.* (I, 25, 23) includes this Purāṇa among the Upapurāṇas. The references to and quotations from this Purāṇa in the Smṛti-works also show that it was known to them as *Bṛhannāradīya* and not as *Nāradīya P.*

The date of the *Bṛhannāradīya* can be ascertained within narrow limits. In the Dacca University MSS. Library there is a MS. (No. 1667) of this Purāṇa which is dated 1578 Śaka (=1656 A.D.). This MS. tallying fully with the printed edition, the *Bṛhannāradīya* must be earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chapters 1–6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38 in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Govindānanda from chapters 7, 14 and 25–27 in his *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī*, *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*, Raghunandana from chapters 7, 14, 22 and 24 in his *Smṛti-tattva*, and Śūlapāṇi from chapter 16 in his *Vratakāla-viveka* (see Appendix), the *Bṛhannāradīya* can by no means be placed later than 1350 A.D. Further, we shall see below that the present *Nāradīya P.*, in which the chapters of the *Bṛhannāradīya* form the main section, was compiled not later than the end of the tenth century A.D. If a period of at least 50 years be allowed to intervene between the dates of the *Bṛhannāradīya* and the present *Nāradīya*, then the date of the former cannot be placed later than 950 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit. Again, in the *Bṛhannāradīya* Viṣṇu's Śakti, which permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction,[1] is said to be known as Lakṣmī, Umā, Durgā, Bhāratī, Bhadrakālī, etc.[2] She is the Prakṛti and the illusion (Māyā) which subjects the creatures to rebirths.[3] Such a developed Śakti theory points to a date not earlier than about 550 A.D., for, though in the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā*, which is dated about 450 A.D., Lakṣmī, Jayā, Kīrtti, and Māyā are called Viṣṇu's Śaktis, they play no part in creation. The reference, in *BNār.*, 2, 44, to the story of Ajāmila's attainment of the highest region by singing the glory of Viṣṇu seems to betray an acquaintance of the author of the *Bṛhannāradīya* with the *Bhāgavata P.* The doctrine of non-duality (Advaita) and illusion (Māyā), summarily referred to in *BNār.*, 31, 57f., shows that the Purāṇa cannot possibly be earlier than Śaṃkarācārya. Hence the date of composition of the *Bṛhannāradīya* falls between 850 and 950 A.D., and it is probable that the Purāṇa was composed sometime about the middle of the 9th century. As there is nothing which goes against the integrity of the Purāṇa, the above date may be taken to be that of the entire work.

---

[1] *BNār.*, 3, 6, 10 and 16.

[2] *BNār.*, 3, 13f.

[3] *BNār.*, 3, 9 and 15.

The *Bṛhannāradīya*, which, on account of its lengthy glorification of the river Ganges and its recognition of Prayāga and Benares as the best of all holy places,[1] appears to have been written in Northern India, is a work of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavas. In it the highest deity is Mahāviṣṇu, who becomes Brahmā, the inferior Viṣṇu and Śiva through the three Guṇas—Sattva, Rajas and Tamas respectively[2]; the names used to mean the god of the Bhāgavatas are 'Viṣṇu' and 'Nārāyaṇa', the name 'Kṛṣṇa' being rare; and the sectarian Mantra is 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya'. It is tolerant of Śaivism and declares, 'the man, who differentiates between Hari, Śaṃkara and Brahmā, remains in hell as long as the moon and stars exist'.[3]

Let us now pass on to the *Nāradīya P.* It is divided into two parts (bhāga)—the former (Pūrva), consisting of 125 chapters, and the latter (Uttara), of 82 chapters. The former part, again, is subdivided into four sub-sections called Pādas. The lengths of these Pādas are as follows :—

(1) first Pāda	chap. 1–41,
(2) second Pāda	chap. 42–62,
(3) third Pāda	chap. 63–91,
and (4) fourth Pāda	chap. 92–125.

Though, as usual, the *Nāradīya P.* is declared by the Sūta to the sages, the speakers in the different sections vary, viz., in the four Pādas of the Pūrva-bhāga Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanat-kumāra and Sanātana speak respectively to Nārada, and in the Uttara-bhāga Vasiṣṭha speaks to Māndhātṛ.

The present *Nāradīya P.* is not the earlier *Nāradīya* noticed by the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Agni*. According to these three Purāṇas the *Nāradīya* was declared by Nārada in relation to the Bṛhat Kalpa. In the present *Nāradīya*, however, Nārada is not the speaker but the hearer, and there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa. The word *bṛhadupākhyāna*, which is used, abruptly and without any reference to the Bṛhat Kalpa, in the colophons of the majority of chapters in *Nār.* I, does not occur in the colophons of *Nār.* I, 1–41 which constitute the main part of the work.[1] So, this word cannot be used to establish that the present *Nāradīya P.* is the earlier one. Moreover, *Nār.* I, 1–41 are generally the same as *BNār.*, chapters 1 to the end, though there are variations in readings and numbers of verses. As regards these common chapters, the *Nāradīya P.* seems to be the borrower, for, this is indicated by the fact that though necessary changes have been made in the borrowed chapters of the *Nāradīya P.*, and the word *bṛhat* used in the *Bṛhannāradīya* (1, 36 and 66) as a prefix to the title of the Purāṇa has been replaced by *etat* and *idam* in the corresponding verses (viz., I, 1, 36 and 64) of the *Nāradīya P.* obviously in order to adapt the chapters of the *Bṛhannāradīya* to the title and interlocutor of the *Nāradīya*, this Purāṇa is still called *Bṛhannāradīya* in the colophons of the chapters of all the sections. The occurrence of this word in the colophons shows that in spite of the fresh additions and the new title, the people did not forget the real character of the so-called *Nāradīya P.* As to *Nār.* I, 42–125, it will be seen below that they are comparatively late additions. Though the Uttara-bhāga derives its authority from, and is attached to, the present *Nāradīya*, it is really an independent work. It is for this reason that this Bhāga differs in general character from *Nār.* I, 1–41 and is sometimes found to appear in MSS. as an independent text.

---

[1] *BNār.*, 6, 9 and 37.

[2] *BNār.*, 3, 2.

[3] *BNār.*, 6, 45.

From the above discussion it stands that the present *Nāradīya* is not the earlier one and that the chapters of the *Bṛhannāradīya* were added to by others and given the title '*Nāradīya Purāṇa*'. So it is undoubtedly an Upapurāṇa. The title of the work need not be taken to go against its apocryphal character, because Upapurāṇas bearing the titles of Mahāpurāṇas are not very rare in the Purāṇic literature. The *Kūrma P.* (I, 1, 18), *Garuḍa P.* (I, 227, 19), *Devībhāgavata* (I, 3, 14) and *Bṛhaddharma P.* (I, 25, 23) include a '*Nāradīya P.*' among the Upapurāṇas. It is not known whether the present *Nāradīya* is identical with that mentioned by these Purāṇas.

Let us now proceed to discuss the dates of the different sections of the present *Nāradīya P.* As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chapters 2, 3, 6, 10, 22, 24, 31 and 38 of *Nār.* II in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*, Gadādhara from chap. 23 of *Nār.* I and chapters 1, 2, 22 and

---

[1] Haraprasad Shastri wrongly says that the word *bṛhadupākhyāna* is found in every colophon. See, Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, ASB., Vol. V, Preface, p. cxxxv.

31 of *Nār.* II in his *Kālasāra*, Raghunandana from chapters 13, 27 and 30 of *Nār.* I and chapters 1, 2, 22, 24 and 38 of *Nār.* II in his *Smṛti-tattva*, Govindānanda from chap. 28 of *Nār.* I in his *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, Vācaspatimiśra from chapters 38 and 39 of *Nār.* II in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, Madanapāla from chap. 2 of *Nār.* II in his *Madanapārijāta*, Mādhavācārya from chap. 7 of *Nār.* I and chapters 7, 23, 27 and 31 of *Nār.* II in his commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, and Devaṇabhaṭṭa from chapters 1, 2, 23, 31 and 37 of *Nār.* II in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (see Appendix), and as Gopālabhaṭṭa refers to the interlocutions between (1) Mohinī and king Rukmāṅgada, and (2) the sage Vāmadeva and Rukmāṅgada in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa* (pp. 386, 519 and 1034) and Devaṇabhaṭṭa mentions Mohinī and Vasiṣṭha as speakers in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (Vol. IV, pp. 65, 68 and 121), it is sure that the first Pāda of the Pūrva-bhāga and the story of king Rukmāṅgada and his wife Mohinī in the Uttara-bhāga (chaps. 1–37) were combined under the title '*Nāradīya Purāṇa*' earlier than 1100 A.D. The verses quoted by the above-mentioned Smṛti-writers from the '*Nāradīya P.*' and traced in the present *Nāradīya* prove that these Smṛti-writers hailing from different parts of India draw only upon the present apocryphal *Nāradīya*[1] and that the real *Nāradīya* was generally superseded by the present one even as early as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. As the attainment of such circulated importance by the present *Nāradīya* could not be possible in a short time, the Purāṇa should be dated not later than the end of the tenth century. The *Bṛhannāradīya* being earlier than the present *Nāradīya*, the latter cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.

The above date is not the date of all sections of the *Nāradīya P.*, for chapters 42–125 of the Pūrva-bhāga and chapters 38–82 of the Uttara-bhāga bear stamps of comparatively late dates. In the former chapters the interlocutors differ from those of the remaining ones, and there is a breach here in the tone of Bhakti that permeates *Nār.* I, 1–41. There are also traces of a fully developed Rādhā-cult. In *Nār.* I, 83 Rādhā is called the Mūla-prakṛti. She is described as 'nirguṇā', 'nityā', 'sarvādyā', 'tejomaṇḍala-madhyasthā', 'dṛśyādṛśya-svarūpiṇī', etc. and is said to be inseparably connected with Kṛṣṇa who is called Paramātman and of whom Nārāyaṇa, Śiva and the other Kṛṣṇa, the 'lord of the *gopikās*' are born. The goddesses like Mahālakṣmī, Durgā, Sarasvatī and others are said to be the partial incarnations (aṃśāvatāra) of Rādhā. In *Nār.* I, 88 the formation of the Tantric Mantras of Rādhā and the Tantric method of her worship have been laid down. The contents of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, as given in *Nār.* I, 92–109, tally fully with those of almost all the present ones. So these chapters could not have been written before these Purāṇas attained practically their present forms. The late age of *Nār.* I, 42–125 seems further to be evidenced by the fact that none of the numerous Smṛti-writers has been found to quote even a single line from them. Chapters 38f. of the Uttara-bhāga deal with the glories of the river Ganges and the holy places Kāśī, Puruṣottama, etc. These chapters are comparatively late additions and are generally derived from other sources. For instance, *Nār.* II, 52–61 have many verses in common with *Brahma P.*, 28 and 45f. Their comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that though in Pūrva-bhāga, chap. 125 (verse 26) the *Nāradīya* is said to have four Pādas, in Uttara-bhāga, chap. 82 (verse 41) it is said to consist of five Pādas. All the chapters 38–82 of *Nār.* II, however, are not very late additions. The quotations made by Gopālabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana and Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 38 and 39 of *Nār.* II prove that at least chaps. 38–43 on the Ganges are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra.

---

[1] By his statement that he did not draw upon the *Nāradīya P.* because it did not contain any chapter on gift, Ballālasena means most probably the present *Nāradīya* in which also there is no chapter on gifts.

Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b—

bhāgavatam ca purāṇaṃ brahmāṇḍaṁ caiva nāradīyaṃ ca |
dāna-vidhi-śūnyaṃ etat trayam iha na nibaddham avadhārya ||

On the evidences of the grammatical tradition, the treatment of the three branches of Jyotiṣa, and the attribution of the five Kalpas of the *Atharva-veda* to all the Śākhās of all the Vedas, Haraprasad Shastri brings down the date of the *Nāradītya P.* to 700–800 A.D.[1] We cannot understand why he does not put the date of the Purāṇa lower still, though there is no evidence to push up the lower limit of the date to such an early period as 800 A.D. The only argument he adduces in this regard is the inclusion of Vindu among the Pāśas. He says that as the *Nāradīya P.*, in its description of the Śaiva system of philosophy, admits Vindu as one of the subdivisions of Pāśas or bondages, it is earlier than the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* which does not recognize Vindu.[2] This argument becomes untenable when we consider that many of the chapters 42–125 of the Pūrva-bhāga are either derived from or based on those of other works, and that the contents of chaps. 63–91, which are said to constitute the 'Mahātantra'[3] are the summary of those of the Tantras of different sects.[1] Therefore the inclusion of Vindu among the Pāśas cannot go against the late date of *Nār.* I, 42–125.

---

[1] Haraprasad Shastri, *A Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, ASB., Vol. V, Preface, pp. cxxxvii-cxxxviii.

[2] Ibid., pp. cxlii–cxliii.

[3] Cf. mahātantre samuddiṣṭaṃ paśupāśa-vimokṣaṇaṃ/—*Nār.* I, 97, 5; tripadārthaṃ catuṣpādaṃ mahātantraṃ pracakṣate/—*Nār.* I, 63, 13; mahātantraṃ tvayā proktaṃ sarva-tantrottamottamaṃ/—*Nār.* I, 92, 2.

The present *Nāradīya* is more a compilation than an original work. In many places of the Purāṇa itself,[2] it is called a 'Saṃhitā' and really so, for many of the chapters are found to tally with those occurring in other works. For example, there are verses common to *Nār.* I, 43 (verses 50f.) and *Padma P.* (Svarga-khaṇḍa[3]) chaps. 25 and 26; *Nār.* I, 48 (verses 14f.) and 49 agree almost literally with *Viṣṇu P.* II, 13 (verses 13f.) to 16; many verses are found common to *Nār.* II, 52–61 and *Brahma P.* 28 and 45f.; and so forth.

A good number of verses, quoted by the Smṛti-writers from the *Nāradīya P.* but not found in the present *Nāradīya*, shows that in the earlier form of the Purāṇa there were many verses which have been lost in the printed edition. The '*Nāradīya P.*' drawn upon by Jīmūtavāhana does not seem to be the same as the present *Nāradīya* because of the facts that none of the 47 lines quoted by him from the '*Nāradīya P.*' in his *Kālaviveka* is traceable in the present *Nāradīya*, and that the interlocutions between: (1) Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇu, and (2) Vaiśya and Bhikṣu, which he mentions as having occurred in the '*Nāradīya P.*', are not found in the present edition. It is, therefore, highly probable that Jīmūtavāhana used a different recension of the *Nāradīya P.*, if not the original one.

APPENDIX.

I.

Verses quoted from the '*Bṛhannāradīya P.*' or '*Bṛhannāradīya*' in

1. *Vratakāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, *Bṛhannāradīya P.*
   fol. 7*a* = cf. 16, 4.
2. *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,
   p. 78 = 26, 2.
   p. 98 = 26, 3. The line 'tataḥ prātaḥ samutthāya etc.' resembles *BNār.* 26, 22*a*.
   p. 113 = 26, 36–37.
   p. 307 = 26, 26.
   p. 328 = 27, 28.
   p. 335 = 27, 29.
3. *Varṣakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda,
   p. 206 = 27, 21 and 23.
   pp. 567-8 = 14, 39, 54-55, 58 and 64.

---

[1] Cf. tantroktaṃ vada sarvajña tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ/
śaktes tantrāṇy anekāni śivoktāni munīśvara //
yāni tat-sāraṃ uddhṛtya sākalyenābhidhehi naḥ/
Nār. I, 83, 7-8. Also cf. *Nār.* I, 83, 5 and I, 76, 6.

[2] Viz., *Nār.* II, 82, verses 34, 35, 40, 44 etc.; I, 62, 77 and 79.

[3] MS. No. 1625, Dacca University MSS. Library.

4. *Śuddhikriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda,
p. 83 = 7, 65.
p. 196 = 25, 28.

5. *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,
Vol. I, p. 398 = 14, 55 and 60.
p. 453 = 14, 39-40, 54*a* and 55*b*.
Vol. II, p. 112 = 22, 13–16.
p. 236 = 7, 65.
p. 312 = 24, 25.
p. 505 = 14, 55.

6. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa.
p. 104 = 11, 99 ; and 28, 97.
p. 106 = 38, 106.
p. 107 = 1, 67.
p. 108 = 1, 81.
p. 117 = 38, 102 ; and 37, 122.
p. 157 = 18, 3, 46-47 and 49.
p. 253 = 11, 12.
p. 273 = 37, 66-67. The verse 'śālagrāmaśilās tāś ca' is not found.
p. 312 = 1, 57 and 61–64.
p. 356 = 37, 68.
p. 364 = 13, 69.
p. 385 = 37, 35.
p. 409 = 13, 196-7.
p. 417 = 13, 204 and 199.
p. 430 = 35, 3.
p. 432 = 13, 190.
p. 433 = 3, 78.
p. 434 = 3, 77.
p. 456 = 35, 15-16 ; 35, 60 and 63.
p. 461 = 37, 65.
pp. 465-6 = 6, 50 ; (the verse 'saṃsāra-pāpa-vicchedi' is not found). 13, 59-60, 62-63 and 66–68.
p. 466 = 37, 52.
p. 468 = 6, 22.
p. 469 = 13, 65.
p. 504 = 5, 60.
p. 506 = 5, 53-54 and 40*a*. One line 'tad-vaktari etc.' is not found.
p. 507 = 5, 64 and 52 ; 5, 49.
pp. 525–528 = 4, 102 and 104–106 ; 5, 35 ; 11, 3-4 and 11 ; 11, 55–56 ; 18, 117 ; 32, 5-6 and 61 ; 1, 83 ; 35, 9 and 12 ; 37, 3-4 and 8 ; 38, 105*b* and 123*a* ; (the lines 'vāsudeva-paraḥ' and 'atyanta-durlabhā' and the verse 'vedavāda-ratāḥ' are not found) ; 3, 57.
pp. 546-547 = 21, 72 and 74–76.
p. 549 = 34, 61.
p. 553 = 4, 13.
p. 555 = 4, 33.
p. 561 = 28, 116.
p. 562 = 35, 5.
p. 565 = 23, 43-44. The verse 'vaiṣṇavañ cāgataṃ' is not found.
pp. 569-570 = 34, 60 and 62 ; 37, 5 ; and 37, 60–62 and 64.
p. 581 = 37, 2.
p. 599 = 1, 65.
pp. 639–641 = 11, 7-8 ; 13, 174*a* and 173*b* ; 18, 115 and 118 ; 18, 127 ; 28, 100, 104-105 and 115 ; 32, 10 ; 34, 59 ; and 37, 46, 59 and 63.
pp. 654-655 = 35, 2. The verse 'hari hari sakṛd uccaritaṃ', which is not found in the *BNār.*, resembles *Nār.* II, 7, 6.
p. 660 = 32, 59.
p. 662 = 38, 100 and 107.
p. 671 = 32, 60 ; and 37, 7.

p. 676 = 11, 100.
p. 678 = (*Nār.* I, 34, 23).
p. 682 = 38, 126.
p. 686 = 2, 43.
p. 698 = 37, 50-51.
p. 707 = 4, 4 and 30; 18, 116.
p. 728 = 38, 103.
p. 730 = 28, 106.
p. 739 = 23, 36*a*, 45, 40*a*, 39*b*, 41 and 46.
p. 751 = 21, 2-3.
p. 752 = 21, 5.
p. 775 = 21, 10.

II.

Verses quoted from the '*Nāradīya Purāṇa*' or the '*Nāradīya*' in

1. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Deveṇabhaṭṭa, *Nāradīya P.*
II, 323 = II, 31, 9*b*-10*a*. The other verses are not found.
IV, 28 = II, 2, 33*b*.
47 = II, 2, 12.
51 = II, 2, 15.
53 = II, 1, 10–15*a*, 16–18 and 21*b*-22*a*.
60 = II, 23, 30*b*–34*a* and 41*b*. The verse 'aṣṭavarṣādhiko etc.' is not found.
65 = II, 1, 26.
68-69 = II, 37, 16-17*a*. The other verses are not found.
79 (twice) = II, 2, 21–24; II, 2, 15*a*.
121 = II, 2, 15.
123 = II, 2, 12.

2. Mādhavācārya's com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*,
Vol. II, part i :—
p. 36 = II, 31, 48.
p. 59 = I, 7, 52.
Vol. II, part ii :—
p. 228 = II, 23, 11; and II, 27, 41*b*-42. Two verses 'vācā cākrośikā etc.' and 'na sādhayanti kāryāṇi etc.' are not found.
pp. 267-268 = II, 7, 12*b*–14 and 15*b*.

3. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla,
p. 507 = II, 2, 15.
p. 539 = II, 2, 33*b*.

4. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra,
p. 193 = II, 38, 34.
p. 194 = II, 38, 38.
p. 202 = II, 39, 25*b*-26*a*.

5. *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,
p. 79 = I, 28, 2*b*.
p. 83 = I, 28, 20*b*.
p. 169 = I, 28, 63-64*a*.
p. 172 = I, 28, 67 and 69*a*.

6. *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,
Vo. I, pp. 87-88 = Cf. II, 2, 14.
p. 101 = II, 22, 83*b*-84*a*.
p. 108 = II, 24, 7*a*.
p. 109 = II, 24, 7*b*-8*a*.
p. 120 = Cf. II, 2, 14.
p. 369 = I, 27, 66.
p. 450 = II, 22, 57*b*-58*a*.
p. 498 = II, 38, 38 and 40. The verse 'gaṅgām eva' is not found.
p. 543 = I, 30, 9*b*-10*a*.
p. 822 = II, 22, 23*b*-24 and 38*b*-39.
II, 22, 57*b*-58*a*.
II, 22, 76*b*, 81 and 83-84*a*.
The lines 'amāṃsāśī etc.', 'nitya-

snāne etc.' and 'ekāntare etc.', and the verse 'niṣpāvān rājamāṣān etc.' are not found.

p. 880 = II, 22, 83*b*-84*a*.
Vol. II p. 12 = II, 22, 82*b* and 83-84*a*.
p. 28 = II, 1, 15*b*.
p. 41 = Cf. II, 2, 14.
p. 87 = II, 24, 7*a*; II, 24, 7*b*-8*a*.
p. 100 = II, 24, 6.
p. 365 = I, 13, 98*a*.
p. 449 = II, 22, 57*b*-58*a*.

7. *Haribhakti-vilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,
p. 360 = II, 38, 26.
p. 386 = II, 22, 34-35.
p. 428 = II, 6, 3.
p. 519 = II, 10, 37*b*-38*a*.
p. 634 = II, 3, 3 and 4*b*-5*a*.
p. 676 = II, 6, 5-6.
p. 752 = II, 24, 23*b*-24*a*.
p. 761 = Cf. II, 3, 8*b*-9.
p. 779 = II, 2, 38-39*a*.
p. 785 = II, 2, 29*b*-30*a*.
p. 786 = II, 2, 25.
p. 802 = (The first line is the same as *BNār*. 27, 48*a*).
p. 840 = II, 2, 21.
p. 891 = II, 31, 9*b*-10*a*.
p. 1034 = II, 22, 36.

8. *Kālasāra* of Gadādhara,
p. 24 = II, 22, 47.
p. 25 = II, 22, 23*b*-24, 18*a* and 19*a*. The verses 'māṃsāśino etc.' are not found.
p. 26 = II, 22, 53*b*. The line 'kārttike varjayet etc.' is not found.
p. 33 = II, 22, 47.
p. 39 = II, 31, 16*a*. II, 31, 15. The line 'punīmaḥ sarva-pāpāni etc.' and the verse 'navahniṃ sevayet etc.' are not found.
p. 40 = II, 31, 24*b*-25. The line 'savituḥ etc.' is not found.
p. 45 = Cf. II, 2, 14.
p. 127 = I, 23, 8. II, 1, 15b. Three lines 'tāni pāpāni etc.' are not found.
p. 128 = II, 2, 38-39*a*.
p. 382 = II, 2, 15; II, 2, 12. The line 'paitraṃ mūlam etc.' is not found.
p. 439 = II, 2, 12.

The editions of the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works used in writing this article are the following :—

Agni Purāṇa	Vangavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Brahma Purāṇa	Vangavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa ..	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Dānasāgara of Ballālasena ..	India Office MSS., Nos. 1704-5, London.
Devībhāgavata	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Garuḍa Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa	Edited by Śyāmā-caraṇa Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta.
Jayākhya Saṁhitā	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LIV, Baroda.
Kālasāra of Gadādhara ..	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Kūrma Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.
Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*.	Edited by V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay.
Matsya Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Nāradīya Purāṇa	Published by the Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.
Padma Purāṇa (Svarga-khaṇḍa)	MS. No. 1625, Dacca University MSS. Library.
Skand Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa	Published by the Govt. of Mysore.
Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana	Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.
Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda.	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.
Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda.	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.
Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.
Varṣkriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda.	Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa	Vaṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta.
Vratakāla-viveka of Śūlapāṇi	MS. No. 1578C, Dacca University MSS. Library.

THE REACH IN THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA OF ATAKKĀVACARA, THE IDEA OF NOT-WITHIN-THE-REALM-OF-LOGICAL-THOUGHT

By GEORGE GRIMM

I

The doctrine of the Buddha rests on contemplative thought never losing connection with experience as conveyed through the senses, thus, on the kind of thinking, 'that roots in perception' (dassanamulika), as it is said in Majjhima-Nikāyo, I, page 320. Or, and that means the same, it rests on the kind of thinking that is done in 'knowing and seeing'—'jānāti passati: he knows and sees' being an ever-returning phrase in the Canon. Therefore for the understanding of the doctrine of the Buddha, first of all, logical thinking is required; for all thinking can only be an action of reason and, therefore, of logical thought—logic being derived from logos, meaning 'word' and 'reason' as well, and both these meanings being inseparable. On the other hand, the Buddha makes use only of the logical thought based on perception. Just because the Buddha was cultivating such thought, just for that very reason he propagated his doctrine according to dialectic methods, the word of dialectics to be understood in the sense of Platon, i.e. the very art of logical thought based on perception, an art that displays itself in the discourse (dialogue) of rational humans, or in the colloquy the soul may be having with itself.

This art of logical thought rooting in perception is practiced to that a degree by the Buddha that he points out the 'Road to the Absolute' (asaṇkhataṃ) to be 'concentration combined *with energetic logical thought and reflection*' (savitakko savicāro samādhi): 'Which, oh monks, is the road to the absolute—to truth—to the other shore—to the subtle—to the unfading—to the eternal—to peace—to deathlessness—to the lofty—to the blissful—to the wonderful—to the marvellous—to freedom from allurement—to the island—to the shelter—to the final goal? It is *concentration uniting with energetic logical thought and reflection* (Saṃ.-Nik., IV, pp. 362–372).

II

Logical thought works with conceptions in which the total of all possible experience undergone by the senses is preserved. The material it uses is, therefore, the world perceptible. For that very reason the forming of conceptions and, thereby, all logical thought per se, is limited to that perceptible world. What is not accessible to perception through our senses cannot be caught and shut up into a conception and cannot, therefore, be made the object of logical thought. *It does not lie within the realm of logical thought.*

This is the standpoint taken up also by the Buddha : According to him, too, all sensible perception and, consequently, all reasoning is in itself limited to the perceptible world : 'What is seen, heard, thought, explored, examined in mind—[i.e. the very totality of the realm of sensitive experience and thinking in the broadest sense of the word]—is that permanent or impermanent ?' he asks his monks in Saṃ.-Nik., III, p. 204. Whereupon, meeting with his approval, they answer : 'Impermanent, lord'. 'Now, then, what is impermanent', he says in another passage, 'all that, in the Order of the Holy, is called the World'.

So also by the Buddha the realm beyond the world, or, as our philosophers say : the realm beyond the world of appearance or perceptible world, had to be declared as 'not being within the realm of logic thought', which expression represents the literal translation of the word used by the Buddha: atakkāvacara (a=not, takka=logical thought, avacara=realm).

It is true, many were led to believe that by atakkāvacara the Buddha had declared his doctrine itself (dhammo) to be inaccessible to logical thought and it is on the grounds of that interpretation that Dahlke, the "Neo-Buddhist", started his burlesque struggle against any kind of logical thinking whatever. How utterly absurd, however, any such interpretation would be, has, no doubt, become sufficiently evident from the foregoing alone : he who by concentration of the mind *united with energetic logical thought and reflection* defines the road to the Absolute, to the State of Nibbāna, to the Final Goal,—he thereby certainly does defend himself (and in the sternest manner at that) against the insinuation that he declares his doctrine not to be within the realm of logical thought,—his doctrine which, in its totality, is nothing but the road to the Absolute, the road to Nibbāna, to the Final Goal.

III

What, then, is it that the Buddha declares atakkāvacara, what, then, does he declare not to be within the realm of logical thought ? In using that expression, does he, too, refer particularly to the realm beyond the perceptible world, to the realm beyond the world of appearance ? The Buddha uses the expression of atakkāvacara in one clearly defined case only, without exception, exclusively and solely, and this one unique instance is when speaking *of the state of a Delivered One* :

(1) In the 26th Dialogue of the Majjhima-Nikāyo he says: 'Then I knew and saw: "Eternal (akuppā) is my deliverance, this is my final birth, no further Becoming will there be" '. This state, then, it is, the state of a Delivered One, that the Buddha has in mind when he presently continues: 'Attained I now have this thing (ayam dhammo), the deep, hard to perceive, hard to discover, peaceful, sublime, *not lying within the realm of logical thought* (*atakkāvacaro*), subtle, to be experienced only by the judicious'.

(2) To the question of Vacchagotto—'A monk delivered in mind,—where would he rise again after death?'—the Buddha replies by the very same words. (In the 72nd Dialogue of the Majjhima-Nikāyo.)

(3) In Saṃyutta-Nikāyo, I, p. 136, it says: 'Once the Sublime One tarried at Uruvela, on the banks of the River Nerañjarā, beneath the Goatherd's Banyan, *just after he had become a Fully Awakened One*. Now as he was in that solitary place absorbed in peaceful meditation, this thought arose in him: I have attained this thing, the deep, hard to perceive, hard to discover, peaceful, sublime, *not within the realm of logical thought*, **subtle, to be experienced only by the judicious.'**

(4) In Itivuttaka 43 the Buddha says: 'There is, oh monks, something not born, not due to causes, not created, not brought forth . . . That which is born, which has become, which has arisen, which is created, which is brought forth, the impermanent, the nest of illness, the fragile, sprung from the stream of food: It does not suffice to rejoice over it. The way out of it is the state of peace, *not lying within the realm of logical thought* (santaṃ atakkāvacaraṃ padaṃ), permanent, not born, not brought forth, free from worry, free from allurement: the cessation of the painful things, the blissful reposing of the functions (of life).'

(5) In the first Sutta of the Dīgha-Nik. the different views are exposed that may be held by philosophy, and, at the end of each group of views, the Buddha keeps repeating: 'Now, of these the Perfected One knows that these speculations, thus arrived, thus insisted on, will have such and such a result, such and such an effect on the future condition after death of those who trust in them. That does he know, and he knows also other things far beyond; but he does not cling to this cognition and thus not clinging he has found the peace in himself, has understood, as they really are, the rising up and passing away of the sensations, their sweet taste, the misery they are followed by and the way of escape of them; and

no longer grasping after anything, he, the Perfected One, is set free. These—[i.e. the getting beyond the sensations and, with that, the state of a Delivered One beyond the sensations]—are things (dhammā), deep, hard to perceive, hard to discover, peaceful, *not lying within the realm of logical thought* (atakkāvacarā), subtle, to be experienced only by the judicious ' (ex. Dīgha-Nik., I, 1, 36).

The last quotation concludes the number of passages in the Suttapitakam in which the word atakkāvacara appears at all. There are no more. Whereby the fact is established that the Buddha uses this word only when speaking of the state of a Delivered One beyond sensation, thus, one beyond the world perceptible.

IV

In that sphere, however, the use of atakkāvacara is a *matter of course.* Again and again the Buddha emphasizes that a Delivered One cannot be grasped by knowledge at all, and that he, therefore, does not enter into any conception or logical thought : ' Just as no one knows the way of the spark that blazes up by the hits of the smith's hammer and then comes to rest by and by,—just so there is no one that may know the way of the Fully Delivered Ones who have crossed over the flood of sensual pleasures and have reached the unshakable well-being ' (Udāna, VIII, 10).

The total unrecognizability of a Delivered One is an established fact even during his life. This fact is particularly emphasized by the Buddha in Saṃyutta-Nik., IV, p. 383, when he says to his monk Anurādho : ' Not even in his present existence (ditth' eva dhamme) is a Perfected One to be recognized in truth, in reality '. The same is it what Sāriputto expounds to Yāmako.[1] And for the same reason it is that the Buddha replies to Sundariko the Brahmin who had asked him ' Of what family art thou, lord ? ' :—' No brahmin I, nor a king's son, nor a man of the people, *I am not anyone at all* (uda koci no' mhi) ' (Suttanip., 455).

It is clear, no doubt. A Perfected One has unlinked himself from all things (dhammā). ' He is unsullied by all things ' (sabbesu dhammesu anupalitto—26th Dialogue of the Majjhima-Nik.). ' He has crossed over all things '—(sabbadhammāna pāraguṃ—Thera-Gāthā, 690). It is only through things, however, that one is to be defined. A passage in the Suttanipāto, 787 runs as follows : ' He who draws near the things (dhammā) enters into speech ; but he who does not draw near them, by what means and how will you define him ? ' And in 1076 we find the solemn proclamation : ' No measure there is for him who has gone home—Describe him as you may, you will never touch him—Where all things (dhammā) are destroyed, all paths of speech, too, are obstructed.'

---

[1] *Vide* George Grimm, ' The Doctrine of the Buddha, the Religion of Reason ', p. 165 foll.

All things to us, however, are enclosed in the five groups of grasping, viz. : The group of corporeal form, the group of sensation, the group of perception, the group of activities of the mind, the group of consciousness. Therefore the Buddha, in Saṃ.-Nik., III, p. 35 makes this statement : ' That for which one has a bias, by that he is defined. That for which one does not have a bias, by that he is not defined. If one cleave to the five groups of grasping, he is defined by them. If he cleave not to them, he cannot be defined by them.'

It would mean definition by the five groups of grasping, even if only the idea of Being were to be used. For this idea, too, is a purely empiric conception and is drawn entirely from sensational experience, i.e. from the five groups of grasping.[1] Therefore Sāriputto rejects both, the definition of ' a Perfected One is after death ', as well as the other definition ' a Perfected One is not after death.' He explains that either of them would mean using in a realm without, an idea that is valid only within the five groups of grasping : ' " A Perfected One is after death ", or, " a Perfected One is not after death ", or, " a Perfected One is and is not after death " or, " a Perfected One neither is nor not is after death ", all that, Friend, would mean thinking in terms of corporeality (rūpagatam), would be thinking within the sphere of sensation, of perception, of activities of the mind, of consciousness ' (Saṃ.-Nik., IV, p. 385).

But now, that even the idea of Being cannot be used as a means of definition, is there any other way left to define a Perfected One ? The Buddha expressly rejects any such idea. To Anurādho, the monk spoken of in the foregoing, some wandering ascetics, adherents of another teacher, had made the following statement : ' Friend Anurādho, a Perfected One, a supermann, one of the best of men, a winner of the highest winning, is defined in one of these four ways : A Perfected One is after death—is not after death—is and is not after death—neither is nor is not after death.' Upon this Anurādho replied :—' Friends, a Perfected One, a superman, one of the best of men, a winner of the best winning, is defined in other than those four ways.' Upon this those wandering ascetics, adherents of another teacher, said of the venerable Anurādho : ' That monk must be a novice, not long ordained. Or, if he is an elder, he is an ignorant fool.' Thereupon the wandering ascetics, adherents of another teacher, rose up and went away. But the venerable Anurādho went to the Sublime One and submitted the case to him. The Sublime One spoke : ' What think you, Anurādho, are the five groups of grasping permanent or impermanent ? '—' Impermanent, lord.'—' What is impermanent, is that weal or woe ? '—' Woe, lord.'—' Now what is impermanent, what is woe, what is subject to change through its very nature,—is it proper to regard that thus : " This is mine, This am I, This is my self " ? '—' Surely not, lord.'—' Therefore, Anurādho, whatsoever body, whatsoever sensation, whatsoever perception, whatsoever activities of the mind, whatsoever consciousness, be it past, future or present, be it your own or another's, is, according to reality and in right wisdom, to be regarded thus : " This is not mine, This am I not, This is not my self ". So seeing, Anurādho, the instructed noble disciple becomes disgusted with body, becomes disgusted with sensation, becomes disgusted with perception, becomes disgusted with the activities of the mind, becomes disgusted with consciousness. Being disgusted with them, he turns away of them. Turning away of them, he is freed (from the five groups of grasping). In the freed one the knowledge arises : " I am freed ". And he knows : " Destroyed is (the possibility of) rebirth, lived to the end the Holy Life, done that what was to do, no longer have I anything in common with this order of things ". Now what say you, Anurādho, do you regard the corporeal form of a Perfected One as the Perfected One ?'.—' Surely not, lord.'—' Do you regard the sensation, the perception, the activities of the mind, the consciousness of a Perfected One as the Perfected One ?' —' Surely nor, lord.'—' Do you regard a (living) Perfected One as without corporeal form, without sensation, without perception, without activities of the mind, without consciousness ? '—' Surely not, lord.'—' Then, Anurādho, since in just this life a Perfected One is not to be found out in truth, in reality, is it proper for you to pronounce this of him : " He who is a Perfected One, a superman, one of the best of being, a winner of the highest gain, may be defined in other than these four ways : A Perfected One is after death—he is not after death—he is and is not after death—he neither is nor is not after death " ? '—' Surely not, lord ' (Saṃ.-Nik., IV, page 380f.).

---

[1] *Vide* ' The Doctrine of the Buddha, the Religion of Reason ', by George Grimm, p. 175 foll.

According to the Buddha it is quite obvious, therefore, that a Delivered One is, as such, beyond the reach of any kind of recognizance and that he, for this very reason, is not to be defined by any conceptions whatever. This means : he is atakkāvacaro, *not lying within the realm of logical thought.*

V

It is in this sense that the Buddha illustrates meaning and bearing of atakkāvacara also in the 72nd Dialogue of the Majjhima-Nikāyo, as mentioned sub 2 in the foregoing. Vacchagotto, a wandering ascetic, is asking him : ' A delivered monk, oh Gotamo, where does he arise after death ? '—' Arise, that does not apply ', replied the Buddha. But Vacchagotto continues to ask : ' So he does not arise, oh Gotamo—does he arise and does he not arise—does he neither arise nor not arise ? '—To each of these questions the Buddha responds saying : ' That does not apply '. And when, thereupon, Vacchagotto replies that he fails to understand this, that he feels confused by it, the Buddha pronounces just these words : ' This thing, Vacchagotto, is deep, hard to perceive, hard to discover, peaceful, sublime, *not lying within the realm of logic thought* (atakkāvacaro), subtle, to be experienced only by the judicious '. He then illustrates ' this thing ' (and in doing so illustrates the meaning of atakkāvacaro) by comparing it to the fire that has gone out, and which, too, has become unrecognizable and has, therefore, been entirely removed from logical thinking. He continues : ' Even the same, Vaccho, is it with a Perfected One. His corporeal form, his sensations, his perceptions, his activities of the mind, his consciousness, all of which one might have in mind when speaking of him, they are all done with, they are annulled fundamentally, they are made even to an uprooted palm-tree, they are beyond all possibility of ever arising again in the future. And so, being freed from all that may be called corporeal form—sensation—perception—activities of the mind—consciousness, a Perfected One is deep, boundless, unfathomable like the great ocean. It would not apply to say " He arises ", it would not apply to say " He arises not "—" He arises and arises not "—" Neither does he arise nor does he not arise ". '

Considering all we have recalled,—can an idea and its reach be outlined more precisely than that of atakkāvacara ? What want of judgment is shown, for that very reason, by those who would apply it to the Buddha's doctrine itself deriving from it the ' Disqualification for Logic of the Doctrine of the Buddha ' ?

PRAMĀNA AND ITS SCHEME IN MADHVA'S EPISTEMOLOGY

By P. NAGARAJA RAO

The greatest yearning of the human soul is for eternal and unmixed bliss, 'mukti' which, according to Madhva, is attained when the limitations fettering the soul drop off, and the grace of the Lord, the warrant and prop of our existence, and the Master Light of all our knowledge, is vouchsafed unto us. Jñāna is His body (svarūpa). His limbs are jñāna. He is Truth, Knowledge, and Bliss. He is the greatest prameya to be apprehended by the human intelligence. Such knowledge is possible only through the instruments of valid knowledge. This is the justification for the detailed study of the nature and the validity of pramāṇas in general, which enable the uninstructed to differentiate valid from invalid knowledge. Madhva arrives at a definite conclusion as to the nature and the number of pramāṇas, as different schools give different accounts of them.

The four traditional preparatory factors (anubandha-catuṣṭaya):—(1) The subject matter (viṣaya) is the theory of knowledge (2) the chief aim (prayōjana) is the knowledge of the Lord, (3) the person for whom the work is specially designed (adhikārin) is the beginner, and (4) the relation is what obtains between the treatise and the treated (pratipādya-pratipādakabhāva).

Madhva adopts the expository scheme of the Nyāya school:—(1) Naming (uddeśa), (2) division (vibhāga), (3) definition (lakṣaṇa), and (4) examination (parīkṣā).

'Pramāṇa' is defined as 'yathārtham'; this is a compound word of which 'yathā' means 'what does not go beyond' and 'artha' means object of knowledge. 'Pramāṇa'[1] is then 'that which exists without going beyond the object of knowledge' or 'that which apprehends the object of knowledge as it exists and not otherwise'.

Madhva draws attention to the two meanings of the word 'pramāṇa', namely 'knowledge' (pramā), and 'the instruments of knowledge' (pramākaraṇa). He applies the term 'kevala pramāṇa' to 'pramā', and the name 'anupramāṇa' to pramākaraṇa. The definition of 'pramāṇa' appears to be overpervasive in respect of the cogniser (pramātā) and the cognised (prameya).[1] It is not really so, for the knower and the known objects are only *causes* (kāranas) of pramā and not 'sādhanas'. As they are not 'sādhanas' they are not pramāṇas.[2] 'Sādhana' is the chief distinctive cause that is responsible for the effect, while 'kārana' is any cause that is responsible in some measure for the effect. The difference between 'sādhana' and 'kārana' rules out the validity of such cognition as happens to correspond accidentally with reality; for the instruments of cognition in what is valid by chance is only a 'kārana'; only if it were a sādhana would the resulting cognition be invariably valid.

---

[1] Jñeyam anatikramya vartamānam, yathāvasthitam eva jñeyam yad viṣayikaroti, nānyathā tat pramāṇam. *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, 6th sec., p. 33.

Kevala pramāṇa is defined as 'yathārtha jñāna'. The word 'yathā' is used to avoid overpervasion in respect of 'doubt' and 'error', and their instruments. 'Anupramāṇa' is 'the instrument that enables us to get at valid knowledge'. If we were to define 'anupramāṇa' merely as 'knowledge', the definition would overpervade kevala-pramāṇa, doubt, and error. If we were to define it merely as 'sādhana' the definition would include all such instruments as the hatchet. If we were to define it as 'yathārtha jñānam' the definition would overpervade 'kevala pramāṇa' and exclude perception and other 'anupramāṇas'. If we were to define it as 'Yathārtha sādhana' the definition would include instruments of perception, *i.e.*, the rays of the sun which help the eye to see things. If we were to define it as 'jñāna-sādhanam' the definition would include instruments of doubt and error. If we were to define it as 'yathārtha jñāna kāraṇam' it would include the cogniser and the cognised. The words in the definition of 'anupramāṇa' are all significant.

Where is the necessity for Madhva to formulate a definition applicable to 'anupramāṇas' also? Will not a definition like that of the Prābhākaras or Bhāṭṭas suffice? Of course it does not apply to anupramāṇas; but may we not assume that the definition applicable to pramā, is extended figuratively to 'pramākaraṇas' as well?

The term to be defined is 'pramāṇa'. It has two 'expressed senses'. One is 'pramā' and another 'pramākaraṇa'. The formation of the word is as follows:—pra+mā (stem)+lyut suffix. The stem and the suffix together mean 'pramā'. The suffix 'ana' in this context indicates the 'stem sense'. It is the 'root sense' (bhāvārthe lyut-pratyaya). The second 'expressed sense' of pramāṇa is 'pramākaraṇa'; pramīyate anenēti pramāṇam. The 'stem sense' complicated by the suffix 'ana' which means 'instrument', is expressed. The word pramāṇa has thus two 'expressed senses' (śakti-dvaya). Though this word pramāṇa has two different meanings, a single definition of them is justified on the ground that the two meanings are not entirely unrelated as in the word '*akṣa*' which has a large number of unrelated meanings. Madhva's definition includes the full import of the term pramāṇa. So we cannot secure the application of the definition to one of the two expressed senses figuratively as suggested in the objection. The choice is not in our hands, because it is grammar that has fixed the 'expressed sense' of the word.

---

[1] Pramātṛ-prameyayor vyavacchedaḥ, tayoh sākṣāt jñeya-viṣayīkāritvābhāvāt. Sākṣājjñeya-viṣayīkāri-kāraṇatvepi tatsādhanatvābhāvāc ca. *Prāmaṇa-paddhati*, Sec. 7, p. 39.

[2] Yajjātīyānantaram niyamena kāryotpattis tad atra sādhanam vivakṣitam. *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, section 21, p. 116.

Madhva classifies all knowledge into three groups: (1) valid knowledge, (2) error, (3) doubt. He brings 'dream knowledge' and 'memory' under valid cognition. Dream objects are real to Madhva. Two criteria according to him determine the reality of any object: (1) existence temporarily at least, not necessarily imperishability, and (2) non-sublation. Objects that never existed are unreal. The materials of dream objects are impressions (vāsanās) of our past as well as present life deposited in the means, and not 'ātman' as the Nyāya school holds. It is this bundle of impressions that is responsible for 'saṃsāra' as well as for dreams. The efficient cause of dreams is God himself. He causes dreams to arise out of the accumulated impressions. Though these dreams are destroyed on waking, the dream objects are yet real because they satisfy the pragmatic test. Some erotic dream experiences have real physiological effects. The element of unreality in dreams is the delusive identification of its objects with the external reality to which it seems apparently to correspond. Suffice it to note here that for Madhva 'dream knowledge' is valid knowledge.

'Recollection' or memory is knowledge originated by the 'manas' and not by impressions as the Nyāya school holds. 'Manas' has been accepted by the Nyāya school as a 'karaṇa'. They have not allotted a specific function to it as they have done in the case of other 'karanas'. Madhva regards 'manas' as a 'karaṇa' which originates recollection. Without the ascription of some such specific function to the 'manas' it cannot be considered as a 'karaṇa' at all. 'Manas' is the organ and impressions the intermediate accessory (vyāpāra). 'Vyāpāra' is a dharma. It is defined as follows, 'it is caused by a 'karaṇa' and in association with it causes the final effect (tajjanyah tajjanya-janakaś ca vyāpārah). Impressions are born of the 'manas'. The impressions are the attributes of 'manas' and they give rise to the final effect. Impressions satisfy the definition of 'vyāpāra'.

A difficulty presents itself at this stage. How can 'manas' with the help of impressions have a contact with the past or a non-existent object? For contact is possible only between two existents.

Contact is possible even with a non-existent object. Contact is not always of the samyoga type. For instance, in the cognition of 'asat' which is mediate as well as immediate. The mediate cognition is as follows; when some one tells us 'that the horns of a hare are non-existent, we understand the 'wordsense' of these terms. If the 'wordsense' for those terms be denied, the words cease to be words. On this count we have to admit the mediate cognition of asat (parokṣa pratīti). The fact, namely the cognition of 'asat', can be established through the following inference:—

> The thing under dispute is asat;
> because of the non-existence of workability;
> negatively like the pot.

State Museum Library
7030

Let us now consider the immediate cognition of asat. In all cases of delusion we have an immediate perception of 'asat'. [1] Take the example of nacre appearing as silver. There is no silver in the nacre. This is known by the application of the test of workability. The defect itself is the contact that brings about the cognition of the non-existent.

Similarly in the case of recollection also the 'manas' with the help of impression has contact with past objects. The validity of recollection rests on this; the object recollected should at the time of its cognition, have had such an existence as is found now in recollection. It need not have existence now in the form recollected. Madhva is of opinion that recollection and its validity are vouchsafed by experience.

Prabhākara defines pramāṇa thus: [2] valid knowledge is experience, and experience is knowledge other than recollection. The word 'pramāṇa' has been taken to mean 'valid knowledge' and not the 'means of valid cognition'. 'Recollection' is regarded as invalid knowledge inasmuch as it stands in need of a previous cognition, and as it is cognition produced only by the impressions left behind by a previous cognition. Further the definition is too wide and it includes doubt and error. The definition excludes 'memory' and all 'anupramāṇas' including the Veda and it is thus nonpervasive.

The Bhāṭṭa school defines 'pramāṇa' [3] as 'that knowledge which is instrumental in enabling us to see the 'special luminosity' *i.e.* the clearness that abides in objects cognised. The 'distinctive shine' of which Bhaṭṭa speaks has no warrant. The 'distinctive shine' of the Bhāṭṭa school has no locus where we have knowledge of the past or the future of a broken pot or an uncreated pot. It is meaningless to talk of 'the distinctive shine' as abiding in an object when the object itself is not in existence. Further the definition does not include 'memory' and 'anupramāṇas' and so is nonpervasive.

---

[1] Here the Advaitin would retort that the example cited is in dispute.

[2] Anubhūtiḥ pramāṇam, smṛtivyatiriktam jñānam, anubhutiriti prābhākaraṇām lakṣaṇam. *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, section 14, p. 81.

[3] Jñātatā-prākaṭya-aparaparyāya-vācyasya prameyā' s'ritasya prakāśaviśeṣṣasya sādhanam kriyā jñānam pramāṇam iti Bhāṭṭānām lakṣaṇam. *Pramāṇa paddhati*, section 74, p. 81.

The Advaita school of Vedānta defines 'pramāṇa' thus:—'anadhigata abādhitārtha jñānam'. The two characteristics of 'pramāṇa' are novelty and non-sublation. It is not sufficient that knowledge should be true, it is also necessary that the content of knowledge should be new or previously unacquired. We shall now examine what exactly the term 'abādhita' means? It is non-sublation.

If we take 'non-sublation' as a test of 'pramāṇa' the definition is overpervasive in respect of error of the 'sōpādhika' type (delusion caused by the presence of an external adjunct, *e.g.* the white crystal seen as red because of the proximity of the red flower to the crystal) because it is not sublated.[1] Further judged by the criterion of 'non-sublation', every cognition proves to be invalid because it is sublated by other subsequent cognitions. Besides the definition fails to include 'memory' and 'anupramāṇams'. Hence it is pervasive.

If we accept 'novelty' as a criterion of 'pramāṇa', our second and subsequent cognitions of objects turn out to be invalid. Even a continuous stream of cognitions (dhārāvahikajñāna) turns out to be invalid because the object is cognised already at the first moment. The cognition of the second moment has an 'adhigata viṣaya'.

---

[1] The Advaitin might retort thus: The overpervasion deduced by Madhva is not valid. The delusion caused by the presence of an external adjunct is sublated at the time of the impartite cognition. It is not sublated soon but it is not unsublatable.

The deduction of Madhva that all cognitions would be invalid if judged by the test of non-sublation, is acceptable to the Advaitin, because the only valid and absolute cognition for him is Brahman and the rest is relatively real.

The objection of Madhva that a 'continuous stream of cognition' would turn out to be invalid does not affect the Advaitin's position at all. According to him each cognition persists so long as another cognition does not come to replace it, or each cognition of the continuous stream has a content qualified *per accidence* (Upalakṣita) by the varying temporal properties.

The Nyāya school defines 'pramāṇa' 'as the instrument of valid knowledge'. They regard truth as the faithfulness with which knowledge depicts its objects. Valid knowledge is defined as that which informs us of the existence of something in a place where it really exists, or which predicates of something in a place where it really exists, or which predicates of something a character really possessed by it. This definition is non-pervasive in respect of 'kevalapramāṇa'.

Udayana defines 'pramāṇa' thus: 'Whatever is prevaded by valid knowledge is pramāṇa.' This definition is overpervasive in respect of the objects of knowledge, since all objects of knowledge are pervaded by Īśvara's pramā.

Udayana with a view to exclude the above mentioned defect of overpervasion gives a modified definition which runs as follows: [1] whatever is pervaded by valid knowledge, while being a 'sādhana' or 'āśraya' is pramaṇa. The word 'sādhana' secures the exclusion of the application of the definition to objects of knowledge because they are not '*sādhanas*' The word 'āśraya' is used in order to secure the inclusion of Īśvara who is not a 'sādhana' but still a pramāṇa according to the Nyāya school. The use of the word pramāṇa in respect of the agent, though not ungrammatical is not sanctioned by usage.

The term 'pramāṇa' in Indian epistemology is ambiguous. Pramāṇa is taken to mean 'pramākaraṇa' in some places and 'pramā' in other places. Madhva's distinct contribution to epistemological technique is the introduction of the two clear cut terms namely 'kevala pramāṇa' and 'Anupramāṇa'. By classifying 'pramā' under 'Kevala pramāṇa' and 'pramākaraṇa' under 'Anupramāṇa', he cleared the ambiguity associated with the word 'pramāṇa'.

Madhva broadly divides 'pramāṇas' into 'kevala pramāṇa', knowledge of an object as it is, and 'Anupramāṇa' instruments of valid knowledge.

'Kevala pramāṇa' is of four kinds—(*a*) Īśvara jñāna, (*b*) Lakṣmī jñāna, (*c*) Yogi jñāna, and (*d*) Ayogi jñāna.[2]

(*a*) Īśvara's knowledge is all comprehensive and all valid. It has neither beginning nor end, and so eternal. It is self-existent and self-valid. Īśvara's very form is knowledge. Īśvara's knowledge is not different from His svarūpa. His indriya (sense organ) has perpetual contact with all objects. Īśvara's cognition is relational. There is no cognition that is non-relational.[1] The moment we grant that His jñāna is relational, it gets limited. His jñāna becomes dependent on the object (viṣaya adhīna). Madhva is of opinion that cognition is not 'viṣaya adhīna' but only 'sa-viṣayaka'. Let us examine the meaning of the term 'dependence' (adhīna). It is defined as 'that which is useful in originating' (uttpatti prayojakatvam). The objects of cognition are not useful in originating of cognition, because Īśvara's jñāna has no beginning. We cannot say that wherever there is no object there is no cognition, for we have cognition in the form of recollection of objects that are destroyed or absent. It is the nature of cognition to have an object for its content. This is not dependence or limitation. If the very presence of external objects be termed the content of cognition, saviṣayakatvam, itself be dependence, it is acceptable to Madhva.

---

[1] Sādhanāśrayayor anyataratve sati pramāvyāptatvam pramāṇam. *Pramāṇa paddhati*, section 15, p. 87.

[2] *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, Chap. I, section 17, p. 94.

Has Īśvara cognition of objects, that have not come into existence? Yes, He has cognition of them. According to Madhva objects do not come from non-existence into existence. Every thing exists in the world in two forms: (1) manifested, and (2) non-manifested. This in short is the 'svarūpa jñāna' of Īśvara according to Madhva.

The points of difference between the svarūpa jñāna of the Brahman of the Advaita and the Īśvara of Madhva are the following: 'the Advaita Brahman's svarūpa jñāna is the non-existence of ajñāna. The svarūpa jñāna of Īśvara according to Madhva is positive (bhāva rūpa). Īsvara's cognition according to Madhva is relational, that of Advaita Brahman is non-relational. The cognition of Īśvara according to Madhva has the attribute 'jñānatva', that of the Advaita Brahman has no attribute.

(*b*) Lakṣmī also knows without the effort of thought. Her knowledge too has neither beginning nor end, and is eternal. But since it is dependent on Īśvara it is not so clear and distinct as Īśvara's and so ranks next. And it extends to all objects except Īśvara with which it is not co-extensive.'

The 'svarūpa jñāna of Īśvara and Lakṣmī differs from the svarūpa jñāna of all other souls in that the latter is limited by Nescience. The attribute 'jñānatvam' is present in both. Their svarūpa jñāna is all pervasive (vibhu) and not atomic as other souls, whose jñāna is through the effort of thought. The svarūpa jñāna of the ordinary soul cannot give us the cognition of all that pertains to the object cognised, *e.g.* pot, its weight, its composition, its future and its past. Īśvara's svarūpa jñāna cognises everything that pertains to the object. The application of the same term svarūpa jñāna to Īśvara's and souls though not quite satisfactory still we cannot deny the name in so far as it cognises an object. The cognition of course differs in degrees ; but it does not matter as regards the use of name. Madhva admits that error is also a type of jñāna with this only difference, *viz.* that it is not valid. The difference among the different grades of svarūpa jñānas is judged by the following factors : (1) the extent and the number of things it comprehends, (2) its degree of dependence, (3) clarity, (4) validity. The svarūpa jñāna of all the souls is beginningless. But only a part of it manifests. Madhva calls the sense organ of the svarūpa jñāna sākṣin, which is not different from the svarūpa of the soul. The differentiation between the limbs and the body (avayava and the avayavin) is effected on the basis of the category of 'Viśeṣa' which performs the function of difference where there is really no difference.[1] The Sākṣin cognises the svarūpa of the soul (not in its entirety) ; the dharmas of the self, the Nescience, the modifications of the manas, the cognition that results through the outer sense organs, happiness, space and time.[2] The svarūpa jñāna is not inert.

---

[1] *Gītā-tātparya* of Madhva, p. 133.

The 'svarūpa jñāna' is the efficient cause that directs the manovṛtti jñāna. The relation between them is one of cause and effect. Manas is the material cause for the manovṛtti jñāna. The instruments of knowledge are the efficient causes. The svarūpa jñāna is the intelligent and the directive cause. The relation of this jñāna to Ātman is the relation of the owner and the owned. The ātman establishes its contact with the manas and the manas in its turn has contact with the senses and they in turn have contact with objects. Thus cognition results.

All the souls other than Īśvara and Lakṣmī have a particular kind of positive Nescience covering their svarūpa. This Nescience is inert, manifold, real and beginningless and plural.[3] The souls are born with it. Nescience by itself has not the power to conceal the svarūpa of the soul from itself. How this Nescience got associated with the soul is not accounted for. This Nescience is removed by the vision beatific of God and His resolve to save us. This vision of God results from manovṛtti jñāna. Īśvara's grace alone is the asādhāraṇa kāraṇa for the removal of Nescience.[4]

---

[1] *Pramāṇa paddhati*, Chap. I, section 17, p. 94.

[2] Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna* v.v. 21 and 22.

[3] *Pramāṇa paddhati*, Chap. I, section 24, p. 126.

[4] Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, v.v. 33.

The points of agreement and difference between the Advaitins and Madhva as regards Nescience are as follows; both the schools admit that Nescience is positive and manifold (a particular school of Avdaita does not admit the latter). To Madhva this Nescience is real, to the Advaitin it is 'mithyā'. The removal of this Nescience if effected mainly by jñāna according to the Advaitins. The removal is effected by the grace of Īśvara alone according to Madhva. The Advaitin also needs the grace of Īsvara for the realisation of the advaitic bliss. While according to both Madhva and the advaitin it is the Jīva's powers that are obscured, there is difference in the advaitin's camp as to whether the jīva is the locus or Brahman; according to Madhva however, the jīva alone is the locus.

(*c*) Yogi jñāna is a kind of special knowledge obtained by the Yogins as a result of their meditation on Īśvara. It is of three kinds: (1) Ṛju yogi jñāna, (2) Tāttvika yogi jñāna, (3) Atāttvika yogi jñāna.[1]

(1) Ṛju yogins are those whose knowledge of Īśvara though higher than that of other souls is limited; yet they are capable of attaining the four-faced Brahmahood.[2] They have knowledge of all the objects which unlike Lakṣmī they attain only through the effort of thought. Their knowledge is two-fold: (i) svarūpa jñāna, (ii) manovṛtti jñāna. Their svarūpa jñāna is beginningless and eternal and unchanging, but revealed only in instalments (in proportion to the merit earned by them as a result of their meditation on Īśvara) and is completely made known to them only after their attainment of Mokṣa. The vṛtti jñāna of the Ṛju yogins is changeful and continuous as a flowing river. Both the forms of knowledge of the Ṛju yogins are valid.

(2) Tāttvika yogi jñāna is possessed by Tattvābhimāni devas.[3] Madhva speaks of two distinct types of tattvas, *i.e.*, categories.

---

[1] *Pramāṇa paddhati*, Chap. I, section 18, p. 97.

[2] Madhva is considered to be a Ṛju Yogin and there is a tradition to the effect that he is to be the creator (the four faced Brahma) in the next Kalpa.

[3] The 25 categories with their presiding and controlling deities:—

1.	Puruṣa ..	.. Brahma and Vāyu.	
2.	Avyakta ..	.. Sarasvatī (the wife of Brahma) and Bhāratī (the wife of Vāyu).	
3.	Mahat ..	.. Brahma and Vāyu.	
4.	Ahaṇkāra ..	.. Garuḍa, Śeṣa and Rudra.	
5.	Manas ..	.. Skanda and Indra.	
6.	Srotra ..	.. Dik devas	Gñānendriyas.
7.	Tvak ..	.. Prāṇa (the son of Vayu)	
8.	Cakṣus ..	.. Sūrya	
9.	Rasana ..	.. Varuṇa	
10.	Ghrāṇa ..	.. Asvinī devas	

They are (i) Īśvara and 25 other categories. The devas that preside and control these tattvas are called tattvābhimāni devas. They have no complete knowledge not merely of Īśvara but of many other things besides. Their knowledge is also of two kinds: (i) Svarūpa jñāna, eternal and valid, (ii) vṛtti jñāna partially invalid and partially valid.

(3) Atāttvika yogi jñāna is possessed by devas other than those that preside over the tattvas. Their knowledge has beginning. Their conception of Īśvara and other things is limited. Such knowledge as they have is divisible into (i) svarūpa jñāna by itself eternal yet made known to them in proportion to the merit earned by them by their meditation of Īśvara, and (ii) vṛtti jñāna valid only occasionally.

(*d*) All the souls other than those above mentioned are Ayogins and their jñāna is called Ayogi jñāna. Their knowledge of things not to speak of Īśvara is fearfully inadequate. It is also of two kinds : svarūpa jñāna and vṛtti jñāna. Both these have a beginning and an end.[1]

Ayogins are threefold: (1) Mukti yogyas, (2) Nitya samsarins, and (3) Tamoyogyas. According to Madhva the Mukti yogyas are the only souls that are destined to attain Mukti. The Nitya samsārins are destined eternally to pass through the cycle of births and deaths. The Tamoyogyas are doomed to eternal damnation.[2] The svarūpa jñāna of the Mukti yogyas is valid ; that of the Nitya samsārins is a composite of valid and invalid knowledge ; and that

---

11.	Vāk	Agni	Karmendriyas.
12.	Pāṇi	Dakṣa prajapati	
13.	Pāda	Jayanta (the son of Indra)	
14.	Pāyu	Mitra (one of the twelve suns)	
15.	Upastha	Manu (Svāyambhuva)	
16.	Śabda	Bṛhaspati.	
17.	Rūpa	Apāna.	
18.	Rasa	Vyāna.	
19.	Gandha	Udāna.	
20.	Sparśa	Samāna.	
21.	Ākaśa	Gaṇapati	The five Mahābhūtas.
22.	Vāyu	Vāyu (son of Kśaśyapa)	
23.	Tejas	Agai	
24.	Āpah	Varuṇa	
25.	Pṛthivī	Dara devi	

Refer to *Madhva's Tantra sāra*, v.v. 146 and 147.

[1] *Pramāṇa paddhati*, Chap. I, section 19, p. 111.

[2] Madhva's classification of souls into the above-mentioned three divisions and his doctrine of eternal damnation to the tamo yogyas is based on sruti pramaṇas Refer Gītā, Chap. 18, v.v. 2 and 3.

of the Tamoyogya is invalid. The vṛtti jñāna of all these three are some times valid and at other times invalid.

Anupramāṇas are three in number: (1) perception, the contact of a defectless sense organ with a flawless object, which gives us a clear presentation of the object to the mind; (2) Inference, defectless reasoning; (3) verbal testimony, knowledge that results from words. Madhva is of opinion that all other pramaṇas of different schools can be brought under the three.

The Cārvāka school posits only one pramāṇa, *i.e.* perception. The Buddhist posits two, *i.e.* perception and inference. The Sāṅkhyas speak of three pramāṇas, *viz.* perception, inference and verbal testimony. The Nyāya school posits four pramāṇas. The three above-mentioned and 'analogy' the fourth. Prabhākara refers to 'presumption' as the fifth pramāṇa. The advaitins add one more, *i.e.* privation as the sixth.

The Cārvakas contend that the only instrument that gives valid knowledge is perception. The reason assigned for rejecting inference is that there is not sufficient warrant for believing in the truth of the inductive relation or vyāpti which forms its basis. The ascertainment of this relation, even supposing that it actually exists, depends upon the observed facts, and since observation is necessarily restricted in its scope it does not entitle us to universalise the conclusion reached with its help. Even if it be granted for the sake of argument that observation can comprehend all present instances coming under a general rule, it should be admitted that there are others in time and space and therefore lie beyond the probability of investigation. A general proposition may be right so far as investigated cases are concerned, but there is no guarantee that it holds good of univestigated cases. The carvaka explains our familiar belief in the validity of inference as due to the associations established during our observations. It is only a psychological process with no implications whatsoever of logical certitude. The arguments formulated by Cārvaka against inference stultifies his own position. The negative conclusion that an inference is not valid is itself the result of induction, and points to a consideration that in one case at least, the relation (Vyāpti) holds true and thus refutes itself, for what is rejected is admitted in the very act of rejecting it. Moreover, his very attempt to convince others of the correctness of his view implies knowledge of their thought which not being directly knowable could only have been inferred by him.[1]

---

[1] *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, by Prof. Hiriyanna, pp. 189 and 190.

Verbal testimony has to be regarded as an independent pramaṇa. It cannot be brought under inference. Valid verbal testimony depends on the meaning of words, and it cannot be said that words are 'characteristic marks' of a meaning. If such an assertion be made, inference would be possible as to the meaning, with the word as the middle term. Further in our experience we have the cognition of the 'sentence-sense' even without the recollection of pervasion (Vyāpti).

Prabhākara is of opinion that the 'apauruseya' (Vedas which have no human authorship) part or verbal testimony is an independent means of knowledge and 'paurṣeya' part (human composition) gets included in inference.

This is not true, because both the types have similar constituents and there is no basis for postulating a distinction.[1]

Analogy is recognised by some schools of thought as an independent pramāṇa. In analogy a person who has been told that 'gavaya' is like a cow is said to cognise it, when he meets one as denoted by that name, because of the similarity of attributes. He also recognises that the cow he already knows is like 'gavaya' which is seen. The former is called 'upamāna' by Nyaya school, while the latter is so called by the Mīmāmsakas.

This pramāṇa can be shown to be an instance of one or the other or the three 'pramāṇas' mentioned, cognitions like 'This is similar to that' and 'these two objects are similar are the results or perception. The cognition 'the cow and the gavaya are similar' results from verbal testimony. On the strength of the perception of the similarity to the recollected object in the perceived, if we cognise the similarity, to the perceived in the remembered, it is a case of inference. Now the instrument is 'the similarity cognised as abiding in the perceived object; the object Inference takes the following form: 'that cow is similar to this gavaya; because this gavaya is similar to that cow, when some thing is similar to the other, pervasion being this secured the existence of the probans and the probandum in different loci is no defect at all. There is nothing distinctive about the pramana 'upamana' to justify its recognition as a distinct means of correct knowledge.

'Arthāpatti' (presumption) is recognised by some as an independent instrument of knowledge. The function or arthāpatti is to effect a *modus vivendi* as between contradictories, *e.g.* thus, if of a living person it be said that he is not at home we conclude that he is out, but 'is' and 'is not' are contradictories which cannot subsist together; hence their discrimination and delimitation;

---

[1] *Pramana paddhati*, Chap. III, section 17, p. 431.

non-existence being restricted to the house and existence to all localities outside the house. The knowledge gained through such discrimination is called Arthāpatti.[1]

What is asserted is not bare non-existence along with existence, but non-existence in a particular place or time, and this is quite consistent with existence in the case of any substance which is not all-pervasive. Thus the special function devised for Arthāpatti is illusory, divested of that function it is nothing more than inference. Inference takes the following form ; caitra is outside the house, because he is alive and not found at home like myself.

Anupalabdhi is recognised by some as an independent pramāṇa. It gives us the knowledge of non-existence. The cognition through ' anupalabdhi ' takes many forms and they prove to be instances of one or other of the three pramanas.[2] The non-existence of Kauravas is known through Mahābhārata and such other authorities. The non-existence of sight for a certain Devadatta is known through the inference by the probans *i.e.* ' his non-perception of colour and other qualities. The cognition of the non-existence of happiness and such other states is only through the perception of the ' witness consciousness '. The cognition of the non-existence of the pot before me arises quickly. So it is the fruit of perception.

The cognition of the remaining through the denial of some of the possible alternatives is called ' pariṣeṣa ,' *e.g.* in the cognition these two are Devadatta and Yajñadatta, if it be pointed out that one of them is not Yajñadatta, we have the cognition that the other is Devadatta. This is a case of inference. It takes the following form : This is Devadatta, for while being one of the two Devadatta and Yajnadatta, he is not Yajñadatta, there is the negative example like Yajñadatta.

Some consider tradition (aitihyam) as an independent pramāṇa. If the authority claimed for tradition be well founded its origin is to be known. Once it is known it becomes a case of verbal testimony. If tradition be not well founded, it is not knowledge.

The determinative marks of purport (the harmony of the initial and the concluding passages, the repetition, novelty, fruitfulness, glorification by eulogistic passages or condemnation by deprecatory passages and intelligibility in the light of reasoning) come under inference.

---

[1] *Pramana paddhati*, Chap. III, section 7, p. 449.

[2] Yajñadatta is not Devadatta (absence of Probandum) ; this goes with the absence of probans, *viz.* that of the two Devadatta and Yajnadatta he is not Yajñadatta.

NOTES ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

(5) *Meherauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra*

This is one of the most important records of the Gupta period, and has been a subject of much discussion among scholars and antiquarians. The late Dr. J. F. Fleet dubbed it as a 'posthumous' record of Chandra. He similarly dubbed the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta as 'posthumous'. The late Prof. G. Bühler, however, adduced many cogent reasons, controverting it, and no scholar now regards the latter as a posthumous record. It is a pity that Bühler had no occasion to treat of the Meherauli Inscription. Otherwise he would have shown that Fleet's view in regard to the posthumous character of this record also is based upon his mistranslation of the verses contained in it. And any Sanskritist who carefully examines the text of this epigraph will find that Fleet has gone wrong in important places in regard to the rendering of the verses. This is not, however, the place to show how he has mistranslated them. Suffice it here to say that the king Chandra whose name the column bears was not dead, but alive, when the eulogy was engraved. The second point of importance which has been discussed in respect of this epigraph is the identification of Chandra. Some scholars take him to be Chandragupta I, and some, Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. Some scholars again have expressed the opinion that he pertained to an entirely different family. Both these matters have been considered by me at length in the revision of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* which has been entrusted to me by the Government of India. Here I want to consider two other points connected with this inscription which in stanza 1 speaks of Chandra as having vanquished the Vālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or Indus, and, in stanza 3, as having mounted the inscription pillar on the hill of Vishṇupada as a standard of the god Vishṇu. Years ago I drew the attention of my pupil, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty, to the fact that the Petersburg lexicon noticed many references to Vishṇupada contained in the epics and the Purāṇas. On the strength of these he published a learned paper entitled 'the Original Site of the Meherauli Pillar' in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Vol. VIII. p. 172ff. But he was not able to identify the spot accurately. This was done better by

Mr. J. C. Ghosh with practically the same materials.[1] The most important of these is a passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, which gives an account of the travels of the emissaries sent by Vasishṭha to bring Bharata back to Ayodhya from Girivraja, the capital of the Kēkaya country. It runs as follows :—

> Yayur=madhyēna Vālhīkān Sudāmānaṁ cha parvatam
> Vishṇōḥ padaṃ prēkshmāṇā Vipāśaṁ c=āpi Śalmalim
>
> (Rāmāyaṇa II, 68. 18-19.)

'They went through the Vālhīka country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Vishṇupada and also the Vipāśā and the Śālmali.'

It will be seen from this verse, that Vishṇupada, Vipāśā and Śālmali, if not even Sudāman, were all in the Vālhika country and close to one another. This is of great significance ; first, because Vishṇupada is here mentioned not alone, but along with Vālhika—just the two localities which are mentioned also in the Meherauli inscription, showing clearly that this is just the Vishṇupada we are in search of ; and secondly, because the passage provides us with the clue that these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāśā, which we know is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, the Śālmali. In this connection it is desirable to notice another passage, namely, one from the Mahābhārata, which, though referred to in the Petersburg lexicon, was first quoted and brought to the attention of scholars by Mr. J. C. Ghosh. The passage runs as follows :—

> etad=Vishṇupadaṁ nāma dṛiśyatē tīrtham=uttamaṁ
> eshā ramyā Vipāśā cha nadī parama-pāvanī
> Kāśmīra-maṇḍalaṁ ch=aitat sarvapuṇyām=arindama
>
> (*Vanaparvan*, ch. 130, vs. 8 and 10.)

It will be seen from this description that not only the Vipāśā but also Kāśmīra was visible from Vishṇupada. Vishṇupada was thus on a hill near the Vipāśā, from where Kāśmīra was not far distant. 'It appears that the Vipāśā had her source in the mountains of the Kāśmīra region in the time of the ancient Aryans (Jopson's *Historical Atlas of India*, No. 2). On emerging out of Kāśmīra into the country of the *Saptasindhavaḥ* (Panjab) it has formed a sharp bend in the border of Gurdaspur (Panjab) and Kangra districts.'[2] It is just at this bend that it has been joined by another river, which was apparently the Śālmali. Vishṇupada was surely somewhere there.

---

[1] *Ind. Culture*, Vol. I, p. 515.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 517-18.

Before we dismiss this subject we have to note again that the passage quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa associates Vishṇupada with the Vālhika country and that both these localities are referred to in the Meherauli inscription also. We have further to note that Stanza 1 of this epigraphic record speaks of Chandra having conquered the Vālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or the Indus. The identification of this Vālhika clan or tribe was a great puzzle to scholars and historians. Haraprasad Sastri and others have taken it to mean the people living round Balkh. Mr. John Allan correctly points out that the inscription cannot mean that 'Chandra's arms penetrated to Balkh, the route to which would not be across the mouth of the Indus'. He, however, opines that 'the name Vālhika had acquired a more general significance and was used like Pahlava, Yavana, etc., of a body of foreign invaders of India'.[1] According to another view, they are to be identified with a dynasty of three Bālhika rulers placed by the Purāṇas in the region of Māhishmatī on the Narmadā. But we have now seen that the Vālhikas have to be located not far from Vishṇupada in the region through which flows the northernmost part of the Beas.

---

[1] *Cat. Coins, Gupta Dyn.*, etc., Intro., p. XXXVI.

MISCELLANEA

‘BUDDHA AND NOT BUDDHISTS’

I write in comment on Mr. Mazumdar’s article in the April issue of this Journal. Let me say it makes me wonder once more about two things. Firstly, that they who, in their occasional writings, dip into early Buddhism, venture to do so on such an apparently slender basis of first-hand research. Secondly, that they appear so curiously incurious as to what has been done in that research, since they last wrote about this subject. For the critical, the historical study of early Buddhism is a new ‘science’, even more so than is a similar study (often foolishly called ‘higher criticism’) of early Christian records. And a new science needs bringing up to date every few years. What teacher of physics would today prescribe a manual of the last century on ether, electricity, magnetism? The forces are old enough! It is the research that does not stand still.

Mr. Mazumdar starts with the entirely laudable aim of ‘ascertaining the faith of Buddha himself and not of the Buddhists’. But he proceeds to make affirmations, on this most difficult subject, on the basis of a few verses in a minor anthology which is mainly a replica of Sayings in other compilations, hence perhaps a late comer in the Pali Canon, and also on two statements by deceased students of early Buddhism, the one a pioneer of the last century, the other, a very partial and crudely prejudiced writer, a doctor using hours of leisure. Recent editions of the Suttas, recent translations, made with careful collation and annotations, he entirely ignores. Recent writings by men and women who have spent half a century on these studies:—Oldenberg (his latest writings), Winternitz, E. J. Thomas and myself:—us he entirely ignores. We,—if I may speak for the living—are not humiliated; we do but say: *Tant pis pour lui*! But we add: in no other branch of research would such procedure be possible, be dreamt of. What has this venerable documented religion done to be so treated? The last three of these four writers have been publishing volume after volume ever since Mr. Mazumdar ventured to send comments on Udāna verses to the J.R.A.S. London, in 1911, both of translations and of critical discussion:—Why has he not taken the trouble to consult *these*, to criticize *them*?

In particular there is Mr. F. L. Woodward’s translations, of 1935, published by me in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, of the

Udāna and Iti-vuttaka. Here the very least he should have done was to consult Mr. Woodward's able renderings and foot-notes, let alone our respective introductions. It makes Indian writers (on Buddhism) and European publications seem at a very mediæval distance one from the other.

Let me enlarge briefly on my first cause for wonder. Mr. Mazumdar, in repeating his 25 year old comments on terms in Udāna, prefers *pacca*, a *v.l.* to *pecca*, as (possibly) not a technical term for the hereafter. But why did he not refer to Commentaries, both on this passage (Woodward's edition, 1926) and on those in Dhammapada, *in both of which pecca* is described as *pacchā paraloke*: 'hereafter in the other world'? He is herein disposed to reject otherworldly implications as 'inconsistent with . . . the founder's teaching', that man should not do good because of future reward. But where does he find this *not* put forward, in the Suttas, as 'an incentive'? The sayings on the contrary are full of this teaching; and why, in the name of reasonableness should they not be? If Mr. Mazumdar were intending to take up his residence in England, would he not be to some extent studying 'how to do in England as the English do', and would he not be judged right in so doing? The Buddhists taught, that life after death would be a relatively happy time, for a time, if they did here what there is approved, in that such doers are adjudicated to honour and prosperity. That doing well here brings about such spiritual growth, that a man, so grown, prefers to live righteously, needing no incentive from beyond :—that is quite true. But teachers of religion ancient and modern are none the worse in suiting teaching to growth. For instance in the Rakkha-gāthā (corrupted to *rukkha-*) in Thera-gāthā 303–6, after the line

adhammo nirayaṃ neti, dhammo pāpeti suggatiṃ,

the poet straightway goes on

tasmā hi dhamme sukareyya chandamm iti modamāno sugatena
tādinā :

'*therefore* should he well-make desire in what is right . . . '

Again, he prefers, in Udāna II, 5, *vatam* to *vata*, chiefly for metrical reasons. But why not have consulted such passages as Saṃyutta, I, 143, 6–10, where beside the particle *vata* we have the Pali predilection for *vatta*, when *vrata* is meant, and that in compounds :

kim me purāṇaṃ vata sīlavattaṃ
. . . .
tan te purāṇaṃ vata sīlavattaṃ—?

Then as to my second cause for wonder :—the writer is content to cite two most unfortunate remarks of Rhys Davids and Dahlke :

the one that Buddhism 'ignores the two theories of God and the soul', the other, that it is 'the only completely atheistical system in the world'. He makes no attempt to inquire whether, by now, we have not got beyond these two premature and preposterously false citations (assuming both to be accurate). What historical ignorance, as cited, do they not reveal! What a libel do they not constitute on a very great teacher!

The word 'ignores' is of course, on the surface, impossible. Our Piṭakan Concordance, now in the making, will reveal that there are few doctrinal terms used so often as 'soul': *attan*, and that *Brahman* is everywhere found in this and that compound. *Brahmā* is there too, but he, as governor of the third world or *brahmaloka*, belongs to a much later revival of Indian theistic cult. But the terms *attan*, *Brahman* do not only occur, as recognized, not 'ignored'; they are used in the sense they bore at the time when Gotama the Sakyan and his brahman co-workers began their mission. Gotama had no mandate—or shall I use the sadly vulgarized word 'revelation'?—concerning the Highest; and why? Because a very great mandate had been taught, before he came, and accepted: that of the Divine Being Brahman, as immanent in man's self, and thus his ideal, his potential *ātmā*: 'he'. The task for Gotama was to pass on this mandate with a finer deeper view of That as not static, but as an inner dynamic urge: *dharma*: the 'ought-to-be'. And so we find him beginning his mission with the injunction, taught in the Upaniṣads: 'Seek the Ātmā!' Yea, 'cowhunt for That' (*ga-vesatha*)! So too we find him at the end: 'Live as having the Ātmā as lamp, as refuge; Dharma as lamp, as refuge; and no other! Thus would man in the Way of growth, that is of 'making to become' (*bhāvanā*), ever be travelling through a more towards 'becoming That Who he was'.

Here may Mr. Mazumdar get at the Buddha, not at Buddhists, —get rather at Gotama Śākyamuni, not at the title given, generations later, by the expanding monastic institutional religion, a religion which came to see, in *ātmā*, a main tenet of that Brahmanism from which it had seceded, at first because of the excessive attention to ritual, sacrifice and pride of birth; a religion which came, next, because of the growing preoccupation with proto-Sānkhyan analysis of mind, to see in the *attan*, not the *purisa* himself, but a mere complex of skandhas. Well may he want to get away from 'Buddhists'! But let him no more rest complacent in the little way seen by pioneer and atheist. Let him *sukareyya chandaṃ*: put forth will to learn more of what we of his day have been trying to open up and make known.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

VERSIONS OF THE KAULĀVALĪ

The *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*, a metrical Tantric compilation which incorporates extracts from a number of original Tantras with or without acknowledgment, deals with the details of the Kaula form of worship and rituals. The work is held in great reverence by the followers of the Kaula path of the Tantras. More than one version of it can be traced in the few MSS. known of the work. Two editions of almost the same version have been published: one under the title *Kaulāvalītantra* was published in 22 chapters by Rasikmohan Chatterji in his collection of Tantra works generally known as *Vividhatantrasaṃgraha* (Calcutta, 1881-6), and the other was published in 21 chapters in 1929 under the name *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* in the Tantrik Texts Series of Arthur Avalon. Nothing is known about the author and the date of compilation of the work. A work of this name, which may or may not be identical with the present work, is quoted in the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda.

MSS. of it are comparatively rare: only two are mentioned in the Catalogus Catalogorum[1]: one dated 1691 of the *śaka* era comes from the Central Provinces[2] and the other without any date from Bengal.[3] Two more MSS. of it are referred to in the printed editions of the work. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal appears to possess the fifth MS. which differs from the printed editions to such an extent as would lead one to conclude that it constitutes an entirely different work. On a closer examination, however, it was found to contain a shorter version of the printed editions of the work. It has only one short introductory verse[4] giving the name of the author, though in words different from those of the printed editions, the whole of the first chapter of which is missing here.

The name of the author is given in the introductory verse as simply Jñānānanda, the epithets *giri* and *Paramahaṃsa*, found in one of the introductory verses of the printed editions, being absent. Only one chapter-colophon (e.g., of Chapter IV) mentions the name of the author. Here again only one epithet, Paramahaṃsa, is given.

---

[1] It is not known if the *Kaulavārṇava* noticed by Kielhorn, corrected into *Kaulārṇava* and *Kaulakārṇava* in the Catalogus Catalogorum (I. 131, 210) and attributed to an author of the same name is identical with this work.

[2] Kielhorn—*A catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces*, p. 38.

[3] H. P. Shastri—*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. No. 11. 85.

[4] शिवशक्तिं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वतन्त्रपुराणयोः ।
मतमाकृष्य तस्यार्चा ज्ञानानन्देन तन्यते ॥

The MS. omits much of the details found in the printed editions and adopts a completely different arrangement of chapters, one chapter of the former generally covering two of the latter. The following table will give an idea of the arrangement in the two versions :—

Number of chapters in the MS.		Corresponding portions in the edition of Arthur Avalon.
I	..	II. 50–III. 104.
II	..	III. 105–V.
III	..	VI.–VIII. 38.
IV	..	VIII. 39–IX, 41+first few lines of Chapter IV.
V	..	IX. 71–X. 141.
VI	..	XI.
VII	..	XII. 1–131+last few lines of Chapter XIII.
VIII	..	XIV.
IX	..	XV.

The MS. which is incomplete comes to an end at XV. 118 of the edition of Avalon. No opinion can be hazarded as to the extent of the portion of the work missing in the MS. But it would appear from the MS. of the work noticed by the late Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri, which also is found to represent another short version that only about a chapter is missing. The MS. described by Shastri which seems to be complete in 10 chapters ending at XVI. 134 of Avalon's edition might contain a text similar to the one in the Society's MS. It contains the initial introductory verse of the printed editions and then jumps to I. 53.

The work thus seems to have swelled in body in the course of its passing through different hands until it was more than doubled in the manuscripts on which the printed editions were based. An early stage in the history of its development—if not the earliest stage—is manifested, judging from the number of ślokas of 32 syllables each contained in the different MSS., by the MS. noticed by Shastri (1277 ślokas) while the MS. in the Society (1500 ślokas) would seem to represent the next stage. The MS. noticed by Kielhorn containing 2080 ślokas would come next leading to the final stage—I do not know if I can so call it—in Avalon's edition of 4,000 ślokas.

The occurrence of this kind of textual variations in a medieval and comparatively later work like the *Kaulāvalī* is rather interesting. For though versions of many an old and popular text, which have undergone considerable changes from time to time, are quite well-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

known in the long history of Sanskrit literature, it is rather rarely that we meet with such instances in the case of later works, especially if they are of a technical nature, not expected to be quite popular. Another case of such variation is supplied by the *Mantracandrikā* of Janārdana. The work deals with the mantras and peculiarities of worship of various deities arranged in five groups e.g., Gaṇeśa, Śivā (Śakti), Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya and Śiva. MSS. of the work have been described by R. L. Mitra[1] and Peterson.[2] The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal also possesses one MS. of the work. It is noticed from these MSS. that the work had developed two versions. The shorter version is described by Mitra while the longer version which is also found preserved in the Society's MS. is described by Peterson. The shorter version in 9 chapters (which cover 11 of the 12 chapters of the longer version) has only one benedictory verse in place of nine in the longer version; the genealogical verses of the author are not also found here. According to one of these verses the work is based on the *Śivārcanacandrikā* of Śrīnivāsa the grand-father of Janārdana, the author of the *Mantracandrikā*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

DEVADĀSÎS IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN INDIA

In connection with the story of Rūpiṇikā, a dancing girl, employed in a temple at Mathurā, Mr. N. M. Penzer has discussed in detail about the institution of *Devadāsîs*, in different parts of the world. (*The Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, pp. 231ff. and Appendix IV.) He has not only quoted copiously from the different authorities, describing the rites and customs, connected with the institution, in different parts of India, but also in Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, Cannan, etc. and West Africa. He says that Mesopotamia was the original home of the institution and traces it back to about 2090 B.C., during the first dynasty of Babylon, in the Code of *Hammurabi*.

In ancient Babylonia the 'sacred servants' were known *hieroduloi*. The priestesses were of two kinds, viz., the *enṭu* (brides of the god) and the *naṭitu*. It is not clear if the former class could marry any mortal husbands. The second class were allowed to marry, but were not expected to bear children. Both the classes were held in respect, were wealthy and owned property. They could either live in the *gagum* (cloister) adjoining the temple or in their own houses. If they chose the latter they were forbidden, on pain of being burned alive, to own or enter a wine-shop, so great was the prestige the class had to maintain. There were another class of consecrated women of the temple known as *Zikru* or *zermashitu*. Their position was below the two classes of priestesses mentioned above. They were considered as concubines of the god, but were held in respect and well-to-do. Another class known as *Ḳadishtu* (sacred woman) occupied a subordinate position to *zermashitu*. There is no record of her marriage; and her speciality, outside her temple duties, was suckling the children of the Babylonian ladies, for which service she received payment.

---

[1] *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, No. 911.

[2] *Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, No. 1137.

In India these women connected with temples are known as *Devadāsîs* (handmaids of god), i.e. females dedicated to the service of god. Mr. Penzer calls the system as 'sacred prostitution', which is rather an unhappy rendering. In India even the *svarga-veśyās* or heavenly prostitutes, who danced and sang at the Court of Indra were not considered sacred, not to speak of their earthly sisters. It does not at all convey the original idea, which gave rise to the custom, but only represents a later corrupted phase of it. There is no gainsaying that corruption crept in, more or less, in almost all the noble human institutions. Will we, for that reason, be justified in calling them by their degraded aspect only? Vesta means a virgin of spotless chastity. Unchastity among the vestal virgins was punished with death and this shows that corruption was not unknown to them. It is a well-known fact that corruptions entered into the sacred institution of Christian nunneries in the medieval period. But we are not aware if anybody called these institutions as 'sacred prostitution'.

There is no doubt that corruption crept into the sacred institution of *Devadāsîs*, as in many other noble institutions. These abuses in course of time came to be looked upon as custom and were tolerated at a later period. But they were never sanctioned by the sacred law. Mr. Penzer has shown that the prostitutes were regarded with disfavour in the law books, although secular prostitution has been traced to the *Ṛgveda*. The works on politics and erotics have dealt with the question of prostitution, but there is nothing about the so-called 'sacred prostitution'. This goes to show that this phase is of later origin.

Although Mr. Penzer has given full accounts about the practice of *Devadāsîs* in Central and Southern India, he finds 'practically no mention of temples or sacred prostitution', in the modern accounts of the Tribes and Castes of Northern India. This paucity, he attributes partly to the destruction of large number of temples by the Muhammadans, and also partly to the general spread of immorality during the anarchical period following the death of Aurangzeb, which caused the religious element of the temple dancers to drop out, and they became ordinary prostitutes, who danced as occasion demanded. He, however, says that one of the numerous sub-castes of the Hindu dancing girls, in N. India, known as *Rājakanyā* appears to be the only one whose members actually dance in the Hindu temples. Prostitution is said to be rare among them.

We shall, in this paper, confine ourselves only to the mention of several instances of the employment of maids in temples of Northern and Eastern India, as we have come across here and there in Sanskrit literature and epigraphy.

The earliest reference to *Devadāsî* in Northern India is found in the Yogimārā cave inscription. The cave is in the Rāmgarh hill, in Surguja State, C.P. The inscription records that a '*Devadasikyi*' Sutanukā (handsome damsel) by name, fell in love with Devadinna (Devadatta), a *lupadakhe* (an examiner of coins). On linguistic and palæographic grounds, the record has been assigned to circa 300 B.C. (*Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress*, pp. 693ff.).

It appears from the word '*Devadasikyi*' (*deva-dassa-ik-i*, i.e. one who sees *Devas*, an *ikkhaṇā* or seeress) that the *Devadāsîs* were also the 'seers' or 'oracles'. The annotator of the *Brahmajāla Sutta* explains the word '*Devapañhā*' by saying that gods were made to descend on the body of a *Devadāsî* and questions were asked. (*Devadāsiyā sarîre Devatam otāretvā pañha pucchanam*) (*ibid.*, p. 699).

Kashmir chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇî* says that King Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya (c. 662–712 A.D.) fell in love with the wife of a merchant, but that right-minded prince did not approve of the idea of taking by force the wife of another man and thus set a bad example to his subjects. Owing to this love-sickness he was on the point of death. The news reached the ear of the merchant, the husband of the lady. In order to save the life of his sovereign, the noble-minded merchant offered the king his wife, Narendraprabhā by name. But failing to induce the king to accept his offer, he said: 'If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl (*narttakî*) put there by me on account of her skill in dancing' (Ch. IV, v. 36).

The same chronicle relates another story about the king Lalitāditya-Muktāpîḍa (c. 725–760 A.D.). The king used to go to a waste to train his horse. There he noticed that two girls came every day and sang and danced at a certain spot there. The king enquired of the girls the reason for this and they replied: 'We are dancing-girls belonging to a temple. Here in the village of Śūravarddhamāna is our home. By the direction of our mothers who got their living here, we perform at this spot the dancing, which our descent makes incumbent. This custom handed down by tradition, has been fixed in our family. Its reason we cannot know, nor can anyone else.' When the king had heard from them the information, he was astonished, and the next day he had the whole ground, in accordance with their indication, dug up by workmen. Then when they have made a deep excavation, the king saw, as announced by them, two decayed temples with closed doors. On opening the folded doors, he saw there two images of Keśava, which as the letters engraved on the bases (*pîṭha*) showed, had been made by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (*ibid.*, vs. 269–274).

It appears from the above stories that the custom of dancing girls attached to temples had been prevalent in Kashmir from time immemorial and that it was a hereditary profession. Anybody could take any of them as a wife.

The earliest reference to the temple dancing-girls (*narttakî*) in Bengal is also found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇî* (Ch. IV, vs. 419–424). King Jayāpîḍa-vinayāditya of Kashmir on ascending the throne proceeded on a conquering expedition. After conquering many countries, one night he left the camp alone. 'Then in due course he entered the city of Puṇḍravarddhana, subject to the kings of Gauḍa and at that time protected by prince called Jayanta. Pleased there by the wealth of the citizens, which was rendered enjoyable by a good government, he went to the temple of Kārtikeya to view the dancing.' There he met a dancing-girl named Kamalā and went to her house. He was, however, soon found out by his prowess in killing a lion, which did havoc in the city. The king Jayanta gave his daughter in marriage with the prince, who returned to his country with his newly married wife and the dancing girl Kamalā. Jayāpîda ruled from c. 777–807 A.D.

The next reference is found in the Deopārā inscription of king Vijayasena of Bengal (c. 1088–1158 A.D.). It is stated in verse 30 that king Vijayasena had given away a hundred beautiful damsels (*Subhrūvaḥ*) to that god, who was but a lord of only half a lady (*Arddhanārîśvara* i.e. Śiva). *Deva-vāravanitā* or prostitute in the service of gods also finds mention in the *Rāmacharita* (Ch. III, 37) of Sandhyākara Nandī.

Further mention is made in the *Pavanadūta* (vs. 28-9) of Dhoyî, a court-poet of king Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1200 A.D.). He speaks of *vārarāmās*, in the temple of god Murārî, who with *lilā-kamala* in their hands, were mistaken for the goddess Lakṣmî. He also says that many *vārarāmās* or courtezans lived in the town of god *Chandrārddhamaulî* (Śiva).

From an inscription of Rājputānā of *Samvat* 1147, 995 A.D. (*Ep. Ind., Vol. XI*, p. 27) we learn that courtezans (*pramadākula*) attached to temples accompanied the procession (*yātra*) of images.

It is said in verse 24 of the Tejpur copper-plate charter of King Vanamāladeva of Kāmarūpa (Assam) that the king reconstructed the temple of Hāṭakeśvara Śiva and endowed it with villages, tenants, elephants and courtezan (*veśyā*) (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalî*, p. 62). The date of the charter is not later than the middle of the ninth century.

It appears from the above instances that in Northern and Eastern India the word *Devadāsî* does not occur, except in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya of about 400 B.C. They simply are designated as *narttakî, Deva-vāravanitā, vārarāmā, subhrū* (beautiful-browed), *pramadā* and *veśyā*. As music formed a part of worship in temples, accomplished courtezans were employed for singing and dancing, like other male musicians. There is no element of dedication or consecration in them. Although the sight of a prostitute (*gaṇikā*) was considered auspicious in starting for a journey, her person or profession was never considered sacred. They were prostitutes by profession, while temple singing or dancing only formed a part-time service. Their profession of prostitution cannot, therefore, be called 'sacred'. Thus they were counterparts of their heavenly sisters, the *svarga-veśyās* or *apsarās*.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

JAINISM IN BENGAL

The districts of Manbhum, Sinhabhum, Birbhum and Burdwan derive their names from Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna.[1] Of the 24 Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* no less than 20 attained *Nirvāṇa* on the Samet-śikhara (*Samādhi-śikhara*) in the Paresnath Hill in the Hazaribagh district. It is narrated in the *Āyārāṅga Sutta*[2] that Mahāvīra had to undergo much suffering and hardship in Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi in Rāḍha. It was a difficult country to travel and the natives treated the ascetics very cruelly. They incited dogs to bite them and the ascetics had to carry bamboo staves to keep off the dogs. It seems, therefore, that Western Bengal felt the tide of the rise of Jainism at the time of Mahāvīra.

---

[1] *IHQ.*, IV, p. 44; *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1322, p. 5, JBORS., 1927, p. 90.

[2] *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 84-5. That Puṇḍravardhana was a Jaina centre at the time of Buddha is corroborated by the story of Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka (Sumāgadhāvadāna in the *Bodhi-Sattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, Bengali translation by S. C. Das, pp. 768–779).

The *Vṛhatkathākoṣa* of Harisena, written in 931 A.D., records that famous Jaina pontiff Bhadrabāhu, the preceptor of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, was the son of a Brahman of Devakoṭa in the Puṇḍravardhana country. One day when Bhadrabāhu was at play with other children at Devakoṭa, Govardhana, the fourth *Śrutakevalī*, happened to see him and perceived that the boy was destined to be the 5th Śrutakevalī, took charge of him with his father's consent and the boy afterwards succeeded him as the great Jaina pontiff. Whatever may be the truth underlying the story of killing 18,000 people in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a *Nigrantha* in the Divyāvadāna, it tends to show that there were many Jainas in Northern Bengal in the 3rd century B.C.

Aṅga and Magadha are Eastern countries that occur in the list of *Soḷasa-mahājanapadas* of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. The 15th chapter of the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sutta* also gives a list of sixteen countries and the occurrence of the names Aṅga, Vaṅga and Lāḍha (Rāḍha) shows that Jainas had more acquaintance with Bengal than the Buddhist in an early period. The *Kalpasūtra* mentions four *śākhās* of the Godāsagaṇa of the Jaina monks as Tāmalittyā, Kodivarṣiyā, Poṃdavardhaniyā and (Dasī) Khabbadiyā.[1] Tāmralipti, Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana are in Midnapore, Dinajpur and Bogra districts respectively and Khabbadiyā has been identified with the principality of Kharvāṭa in Western Bengal. The Jaina *Upāṅgas* redacted c. 454 A.C. but preserving earlier traditions, include Tāmalitta and Vaṅga among Āryan lands, as opposed to *Milikka* (=*Mleccha* or barbarian) peoples like Śaka, Yavana etc. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 374ff.). All these literary references go to show unmistakably that there had been considerable proselytising activity by the Jainas since the days of Mahāvīra and Jainism had got strongholds almost in every part of Bengal. If the maltreatment of the ascetics narrated in the *Āyāraṅga Sutta* is to be believed, the Jainas seem to have met at first with much opposition from the natives. But the spread of the religion over the whole country shows that they were ultimately successful in their mission.

Though we do not know of any royal patron like Chandragupta or Khārvela after the Christian era, Jainism did not lose much ground in Eastern India, as it is generally believed. A Mathurā inscription[1] records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=104 A.D. ?) at the request of a Jaina monk of Rārā. The Pāhārapur plate of 159 G.E.[2] records the gift of some land by a Brahman couple for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers of *arhats* at the *vihāra* of Vaṭa-Gohāli. This *vihāra* was presided over by the disciples of the disciples of the *Nigrantha* preceptor Guhānandin, belonging to the *Pañcha-stūpa* section of Benares. The evidences of the Pāhārapur plate, read along with the account of Yuan Chwang testifies to the fact that Puṇḍravardhana, as a great Jaina centre, maintained its position at least up to the first half of the seventh century A.D.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 288, also *Kalpasūtra* by Jacobi, p. 79 ; for the location of Khabbadiyā or Kharvaṭa see *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 529-30.

Yuan Chwang's observations on the religious condition of India are, no doubt, of great importance for the proper understanding of the relative position of the important religions of the time. But it must be noted that in his account the details about all other religions excepting Buddhism are lacking and that he speaks of the *Nigranthas* rather incidentally and summarily. The fact being so, the Buddhist pilgrim was constrained to remark that in Vaiśālī, Puṇḍravardhana (northern Bengal), Samataṭa (lower Bengal) and Kaliṅga—all in Eastern India—the *Nigranthas* were numerous. It is therefore clear that in these regions the Jainas had the largest number of adherents in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller does not refer to the Nigranthas of the other localities specifically, but when he says that other religions live in pell-mell, it is to be understood that Jainas were included in them. His silence cannot be taken to mean that there were no Jainas in other parts of Eastern India. Thus in his description of Rājagṛha, no mention is made of the Jainas but he found many *Nigranthas* near a tope (*Stūpa*) on the Vipula mountain on the spot where Buddha once preached. 'Many *Digambaras* now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly ; they turn round the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting '.[3] Rājagṛha, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature, is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas. A considerable number of Jaina images lie scattered in or about this place. A small shrine on the Vaibhāra hill contains four Jaina images of the Gupta period. Two other inscribed images are to be placed in the 8th and 9th centuries and another is inscribed with 12th century characters and there are also evidences that the pious Jainas installed images at Rājagṛha even in the Muslim period.[4]

---

[1] *JASB.*, V, p. 239.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XX, 39.

[3] Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 154.

[4] *ASR.*, 1925-6, pp. 146ff.

We are quite in the dark about the state of this religion in Bengal after the seventh century. Its history, disappearance or absorption by another religion is wrapt in complete obscurity. The fate of two other rival religions or sects is interesting and instructive in this connection. Whatever might have been the relation between Mahāvīra and Mākhaliputta Gosāla at first, it is admitted by all that as founders and champions[1] of two rival religions[1] the relation at a later period was far from being friendly, if not that of bitter rivalry and heinous propaganda against each other. The Jainas refer to Gosāla and his followers not in very honourable terms. If the Bhagavatī account of Gosāla and Mahavīra is to be believed, they lived together for six years in Panitavabhumi, which was, according to some Jaina commentators, in Vajjabhumi, one of the divisions of Rāḍha.[2] Mahāvīra in course of his wanderings in Rāḍha found ascetics carrying bamboo staves in their hands who in accordance with Panini's description of *maskariṇa* are to be identified with the Ājīvikas. Thus it seems that at the time of Mahāvīra the Ājīvika ascetics were also active in propagating their religion in western Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Maurya kings like Aśoka, Daśaratha and prince Vitāśoka sometimes patronised the Ajīvikas. The Nāgārjini and Barābar caves[3] go to show that the Ājīvikas had got a fair number of following in Eastern India in the 3rd century B.C.

The *Bhagavatī* refers to a king of Mahāpauma of Puṇḍa, a patron of the Ājīvikas. Puṇḍa is said to be at the foot of the Viñjhā mountains and Mahāpauma's capital is described with hundred gates.[4] The very name Puṇḍa suggests that it was most probably Puṇḍra and its geographical situation near the Viñjha mountains may be neglected. Whatever may be the truth underlying the episode that Aśoka put to death 18,000 Ājīvikas in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a *Nigrantha*, it unmistakably shows that it was also a centre of the Ājīvikas. But the most important point in this episode is that the Ājīvikas were mistaken for the *Nigranthas* and there are other passages in the Divyāvadāna[5] in which the Ājīvikas have been confounded with the Jainas. We are therefore inclined to accept Dr. B. M. Barua's opinion that at the time of the composition of the Divyāvadāna 'the meaning of the confounding of the Ajīvikas with the Jainas is that the two sects living side by side at Puṇḍravardhana differed so slightly from each other, whether in their views or in their outward appearances, that it was difficult for a Buddhist observer to draw any sharp distinction between them'. In Southern India the Ājīvikas were regarded by the Jaina authors as a sect of the Buddhist *bhikṣus.* It is quite natural to think that there were many Ājīvikas whom Yuan Chwang also confounded with the Jainas or at his time they became identical with the Jainas to all intents and purposes and lived completely absorbed in Jainism [1] as the followers of Devadatta were living absorbed in Buddhism at Karṇasuvarṇa, only retaining their individuality in the matter of taking food. Broadly speaking, the differences between the Ājīvikas and Jainas were not very fundamental. Amalgamation was perhaps possible when the initial bitterness was over and it was also possibly necessary in view of the vigorous activity of other rival religions in the field. Devadatta, the veritable Satan of the Buddhist Jatakas, was the founder of a sect, differing only in very minor points from Buddha [2] but it was, according to the testimony of Yuan Chwang, living within the bosom of Buddhism in the seventh century and to a non-Buddhist it was then nothing but Buddhism, pure and simple. Although proofs are still lacking, it may be surmised that Jainism was at a later period absorbed by Buddhism and by the different sects of the Brahmanical religion. The Pāhārapur monastery which seems originally to have been a Jaina establishment was at a later period converted into a Brahmanical one and then into a Buddhist vihara, the famous Somapura *vihāra* of northern Bengal. Mallikārjjuna Suri, the celebrated writer on astrology, who flourished in Bengal in the 12th century A.D., seems to have been a Jaina [3] but in his books he pays homage to the Hindu gods Gaṇapati and Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

---

[1] For relation with Mahāvīra with Gosāla, see Ch. on Jainism in *C.H.I.* and also the excellent paper on the Ājivikas in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. II, by Dr. B. M. Barua.

I have accepted some of the conclusions arrived at in this masterly and thought-provoking paper of Dr. Barua.

[2] Ibid., p. 57, *SBE.*, XXII, p. 264, Note 4. But it should be noted that other Jaina books have Paiśāchabhumi instead of Panitabhumi. (See Mr. U. D. Barodia's *History and Literature of Jainism.*)

[3] *JBORS.*, XII, p. 53.

[4] Dr. Barua identifies Puṇḍa with Pāṭaliputra because Mahapauma's capital is described with hundred gates p. 67; cf. Megasthenes' description of Pāṭaliputra.

[5] Dr. Barua's paper, p. 65.

Nothing is known of the existence of Jainism after Yuan Chwang's account excepting a few images of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras.* The Jaina images are not so rare in Bengal, as has been observed by late Mr. R. D. Banerjee[1] who could number four of them only. The exploration of a certain part of the Sunderbans by Mr. K. D. Mitra has brought to light no less than ten Jaina images.[2] The fact that so many Jaina images have been found in one part of the Sunderbans read along with the evidence of the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena[3] leads to the conclusion that north-western Sunderbans were also included in the old principality of Samataṭa where Yuan Chwang saw the preponderance of the *Nigranthas*. A careful investigation in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura where occasional finds of Jaina images are reported[4] and which fall within the region which Mr. R. D. Banerjee calls the 'Jaina zone of influence'[5] may add to known numbers of the sculptural remains of the Jainas in Bengal. Of about twenty images discovered in Bengal only one belongs to the *Svetambaras*.[6] This would go to indicate that the *Svetambaras* had a very small following and that the *Digambaras* had a greater number of adherents. The images of Ṛṣabhanāth, Ādinātha Neminātha, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha have been found, the latter being more popular. The image of Ṛṣabhanātha in the Varendra Research Society from Surhor in Dinajpur[7] is interesting from iconographical point of view and deserves more than a passing notice. The central figure with the perfect meditative pose, the oval nimbus over the head, the attendants with fly-whisks, the flying couples of Vidyādharas with garlands, the umbrella between 4 pairs of hands, indication of celestial offerings and music by flowers and musical instruments resembles in many respects with a seated Buddha image of the Pāla period. The perfect nudity of the figure, the bull, the emblem of Ṛṣabhanātha, and the presence of 23 *tīrthaṅkaras*, who have come as if to pay their homage on occasion of the installation of this remarkable image, are clear indications of the fact that it was a Jaina image. In the representation of the 24 *tīrthaṅkaras* in the Hanuman cave at Khaṇḍagiri the *vāhanas* of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha and Anantanātha are *krauñcha*, *svasti* and *śyena* respectively and this is also the direction in Hemachandra's Abhidhānachintāmaṇi. In this image the *lañchaṇas*

---

[1] Similar views expressed by Mr. P. C. Sen in the *Vichitrā*, 1340 B.S., pp. 659ff.

[2] Isana Ghose's Bengali translation of the *Jātakas*, Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 284–6; *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 267; 1924, p. 125.

[3] The very name ending in Suri suggests that he was a Jaina. The Jainas and the Ājīvikas were famous for their proficiency in Astrology, Beal. II, p. 168; also see Dr. Barua's and Mr. P. C. Sen's papers, *Op. cit.*, Dr. B. Dutta takes Mallikārjuna Suri to be a Hindu because of his paying homage to Hindu gods. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1340 B.S., p. 83.

---

[1] R. D. Banerjee, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculptures*, p. 144.

[2] Varendra Research Society's *Annual Reports*, 1928-29, 1930. *Antiquities of Khari and Antiquities of North-Western Sunderbans.*

[3] *IHQ.*, XII, p. 67.

[4] *ASR.*, 1921-22, Pl. XXIX*d*. *Bīrbhūm-Virvarṇa*, p. 188 ; another Jaina image in Saptagram, *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 237, 245.

[5] R. D. Banerjee, *Op. Cit.*

[6] *V.R.S. Annual Reports. Op. Cit.*, 1928-29.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1933-34.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

are the dog, wheel and bear.[1] Most probably the Bengal school followed a different manual in the representation of the *tīrthaṅkaras.*

From stylistic considerations all the Jaina images of Bengal may be placed in the Pāla period. The small number of Jaina images in comparison with the large number of the Buddhist and Brahmanical images is perhaps indicative of the fact that Jainism was losing ground in the Pāla period. It is known from the *Vasantavilāsa*[2] that Vastupāla (1219–1233 A.D.), minister of Chālukya Viradhavala, when went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the *Sanghapatis* from Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Dhalā, Avantī and Vaṅga. It is important to notice from this incidental evidence that even in the 13th century there were heads of organized association of the Jainas in Gauḍa and Vaṅga, however small their influence might have been in this period.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.

LAKṢAṆA IN THE ABHINAVA-BHĀRATĪ

—its bearing upon the relative Chronology of Kuntaka and Abhinavagupta

Mr. V. Raghavan has given us the results of his study of Bharata's treatment of Lakṣaṇa and Abhinavagupta's comments thereon together with the latter's reference to a number of views on the position of the Concept of Lakṣṇa in poetry.[3] The scope of this paper will, therefore, be limited. Here, our object will be to study the comments of Abhinavagupta in the light of his indebtedness to Kuntaka, author of the Vakroktijīvita—a fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars.

While commenting on the lines: '*Kāvyabandhāstu kartavyāḥ ṣattriṃśallakṣaṇānvitāḥ*', in the last verse (v. 167) of Chapter XV of 'K.M.' text(=xvi, 169, Ch. text)[4] of the Nāṭyśāstra, Abhinavagupta remarks that the Lakṣaṇas are the most important factors in *Kāvyabandha* and the treatment of other elements comes as a matter of course in their connection.[1] Later on, while he introduces Bharata's treatment of Alaṃkāra, he says that Lakṣaṇas constitute the body of *kāvya* which is embellished by the Poetic figures on the analogy of human body being adorned with ornaments.[2] Then again, while commenting on the verse *yatkiñcit kāvyabandheṣu-sādṛśyenopamīyate etc.* (xvi, 42, K.M. text) that defines upamā, Abhinava remarks: *kāvyabandheṣu kāvyalakṣaṇaṣu satsu ityanena gauriva gavaya iti nāyam alaṃkāra iti darśitam.* Here the Lakṣaṇa has been clearly identified with *Kāvyabandha* i.e. poetic speech itself and naturally it involves all the necessary charm that makes poetry what it is. This view has been more clearly set forth in the lines that come immediately afterwards viz. *bandho gumpho bhaṇitir vakroktiḥ kavivyāpāra iti hi paryāyāt lakṣaṇaṃ tvalaṃkāraśūnyam api na nirarthakam.*[3] This remark undoubtedly reminds one of Kuntaka's theory of poetry and the individual skill of the poet that underlies it. In another place, Abhinava refers to the view of his *upādhyāya*[4] (meaning Bhaṭṭa Tauta, author of the Kāvyakautuka) in connection with the relationship between Lakṣaṇa and Alaṃkāra and remarks:

---

[1] This iconographical point of difference was first noticed by Mr. N. B. Sanyal.

[2] *Vasantavilāsa*, Sarga X.

[3] 'The Concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata,' Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VI, part II.

[4] We have throughout used the abbreviations 'K.M.' for the Kāvya-mālā text and 'Ch.' for the Chaukhamba text of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The Gaekwad Oriental

---

Series has also published the Second Volume of the work which contains the relevant chapters, but while recasting this article, we had not that text before us. The texts of the Abhinavabhāratī have been quoted from the transcript copy of its manuscript in possession of my Professor, Dr. S. K. De, who very kindly lent it for my use.

[1] lakṣaṇānyeva hi pradhānam. *tatprasaṅge guṇālaṃkārā iti.*

[2] evaṃ kavivyāpārabalād yad arthajātaṃ laukikāt svabhāvādvidyamānam tad eva lakṣaṇam ityuktam. tatra (tasya ?) śarīrakalpasyālaṃkārā adhunā vaktavyāḥ. tannirūpayitum uddiśati upametyādi (XVII, 43 Ch. text) kāvye tāvallakṣaṇaṃ śarīram. tasyopamādayas trayo'rthabhāgāḥ. yathā hi pṛthagbhūtena hāreṇa ramaṇī vibhūṣyate tathopamānena śaśinā etatsādṛśyena vā kavi-buddhi-parivartamānatvāt pṛthaksiddhenaiva prakṛta-varṇaniya-vanitā-vadanādi sundarīkriyata iti tadevālaṃkāraḥ:

[3] Anticipating an objection that if Lakṣaṇa is equated with *kavivyāpāra*, it should have innumerable varieties instead of thirty-six, Abhinava replies that these are the principal varieties, others may be similarly enumerated if the poet so feels (ṣaṭtriṃśad iti ca nānyādi-vāraṇaparaṃ, kavi-hṛdaya-varttinām api parisaṃkhyeyatvāt. kintu bāhulyena tāvad iyatāpakṣavyāptam (?) iti ca kavināvadadhātavyam). Indeed, such a comprehensive poetic factor brooks only two types of enumeration—either a single variety having a very wide sphere or innumerable varieties each occupying a narrow scope.

[4] Although we have no direct evidence to show that Abhinavagupta refers here to Bhaṭṭa Tauta as his *upādhāya*, yet from the manner of his comments not only in this context but also later on in chapter XIX of his work (already noted by Dr. A. Sankaran, p. 96), there remains little doubt that Bhaṭṭa Tauta—and not Bhaṭṭendurāja, the other *guru* of Abhinava—is being referred to.

upādhyāyamatantu lakṣaṇabalāt alaṃkārāṇāṁ vaicitryam āgacchati,[1] *tathā hi guṇānuvādanāmnā lakṣaṇena yogāt praśaṁsopamā, atiśaya nāmno* (*ā* ?) *'tiśayoktiḥ, manorathākhyenāprastuta-praśaṃsā mithyādhyavasāyenāpahnutiḥ.*

Now, although such peculiar views, namely that, (1) the Lakṣaṇa is identical with *kāvya-bandhu* instead of being one of its beautifying factors and that (2) its presence accounts for the multiplication or charmingness (*vaicitrya*) of the Alaṃkāras, may not strictly fit in with the treatment of Bharata, where there is a clear tendency for embellishing the *kāvyabandha* as much by the Lakṣaṇas[2] as by the *Alaṃkāras* and the Guṇas and where many of the Alaṃkāras mentioned under the name of Abhinava's *upādhyāya* are conspicuous by their absence, they undoubtedly carry some amount of historical importance, since they tend to show the relationship of Abhinava's Lakṣaṇa with the theory of Vakrokti and to determine the chronology of Kuntaka and Abhinava as well as the ultimate source upon which both Abhinava and Kuntaka are probably drawing. Considering all the remarks of Abhinava quoted above, one would form some definite idea of the characteristics of Lakṣaṇa. They are :—

---

[1] Here the term *vaicitrya* may have two meanings; (1) manifoldness and (2) charmingness. Abhinavagupta apparently uses it in the first sense when, following his *upādhyāya*: he understands the Lakṣaṇas to be factors that serve to multiply three of the four Alaṃkāras of Bharata into many. But when we go through his remarks in connection with the individual Lakṣaṇas, it appears that he has accepted the second meaning too. While explaining the technical Lakṣaṇa Guṇakīrtana, he says: *lakṣaṇāni hi alaṃkārān api citrayanti.* Here Abhinava is taking *citrayanti* to mean beautify (as his use of the word *api* would imply). Now if Lakṣaṇa is to be *kāvya-śarīra* or poetic expression, it itself stands in need of extraneous decoration and as such it cannot be taken to beautify the Alaṃkāra. Either it must not be looked upon as *kāvyaśarīra*, or if it should, it must cease to be a beautifying factor. Abhinava would probably justify himself by saying that an object which has an exquisite grace of its own may serve to cast into the background even the beauty of its decorating factor. In that sense Lakṣaṇa may be said to beautify even the Alaṃkāra. In this connection, we may remember the well-known lines of the Kumārasambhava:

Anyonya-śobhā-jananād babhūva ।
sādhāraṇo bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣya-bhāvaḥ ॥ (i, 42 cd.)

where Pārvatī's necklace and her breasts have been taken to beautify each other.

[2] When Bharata explicitly said that *kāvyabandha* should *be endowed with* thirty-six Lakṣaṇas (saṭtriṃśallakṣaṇānvitāḥ, xvi, 169, Ch. T.) it appears strange how it can be *identified with* that poetic factor.

We must note, in this connection, that after we had first written this article two years ago, we had the kind privilege of discussing it with Mr. S. P. Bhattacharyya, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta, in order to be fortified in our finding. He then closely studied the individual Lakṣaṇas of Bharata and told us that: Bharata's Lakṣaṇa might well be taken as an 'elastic poetic principle' which, like Kuntaka's Vakrokti, includes within its wide scope other poetic elements. He expressed his willingness to *write a separate paper on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa*, where he would maintain Abhinavagupta's position that Bharata's Lakṣaṇa is much more than a poetic element like Guṇa and Alaṃkāra. We are waiting with eagerness to see a full paper from the learned pen of the venerable Professor.

(1) Lakṣaṇas are essential in *kāvya*, other poetic elements stand subordinate to them.

(2) The scope of Lakṣaṇa is as wide as *kāvyabandha* or poetic expression in general.

(3) Alaṃkāras augment the beauty of the *kāvyabandha*, hence of the Lakṣaṇas.

(4) Lakṣaṇa has got a natural grace of its own due to the peculiarity of the poet's individual power by reason of which it serves to make poetry acceptable even without further embellishments and in absence of which poetry becomes flat and vapid and consequently unworthy of the name of it.

(5) The presence of Lakṣaṇas adds to the charm of the Alaṃkāras i.e. Lakṣaṇa is also a beautifying factor of Alaṃkāra.

Now, in the wide range of Abhinava's Lakṣaṇa, one is naturally inclined to read the comprehensive character of Kuntaka's Vakrokti. Secondly, the peculiarity of the poet's skill involved in the natural grace of Abhinava's Lakṣaṇa or *Kāvyabandha* has its counterpart in the *vaidagdhyabhaṅgī* of Kuntaka. And lastly, the capacity which Abhinava's Lakṣaṇa possesses for giving a poignant effect to the charm of the Alaṃkāras clearly reminds one of Bhāmaha's Vakrokti which lies at the basis of all Alaṃkāras (*ko'laṃkāro 'nayā vinā*, Kāvyālaṃkāra, ii, 85*d*). Moreover, Abhinava's quotation of Bhāmaha's line : *saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktir anayārtho vibhāvyate*, in support of his description of Bharata's Lakṣaṇa and his explicit use of the terms *gumpha*, *bhaṇiti*, *kavi-vyāpāra* (so well known in Kuntaka) adequately testify to the fact that Abhinava was thoroughly acquainted with the theories and principles of either Kuntaka himself or some earlier theorist who formulated the same line of opinion. Now, among the earlier theorists, we know that only Bhāmaha expounded a theory of Vakrokti as the basis of all Alaṃkāras but it will be easily seen that his conception of Vakrokti was not so mature or developed as could be utilized by Abhinava in connection with the Lakṣaṇas. The terms and expressions used by Abhinava are undoubtedly those of Kuntaka and this makes it highly probable that the Vakroktijīvita appeared earlier than the Abhinava-bhāratī and Abhinava quite consciously identified (Bharata's) Lakṣaṇa with Kuntaka's Vakrokti. When, in ascertain-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

ing the date of Kuntaka, Dr. A. Sankaran noted the similarities in Abhinava's works and Kuntaka's Vakroktijīvita (p. 119, Some Aspects of Literary Criticism) and remarked 'probably the Vakroktijīvita appeared late in the life of Abhinava', he probably did not go into the details of Abhinava's treatment of Lakṣaṇa. It is possible that Abhinava utilized portions of the treatment of Kuntaka but did not quote him anywhere by name because he was not much earlier than himself and the views expounded by him had not still then (and in fact never) been established in the Śāstra. Dr. Sankaran rightly observes that though the Vakroktijīvita 'put forward a different theory, it did not demand serious consideration from ..... Abhinava because it recognized adequately the importance of Dhvani and Rasa in poetry ....' (*loc. cit.*). Another probable conclusion is that both Abhinava and Kuntaka are drawing upon one and the same source and this is the Kāvyakautuka of Bhaṭṭa Tauta which work is unfortunately lost to us but the views of which are quoted by later writers like Kṣemendra (Kar. 35, Aucityavicāracarccā), Hemacandra (pp. 316 and 3 Kāvyānuśāsana) Rucaka (p. 13, 1. 23. Vyaktivivekavyākhyā) and Caṇḍīdāsa (K. P. dīpikā, p. 7).

It is clear from their remarks that Bhaṭṭa Tauta emphasised the individual power of the poet in the composition of poetry (*tasya karma smṛtaṃ kāvyam*) and certainly he was the first to note this fact and Kuntaka only derived it from him. Now the close similarities between the characters of Abhinava's Lakṣaṇa and Kuntaka's Vakrokti make it probable that both these theories are indebted to Bhaṭṭa Tauta for the formulation of the theories of Lakṣaṇa and Vakrokti, in both of which *kavivyāpāra* plays the most important part. Kuntaka appears to have been inspired by the teachings of Tauta which he critically combined with the views of Bhāmaha in order to expound his theory of Vakrokti. Abhinava naturally subscribed to his *guru's* views on Lakṣaṇa and did not mind borrowing the expressions and terms of a theorist who humbly accepted one of the main teachings of Abhinava's venerable *guru* although he used it for a different purpose, namely, the formulation of a theory which deviated from the beaten tracks of the Śāstra. By utilizing the treatment of Kuntaka, Abhinava has indirectly glorified his own *guru* Tauta.

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI.

DATE OF VAṄGASENA, THE AUTHOR OF THE CIKITSĀSĀRA-SAṀGRAHA—Before A.D. 1200.

In a very informative article on the *Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal*, published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, page 159, Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta makes the following remarks about Vaṅgasena, the author of *Ākhyātavyākaraṇa* and *Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha*[1] :—

> 'Although of uncertain date, Vaṅgasena must not be mistaken, as is sometimes done, as a recent writer, for two of the Manuscripts of his *Cikitsāsāra Saṁgraha*, found in the Deccan, are dated in 1376 *Saṁvat* or 1319-20 A.D.[2] and he must, therefore, belong to *the 13th century at the latest*' (italics ours).

These remarks open up the question of Vaṅgasena's date and I am sure Mr. Das Gupta will supply us with more data from Vaṅgasena's works bearing on his chronology during the course of his studies. My object in writing this note is to record the data found by me in the light of which I am inclined to believe that Vaṅgasena belongs not '*to 13th century at the latest*' but to *12th century at the latest.*

Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvarga-Cintamaṇi*, who wrote his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II during the reign of King Rāmacandra[3] of Devagiri (1271 to 1309 A.D.) mentions and quotes from Vaṅgasena. Hemādri wrote his *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* during the reign of King Mahādeva, the predecessor of King Rāmacandra. The period of Mahādeva's reign is put between A.D. 1260–1270 and Hemādri was a minister and keeper of records under both these Devagiri Kings.[4]

---

[1] Vide Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 548—where Vaṅgasena, the author of *Ākhyātavyākaraṇa* and Vaṅgasena, the author of *Cikitsāsāra Saṃgraha* are apparently distinguished. He is quoted in Lauhapradīpa (W., p. 301) and by Bhāvamiśra (Oxf. 311b). His work on medicine is commented on by Vaidyanātha.

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1883-84, p. 86 and R. G. Bhandarkar, Dec. College MSS. Catalogue, p. 144, No. 352.

[3] *Vide* verses 1 to 9 of Chapter I of *Āyurvedarasāyana* of Hemādri. Verse 6 reads as follows :—

"हेमाद्रि-नाम रामस्य राज्ञः श्रीकरणेष्वधि ।
ननूभौ भगवन्निष्ठषाड्गुण्यकरणेष्वधि ॥ ६ ॥"

Hemādri's commentary has not been so far published but an edition of the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* with Aruṇadatta's and Hemādri's commentaries is being edited by Mr. Paradkar Shastri for the N.S. Press, Bombay.

[4] Kane : *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol. I, pp. 354–359.

I shall now record Hemādri's references to Vaṅgasena in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* :—

(1) *Nidāna Sthāna, Chap. II, verse* 33—The commentary reads—

"वङ्गसेने (ज्वराधिकारे[1] श्लो० ४८४–५०४)
निद्रोपेतमभिन्यासं क्षिप्रं विद्याद्धतौजसम् ।
आचितामाशयकफे सन्निपातज्वरे दृढे ॥
... ...
... ...
न वा प्रभासते किञ्चिदभिन्यासः स उच्यते ।
प्रत्याख्येयः स भूयिष्ठं कश्चिदेवात्र सिद्ध्यति ॥" इति"

(2) *Nidāna Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 15—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (राजयक्ष्माधिकारे श्लो० ९)
"भक्तद्वेषो ज्वरः श्वासः कासः शोणितदर्शनम् ।
स्वरभेदश्च जायन्ते षड्रूपे राजयक्ष्मणि ॥" इति"

(3) *Nid. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 45—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगाधिकारे श्लो० १–४)
"अत्युष्णगुर्वम्लकषायतिक्त-श्रमाभिघाताध्यशनप्रसङ्गैः ।
सञ्चिन्तनैर्वेगविधारणैश्च हृदामयःपञ्चविधः प्रदिष्टः ॥
दूषयित्वा रसं दोषा विगुणा हृदयं गताः ।
हृदि बाधां प्रकुर्वन्ति हृद्रोगं तं प्रचक्षते ॥"
इति हृद्रोगनिदानम् ।"

(4) *Cikitsitasthāna*, Chap. I, verse 2—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० १४१)—
"ज्वरस्य पूर्वरूपेषु वर्तमानेषु बुद्धिमान् ।
... ...
... ...
सर्वं त्रिदोषजेषूक्तं यथादोषं विकल्पयेत् ।" इति ।

---

[1] This identification is by Mr. Paradkar Shastri, to whom my thanks are due for supplying me with printed forms of his edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (in the press). This passage from Vaṅgasena occurs on p. 452 of this edition.

(5) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 17—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (?)—

"वैयात्याद्यधिकोऽप्यत्र भेदः कर्तुमिहेच्छति

... ...

यवक्षारान्वितो क्वाथो धान्यपटोलयोः ।" इति"

(6) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 23—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० १६६)—

"कार्यं न बाले वृद्धे वा" इति"

(7) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 54—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २२७)

"पञ्चमूली बलारास्ना...........पिबेद्वातज्वरापहम्" इति"

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २४१)—

"पटोलयवधान्याकमधुकं...........कासासृक्पित्तवीसर्प-
श्वासान् हन्ति वमीरपि ॥" इति ।"

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २६४)—

"त्रिफला त्रिवृतामुस्तं...........प्लीहानं हन्ति
हिक्कां च बालानां च प्रशस्यते ।" इति ।"

(8) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 59—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २९२)—

"बलाभार्ग्यमृतैरब्दचन्दनोशीरपर्पटैः ।

... ...

एष सिद्धः कषायः स्याद्वातपित्तभवे ज्वरे ॥" इति"

(9) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 63—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ३३५)—

"सभूनिम्बामृतादारु...........पटोलशुण्ठीयवपिप्पलीनाम् ॥" इति"

(10) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 67—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वरा० श्लो० ३९२ and श्लो० ४४३)—

"दशमूलस्य निक्वाथः...........संज्ञानाशविमोक्षणाः" इति

"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्व० श्लो० ४९० and ५०३)
"दुर्गेम्भसि यथा मज्जन्नाजनं............तन्द्रीनाशनमुत्तमम्।" इति"

(11) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 83—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (ज्वरा० श्लो० ४१६)—
"यवकोलकुलत्थैस्तु............कण्ठहृद्वक्त्रशोधनः॥" इति"

(12) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 94—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ७३१)—
"कल्याणकं षट्पलं............ज्वरघ्नं प्लीहनाशनम्।" इति"

(13) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 101—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ७२७)—
"मधुकारग्वधद्राक्षा............अनुबन्धभयान्नरः।" इति"

(14) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 128—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २३१, २५९, २८०)—
"शर्करादाडिमाभ्यां च............कर्तव्यः कवलग्रहः।" इति"

(15) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 130—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने त्वभ्यङ्गतैलान्युक्तानि (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ६२८, ७७७, ७९१)—
"लाक्षामधुकमञ्जिष्ठा............तेनाभ्यक्तो विमुच्यते।" इति"

(16) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 135—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वरा० श्लो० २५८)—
"जिह्वातालुगलक्लोम............मधुसैन्धवसंयुतम्॥" इति"

(17) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 166—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्व० श्लो० ५७३)—
"शैलूषमण्डनरजः पुरुषानुरूपं............हरति रञ्जितसूत्रबद्धम्॥ इति।"

(18) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 173—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वर० श्लो० ५४१)—
"चौषधीगन्ध............सर्वगन्धकृतैर्भिषक्।" इति।"

(19) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 35—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (रक्तपित्ताधिकारे श्लो॰ ४६, ४८, ६९, ९३)—
“ तालीसचूर्णयुक्तः…………रक्तपित्तविनाशनः । ” इति ”

(20) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 44—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (रक्तपित्ताधिकारे श्लो॰ ९९, १२६, १४१, १६१, १६७, १९३)—
“ वृषस्य पत्राङ्कुरपत्रशाखा…………मुद्गया ॥ ” इति ”

(21) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 44—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (रक्त॰ श्लो॰ ६६, ६८, ७४)—
“ द्राक्षया फलिनीभिर्वा…………दाडिमैः ॥ ” इति । ”

(22) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 50—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (रक्त॰ श्लो॰ ८१)—
“ नासाप्रवृत्तरुधिरं…………आनाहाख्यं गदं जयेत् । ” इति । ”

(23) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 32—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो॰ ३०)—
“ बलाद्विबृहतीद्राक्षा…………शर्करामधुयोजितम् । ” इति ”

(24) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 44—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (कासा॰ श्लो॰ ४०)—
“ मुद्गामलाभ्यां यवदाडिमाभ्यां…………कफरोगहन्ता ॥ ” इति । ”

(25) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 67—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो॰ ४७)—
“ कुष्ठं तामलकी…………ध्रुवमास्ये विधारितम् ॥ ” इति । ”

(26) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 80—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो॰ ९३)—
“ चूर्णं ककुभसमुत्थं…………रक्तपित्तहरम् ॥ ” इति ”

(27) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 167—commentary—

“ वङ्गसेने तु (कासा॰ श्लो॰ ९५, ९९)—
“ शुभदेशसमुद्भूतं…………घृतमेतत् ॥ ” इति ”

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

(28) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 9—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (श्वासाधिकारे श्लो० ३०)—

"स्नेहबस्तिं विना…………आदिशन्ति ह ॥" इति ।"

(29) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 22—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (श्वासा० श्लो० ७५)—

"शृतं सङ्गृह्यभार्ग्यास्तु…………नाशयेत्तमकं तथा ॥" इति ।"

(30) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 55—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (श्वासा० श्लो० ५९)—

"सौवर्चलयवक्षार…………कासश्वासौ व्यपोहति ॥" इति ।"

(31) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 59—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु— (हिक्काधिकारे श्लो० १८)—

"प्राणावरोध…………धूमः पीतो न संशयः ॥" इति ।"

(32) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 4—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (राजयक्ष्मादिकारे श्लो० ३०)—

"बलिनो बद्धदोषस्य…………मलरेतसी ॥" इति ।"

(33) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 27—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने तु (राज० श्लो० ९५)—

"गुडूची सारिवा ह…………दृष्टिमान् ॥" इति ।"

(34) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 33—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (राज० श्लो० १२१ १३५)—

"छागमांस तुलां गृह्य…………पित्तोद्रेके प्रशस्यते ॥" इति ।"

(35) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 34—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (राज० श्लो० ३६, ८५)—

"धान्याकपिप्पलीविश्व…………यक्ष्महराः ॥" इति ।"

(36) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 53—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (?)—

"जम्ब्वाम्रपत्र…………कलहंसकं नाम्ना ॥" इति ।"

(37) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 21—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (छर्द्दि॰ श्लो॰ ४६, ५७)—
"अश्वत्थवल्कलशुष्कं..........वैश्वानर इवाहुतिम् ॥"

(38) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chapter VI, verse 33—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगाधिकारे श्लो॰ १०)—
"क्वाथः कृतः..........लवणाश्च पेयः ॥" इति

(39) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 48—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगा॰ श्लो॰ १८)—
"अर्ज्जुनस्य त्वचा..........पित्तहृद्रोगनाशनम् ॥" इति।"

(40) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 55—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगा॰ श्लो॰ २८)—
"सूक्ष्मैलामागधीमूलं..........हृक्शमयत्युदीर्णम् ॥"

(41) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 57—commentary—
"तत्र वङ्गसेने (शूलरोगाधिकारे श्लो॰ १)—
"दोषैः पृथक्..........कुलित्थान् स विवर्जयेत्"
(a long extract of 1½ page).

(42) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 59—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरो॰ श्लो॰ ३६)—
"क्रिमिहृद्रोगिणां..........विडङ्गामयसंयुतम् ॥" इति।"

(43) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 67—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (तृषाधिकारे श्लो॰ २४)—
"लाजोदकं मधुयुतं..........पिबेत्तृष्णार्दितैः ॥" इति।"

(44) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 68—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (तृषा॰ श्लो॰ २२)—
"वातघ्नमन्नपानं..........गुडूच्याश्च"

(45) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 71—commentary—
"वङ्गसेने (तृषा॰ श्लो॰ १८)—
"काश्मर्यं शर्करायुक्तं..........तण्डुलोदकम्"

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

(46) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 74—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० २३)—

"सजीरकाण्यार्द्रं...........तृष्णाम् ॥" इति ।"

(47) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 82—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० ३७)—

"च्युतोद्भवां...........मधुकोदकं वा ॥" इति ।"

(48) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 84—commentary--

"वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० ४१)—

"मूर्च्छा...........विमुच्यते ॥" इति ।"

(49) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VII, verse 107—commentary—

"वङ्गसेने (मूर्च्छाधिकारे श्लो० ३२)—

"महौषधामृता...........सितया च पथ्याम् ।" इति"

Some of the 49 references to Vaṅgasena by Hemādri and quotations from his work are long extracts which show the nature and extent of Hemādri's indebtedness to Vaṅgasena. No complete commentary of Hemādri has yet been available and in the N.S. Press Edition referred to in this paper the commentary available is only for (1) the *Sūtrasthāna*, (2) the first 6 chapters of the *Nidānasthāna*, and (3) the first 7 chapters of the *Cikitsitasthāna*. The references recorded by me in this paper are from this portion of the commentary only. If the entire copy of the *Ayurvedarasāyana* is recovered perhaps more references to Vaṅgasena may be traced in it. Out of the 49 references recorded above we have 3 from the *Nidānasthāna* and 46 from the *Cikitsitaṣthāna* and none from the *Sūtrasthāna*, so far as my cursory perusal of the text goes.

This wholesale borrowing from Vaṅgasena's work proves in the first instance the popularity in the Deccan of Vaṅgasena, a Bengali writer according to Mr. Das Gupta, and secondly it detracts much of the originality of Hemādri's commentary. This is but natural in the case of Hemādri, who had perhaps developed a habit for the compilation of texts from his predecessors' works after having compiled his *magnum opus viz.* the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*. In spite of his towering intellect the literary works undertaken by him were too enormous in extent and scope for a busy minister of the state for the sustained display of originality and critical acumen in the entire field of his activity. To sum up: From the nature and extent of

Hemādri's references to and quotations from Vaṅgasena's work, I am inclined to conclude that *Vaṅgasena* flourished in the *12th century at the latest*. At any rate he is earlier than A.D. 1200 as we must presume a difference of about 75 years between him and Hemādri (1260 A.D.).

P. K. GODE.

NASAQ AS A SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN THE MUGHAL TIMES

Messrs. A. Yusaf Ali and Moreland in their joint contribution on Akbar's Land Revenue System to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, were unable to define Nasaq though they laid it down that it was a system of Land Revenue Assessment.[1] However Mr. Moreland in his Agrarian System of Muslem India described it as ' group assessment viz assessment of a lump sum of the village (or occasionally the Pargana) by agreement with the headmen as representing the peasants, the distribution of the assessment over the individual peasants being left in the headman's hands.[2] This interpretation is alleged to be based on a number of passages in the Ain-i-Akbari and Akbar Nama. Let us try to examine them and see whether they support Mr. Moreland's thesis.

1. In the thirteenth year Shahab-ud-Din was entrusted with the management of crownlands and he set aside the annual zabt and introduced Nasaq.[3]

This passage simply suggests that zabti and Nasaqi are two different forms of assessment.

2. The Ain describes the province of Gujarat as ' mostly Nasaq '.[4]

This again only proves that Nasaq was a method of assessment. We are also told that measurement was little practised. Naturally Nasaq would mean a method of assessment wherein measurement and survey were not essential.

3. Khandesh is described as being a province where Nasaq was practised.[5] No Dasturs have been preserved for this province. Naturally Nasaq would not require Dasture (schedules of revenue

---

[1] J.R.A.S., 1918, pp. 8 and the following.

[2] Moreland 236.

[3] Akbar Nama, Vol. II, 333.

[4] Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, 485.

[5] Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, 474.

demand in cash levied on one Bigha of different crops under cultivation) as it did not necessitate survey.

4. In the Ain-i-Amal, Nasaq is described as a system of assessment where measurement was not necessary.[1]

5. We are further told in the same regulation that Nasaq was not to be made with headmen but with individual cultivators.[2]

6. It is laid down that the Nuskha-i-Nasaq—papers of Nasaq demands—is to be amended in case some damage to crops is reported to the emperor and he orders modifications.[3]

7. Akbar Nama, further declares that keeping the increasing annual prosperity of the cultivators in view, Nasaq should be established.[4]

8. The Collector should send the demand papers of the part of the village where Zabti was practised after completing the papers laying down the Nasaqi demands.[5]

This extract suggests that sometimes in the same village these two systems of assessment prevailed.

All these references bear out Messrs. Moreland and A. Yusaf Ali's main contention that Nasaq was a system of assessment of land revenue. The citation No. 5 above however shows that though Nasaq could be as easily made with the headmen as with individual cultivators, Akbar did not like it to be made with the headmen. The extract No. 6 suggests that the assessment made was subject to decrease on account of damage to crops. The extract No. 8 implies the prevalence of Zabati and Nasaqi systems simultaneously in the same village.

Now Mr. Moreland's definition of Nasaq as group assessment goes counter to the extract No. 5 which implies that Nasaq assessment was preferably made with the individual cultivators. When we find the Ain suggesting, as it does in the extract No. 8 cited above, that the Zabti and Nasaqi could be practised in the same village, it knocks the bottom out of Mr. Moreland's case. If Nasaqi was settlement of a lump sum with the village as a whole, there would be no place for Zabti in the same village for settling land revenue according to the schedules of demands preserved in the Ain. The only reason which Moreland suggested for his interpretation was that he knew of no other system of assessment which could be opposed to Zabti. Fortunately for us a MS. of a Dastur-ul-Amal of Todar Mal preserved in the State Library, Rampur (United Provinces) not only describes the Nasaq system of assessment but contrasts it with five other systems in vogue. The six systems described therein are :—

---

[1] Ibid. i, 285.

[2] Ibid. i, 286.

[3] Ain-i-Akbari, i, 286.

[4] Akbar Nama, III, 381.

[5] Ain, i, 287.

(1) Nasaqi, (2) Zabti, (3) Kankut, (4) Ghalla Qisami, (5) Lola Bandi, (6) Deh Bandi.

The last system of assessment covers what Mr. Moreland described as group assessment. The state settled the land revenue as a whole leaving it to the villagers themselves to apportion it among themselves. Now this is definitely not Nasaq which is the first method of assessment described. According to this Dastur-ul-Amal, Nasaqi was a method of assessment when paying heed to the last ten years or twelve years land revenue demand, $\frac{1}{12}$ of the total was fixed permanently as the land revenue of the land in question.[1] Now this involved no survey of the land, and no keeping of the seasonal records of produce. The demand was fixed irrespective of the area under cultivation and the crops cultivated. A lump sum was agreed upon by way of an average of the last ten or twelve years' demand.

Now this definition is borne out by all the extracts that refer to Akbar's reign. Unlike Mr. Moreland's definition it does not run counter to any of the suggestions contained in the extracts. As Mr. Moreland's definition was simply based on guess work and does not cover all the known facts as revealed in the contemporary records this definition of Nasaq, though of a later date, must be accepted as correct.

Sri Ram Sharma.

A NOTE ON THE CHĀNDOGYA-UPANIṢAD (VIII. 13. 1)

Śyāmāc śabalaṃ prapadye. Śabalāc śyāmaṃ prapadye. Aśva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpam, candra iva Rāhor mukhāt pramucya dhūtvā śarīram, akṛtaṃ kṛta-ātmā brahma-lokam abhisambhavāmi, abhisambhavāmi.

Akṛta, a. : uncreated (undone, unperformed, not made, not ready, incomplete) ; (*-tam* : acc. sg. m.).

---

[1] Dastur-ul-Amal, 32b, 33a and b.

Professedly it is the work of Todar Mal Shah Jahani. It contains entries running into the year 1119 A.H. The MS. itself was copied in the year 1213 A.H., (1798-99). It is not unlikely that the different parts of the work were written at different times. At one place (page 18) it speaks of Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar as the reigning Rana of Udaipur. He died on January 26, 1620. At another place it describes the Mansib held by Aurangzeb in 1046 A.H. (1636-1637). On page 3, the year 1056 A.H. (1646) is mentioned

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Senart's phrase[1] 'L'akṛta c'est le monde de Brahman≪qui ne résult pas de l'action≫et qui, par conséquent ne peut être obtenu par l'acte (kṛtena)' does not throw light on the philosophical significance of the Upaniṣad. To *pass into the uncreated Brahma-world* is more an allusion to the transcendental difficulty to obtain a spiritual realization of the Brahma world than 'le monde de Brahman qui ne résult pas de l'action'. As the realization of the imperceptible is difficult, the writers of this Upaniṣad admit the principle that one must consider the essence of *not-made* or *uncreated* from the point of view of spiritual knowledge. Nevertheless, the fact that the possibility of realizing God is latent in the consideration given above is satisfactorily proved in other philosophical ways.

I cannot approve the foot-note inserted ([....] by Professor Foucher ?) in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (*op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 2) on the beginning of the same mantra: 'cet étrange début se rapport sans doute à ce qui a été exposé....au sujet de la cavité (noire) du coeur (1, 1-2), du bariolage des veines ainsi que des rayons solaires (6, 1-2), et du va-et-vient qui s'établit entre le coeur et le soleil'. It is a pity that intricate philological *questions* made it impossible to comment a phrase of so great a meaning! *Śyāmāc śabalaṃ prapadye—Śabalāc śyāmaṃ prapadye* ('From the dark I go to the varicolored—From the varicolored I go to the dark') has not relation with anatomical or physical theories; it manifests a primitive concept of the *undetermined* cause of life by giving an immediate consciousness of the *determined* existence. 'From the *undetermined* (dark) I go to the *determined* (varicolored=life in general)'. There are not empirical or systematic theories of physical sciences, but we can otherwise say that in the period of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad the Indian mind was already going through the scientific explanation of the human phenomenon with reference to its physical manifestation in the body. However, the quoted foot-note is an erroneous interpretation of the philosophical passage of our Upaniṣad. The philosophy of ancient India is not cerebral philosophy; it does not consist of inconclusive experiments or efforts to carry out a learned phraseology of a silly and doubtful coin.

The consciousness of the undetermined cause of life was a principle of psychological analysis of the human Soul, according to repeated sentences which form the finest teaching of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad on the Absolute Self. The identity of the individual *ātman* with the world *Ātman* is expressed in a frequently repeated sentence of the *Chāndogya-* (VI. 8–16), in which the fundamental doctrine of Upaniṣadic philosophy of the Absolute Self appears as a result of tendency to the analysis of all various perceptible and imperceptible objects in the universe :—*Sa ya eṣo 'ṇimā, etad-ātmakam idaṃ sarvam, tat satyam, sa ātmā. Tat tvam asi, Śveta-keto, iti.*[1]

---

[1] *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, traduite et annotée par Émile Senart (='Collection Émile Senart', 1). Paris, 1930, p. 120, n. 2.

I speak of *tendency* because :—

> acintyāḥ khalu ye bhāva na tāṃs tarkeṇa sādhayet ।
> prakṛtibhyaḥ paraṃ yat tu tad acintyasya lakṣaṇam ॥[2]

The problem of the Upaniṣads remains the widest and most fundamental philosophical problem of the nature and meaning of reality.

E. G. Carpani.

AŚVAMEDHA BY A MUGHAL SATRAP

In the July issue of the volume II of this *Journal*, we gave an instance of '*Aśvamedha* by a Feudatory' from the mythological account of the *Harivaṁśa*. In the present note we shall cite an instance from history, how a petty potentate and a Mughal satrap performed *Aśvamedha*, without exciting the jealousy of his Indra, the emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi, or of his warlike neighbours, such as the Rathores or the Haras.

The Kacchavaha Rajput King Sowae Jaya Siṁha succeeded his father to the throne of Amber in 1699 A.D. After 1721 A.D. he was appointed governor of the provinces of Agra and Malwa by Muhammad Shah. This Sowae Jaya Simha performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, some two hundred years before our time. We make no apology to quote below, what Tod says of the incident :—

'Amongst the vanities of the founder of Ambér, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of *aswamédhá yúga*, or "sacrifice of the horse," a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation[3] must have informed him had he entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janmeja the Pandu, to Jeichund, the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj. It was a virtual assumption of universal supremacy; and although, perhaps, in virtue of his office, as the satrap of Delhi, the horse dedicated to the sun might have wandered unmolested on the banks of the Ganges, he would most assuredly have found his way into a Rahtore stable had he roamed in the direction of the desert: or at the risk both of *jeva* and *gadí* (life and throne), the Hara would have seized him, had he fancied the pastures of the Chumbul. He erected a sacrificial hall of much beauty and splendour, whose columns and ceilings were covered with plates of silver; nor is it improbable that the steed, enblematic of *Surya*, may have been led round the hall, and afterwards sacrificed to the solar divinity. The *yugsala* of Jey Sing, one of the great ornaments of the city, was, however, stripped of its rich decoration by his profligate descendant, the late Juggut Sing.'

---

[1] *See* Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 221=*Cf.* Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, X. 6. 3, *and* Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, I. 4. 6.

[2] Mahābhārata, *Bhīṣma*, 5. 12. This stanza has been adopted in the commentary of Śrī Śaṃkarācārya on the *Vedānta-Sūtras*, with the reading '*yojayet*' instead of '*sādhayet*' (Ved.-Sūtras, 2. 1. 27).

[3] This research apparently refers to Jaya Sinha's Compilation on Smṛti, entitled '*Jaya-Siṁha-Kalpa-druma*'. (*Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Coll. under A.S.B., Vol. II, p. xxxi*). See also Padyataraṅgini by Vrajanātha (*Peterson's 4th Report on Search S. MSS.*, pp. 26–32).

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

REVIEWS

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE. By J. M. Somasundaram, B.A., B.L. With a foreword by F. H. Gravely, D.Sc., pp. i-viii, 1–89, 25 plates. Price Re.1 or 2*s*. net. Printed at Solden & Co., Madras, S.E., 1935.

In this book an attempt has been made to give mainly an account of the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara* at Tanjore which is 'by far the grandest temple in India'. In the preface the author has remarked that his idea 'is to place within a small compass what all that might interest a casual visitor' of this great shrine. In the foreword Dr. Gravely has given a very short but interesting account of the evolution of temple-architecture in Southern India.

In the first chapter the author, first of all, gives us information about the derivation of the name Tanjore. According to one view Tanjore derives its name from *Tanjan*, an *asura*. According to another view the name is derived from *Tanjam*, i.e. refuge. According to a third view, i.e., the literary work *Tañjapurī-māhātmya*, the name is derived from *Tuṅga* or *Kulottuṅga*, a *Chola* king who built this city and named it *Tuṅgapura* after him. It was during the reign of *Rājarāja* I the *Chola* ruler (c. 918–1014 A.D.) that the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara* at Tanjore was built. According to the author the construction of this temple was begun in the nineteenth regnal year of *Rājarāja* I and was completed in his twenty-fifth regnal year. It consists of five divisions, viz., *garbha-gṛha*, *arddha-maṇḍapa*, *mahā-maṇḍapa*, *stapana-maṇḍapa*, *narthana-maṇḍapa* and *vādya-maṇḍapa*. It has three main portals named *Keralantakan*, *Rasarasan*, and *Tiruanukkan*. The deities are known as *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara*, the great god and *Śrī Bṛhannāyakī*, the great goddess. The *śikhara* which has fourteen storeys and rises about 216 ft. is of the Dravidian style of architecture. The dome is octagonal in shape and crowns the *śikhara*. The golden *kalasa* or finial is 12½ ft. high.

Of the smaller structures inside the same temple court the following are rightly mentioned. The shrine of *Śrī Subrahmaṇya*, whose date cannot be earlier than A.D. 1600 according to Prof. Dubreuil, is an exquisite piece of temple-architecture of South India. The shrine of the goddess *Śrī Bṛhannāyakī* was constructed in the second regnal year of one *Konerinmaikondan*, probably a later *Pāṇḍya* ruler of the thirteenth century. The shrine of *Gaṇapati* is of the time of Sarafoji II (A.D. 1798–1833), the Mahratta ruler of Tanjore. The shrine of *Naṭarāja* is, according to the author, of subsequent date. The shrine of *Chaṇḍeśvara* is, according to the author, contemporaneous with the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara*. The great *Nandī* within one elaborately carved Nayak *maṇḍapa* is 12 ft. high, 19½ ft. long and 8¼ ft. broad. The shrine of Karuvurar which is very modern is also worth mentioning.

Regarding the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara* the author has rightly pointed out that it has undergone various changes in the subsequent ages. A remarkable testimony in favour of this assertion is the reproduction of the bust of an European (plate facing p. 15) on the outer wall of one side of the *vimāna*. Hemingway thinks that it is the bust of Roeland Crape, the pioneer of Dutch enterprise in India, while Foulkes believes that it represents Marco Polo because it has a remarkable affinity with a figure of Marco Polo at Canton. Another interesting item on which the author has rightly given stress is the paintings, on the walls of the circum-ambulatory corridor of the *arddha-maṇḍapa* of the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara*, discovered by Mr. S. K. Govindasvami (*Hindu*, April 11, 1931; *Journal*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the *Annamalai University*, vol. 2, pp. 1–10, 14 plates, 1933; *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. I, pp. 73–80, 6 plates, 1933). These paintings are called *fresco* but no evidence has been put forward to prove this point. (Regarding this point see the present reviewer's view in *Indian Culture*, vol. II, pp. 825-26, 1936.) Mr. S. Paramasivan has very recently published a highly interesting communication entitled 'Technique of the painting process in the *Bṛhadīśvara* temple at Tanjore' (*Nature*, 137, 867, 1936) which should be carefully studied not only for the technique of the painting of this temple but also for the method to be adopted for ascertaining the technique of other Indian paintings. It is gratifying to note that the importance of these *Chola* mural paintings has been fully appreciated. We fervently hope that further search for this type of painting will be made in the adjoining regions and that one illustrated volume like that on Ajanta by Mr. G. Yazdani will be published to show fully its importance in the history of the evolution of Indian painting.

In appendix A the author has given a highly informative list of temples attached to the Palace Devastanams. In appendix B a summary has been given of chapters X–XXI of the *Bṛhadīśvara-māhātmya*. It is desirable that this work should be properly edited.

There are many shortcomings from which this book suffers. Firstly, it seems that there are many things in it which are not worthy of being included in it. As the title of the book shows, it ought to have been mainly an account of the architectonic characteristics of the *Rājarājeśvaram* temple of *Śrī Bṛhadīśvara* and of the evolution of Dravidian temple architecture beginning from this temple downwards. Further we fully admit the importance of the inscriptions on the walls of the temple for ascertaining their approximate ages but such inscriptions should be properly handled in order to prove the chronological sequence. There is no need of such appendices as C, D, E, H which, we fear, are not to the point. Secondly, there are some statements which ought not to be published in a scholarly work. For example, we have the author's statement, 'Successive viceroys, commanders-in-chief, provincial governors, statesmen, politicians, philosophers and globe-trotters have paid their homage to this monument of Dravidian architecture. The visitors' book maintained at the temple contains the signatures of a host of royal personages. Thirdly, no attention has been paid to the necessity for the use of the diacritical marks in transliterating Sanskrit words into Roman character. Fourthly, in the preface the author states that his book should be considered as a guide-book but he should remember that the best guide-books for him to imitate in archæological matters are 'A Guide to Taxila' and 'A Guide to Sanchi' by Sir John Marshall. We hope that these defects will be remedied in the second edition. But we do not doubt that this book will have a good circulation among the intelligentia.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

WALTHER WÜST—VERGLEICHENDES UND ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DES ALTINDOARISCHEN (ALTINDISCHEN).

Von Walther Wüst, Dr. Phil. und O. Ö. Professor an der Universität München. Lieferung 1–3 (Titelbogen und Bogen 1–13). Heidelberg, 1935. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. Verlags-Nr. 2494; pp. 208.

It is a rare pleasure to have at last in hand the first fascicle of Prof. Wüst's Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language for which the scholarly world has been waiting so long in anxiety and expectation. The name of the illustrious author was sufficient guarantee that no pain would be spared to make the work as perfect as possible. Yet, if there was any doubt on this score, it is sure to be set at rest by this first fascicle which shows clearly what this work, when completed, will look like. Germany has produced most of the greatest Sanskritists of Europe, and Prof. Wüst is without doubt to-day one of the leading Sanskritists of Germany. More than of any other particular individual, his is the proud cultural heritage of the generation of German philologists and Sanskritists. It is a piece of great good fortune for Sanskrit philology therefore that Prof. Wüst resolved to concentrate on a comparative and etymological dictionary of the Sanskrit language. It is curious to think that as yet there was practically no etymological dictionary of the Sanskrit language, excepting Uhlenbeck's 'Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache' (Amsterdam, 1899), which is however less than nothing, being often misleading and disappointingly sketchy. There are excellent etymological dictionaries of other main languages of the Indo-European family, e.g. Boisacq's Greek dictionary and Walde's Latin dictionary,—but precisely for Sanskrit, the most important language of this family, there was no such etymological dictionary as yet, even though the necessary philological foundation to such a work was already present in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. But this inexplicable and unpardonable delay in the appearance of an etymological dictionary of the Sanskrit language has not been without some advantage, for Prof. Wüst's work is much more copious and exhaustive than Boisacq's or Walde's, and also in other respects it is much nearer to the unreachable ideal. What lends a special value to this work of Prof. Wüst is the fact that he has developed and rigorously applied to every entry in this book a new technique of his own, which, by a process of elimination, automatically squeezes out of the relevant material the final solution with inexorable certainty. A great portion of the 'Vorrede' is devoted to an elaborate explanation of this technique, and, to show his technique in action, Professor Wüst has discussed, and ascertained in its light, the etymology of *cākṣmó*, an hapax of the RV. This excursus, extending over thirty closely printed pages (86ff.), is one of the most fascinating parts of the volume under review. It shows that the science of etymology can well be placed on the same footing to-day as the science of comparative phonology. To every reader of the Wörterbuch I would advise to read at first this excursus and then to begin the 'Vorrede', which in some places is not easy to follow even to the initiated. Every entry in the Wörterbuch cannot of course be dealt with equally elaborately and exhaustively, for the book in that case can never be brought to an end. But, as Prof. Wüst assures us, although the result usually will have to be given in a much condensed form it will be based in each case on as elaborate and exhaustive consideration of all the details, none of which will be suppressed or passed over in silence. Complete bibliography is to be given under every entry. A contrast indeed to Uhlenbeck, who gives no bibliography at all! Many linguists consider it to be a waste of time and energy to ransack the *whole* of the past linguistic literature, as Prof. Wüst actually does, to fish out any and every stray reference to the form under discussion, much of which has to-day nothing but secondary historical value. Yet, as our old master Prof. Wackernagel approvingly remarks, many a particle of gold may lie buried in this rubbish-heap; for their sake it is worth the trouble, even imperative, to thresh and sift this vast literature. This Prof. Wüst has done as thoroughly as possible, and *inter alia* has given a fresh lease of life to old etymologies, e.g. of Zehetmayr, which had been almost forgotten.

In his etymologies Prof. Wüst does not operate merely with phonology. He repeatedly emphasizes the point that before proceeding to analyze an etymon it is necessary to fully consider the whole circle of associations in which it moves. In this connection he might have quoted van Ginneken : 'ils ont d'une façon immédiate besoin l'un de l'autre pour être compris exactement, en d'autres termes . . . ils se pénètrent si intimement que la signification de l'un change la signification de l'autre et vice versa. Je dis d'une façon immédiate, non médiate. Médiatement on a besoin aussi de la construction précédente, du milieu, de la culture et des connaissances acquises, d'une manière de penser dans une direction determinée' (Principes de Linguistique psychologique, pp. 495f.). It is clear from this significant passage of van Ginneken that the ideal etymological dictionary presupposes an encyclopædia of the type of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. But a *Thesaurus Linguae Sanscritae* is as yet only a cherished dream of a few scholars. In these circumstances it is simply impossible to take complete account of the full cultural import of every word in the Sanskrit language. The author of the work under review cannot therefore be held responsible if it fails in some cases to meet this ideal demand. Not that I came across any specific case of falling short of the ideal in this volume; I say it only as a thing inevitable and unavoidable in the present circumstances.

It is a different thing however with the ancient Indian grammatical and etymological works. If I have rightly understood Prof. Wüst, he means to say (p. 80) that it is not worth the trouble to search through this vast grammatical literature. With the little knowledge of the ancient Indian grammatical literature that I possess, I must say, with due deference to Prof. Wüst, that this view is wrong. I am firmly of opinion that not only the grammatical and other works of a frankly scientific character, but also what Oldenberg happily called the 'Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft' of India, particularly the Brāhmaṇas, contain valuable suggestions which should not be ignored in any etymological dictionary of the Sanskrit language. Of course it is true, as Prof. Wüst himself says, that a thorough sifting of the vast grammatical and 'proto-grammatical' literature would put off the publication of his dictionary for a very long period. That is not at all desirable. Every student of Indology would unhesitatingly bid Prof. Wüst hasten forward with the publication of his etymological dictionary. Yet, it has to be admitted that the value of the work might have been enhanced, immaterially perhaps, if ancient Indian grammatical and exegetical literature too could be drawn upon as fully and copiously as the modern linguistic literature. From the bibliographical point of view too it would have been then more complete.

It is a happy thought of Prof. Wüst that as a supplement to his etymological dictionary he intends to bring out a treatise on Sanskrit phonology. We have indeed in the first volume of Wackernagel's grammar a splendid work on the subject. But comparative phonology cannot but be based on etymologies, and as Prof. Wüst is going to give us hundreds of new etymologies in his work, Sanskrit phonology will have to be revised in their light. It is also very gratifying to learn that Prof. Wüst is already an active collaborator of Wackernagel-Debrunner.

On p. 118, Prof. Wüst announces an important plan of international collaboration in linguistic research. It is well known that Prof. R. L. Turner of London is now engaged on a 'Comparative [and etymological] dictionary of the [New] Indo-Aryan languages'. Instead of tracing back every entry in his dictionary to its Indo-European proto-type, which, to say the least, is often a difficult and perilous task, Prof. Turner will content himself simply with linking up his entries with those in Prof. Wüst's dictionary. With the help of these two dictionaries therefore it will be possible to trace the history of a new Indo-Aryan word up to the original Indo-European. But there still remains a wide gap in the middle, to fill up which it is necessary to compile a similarly exhaustive Prākrit dictionary on a co-ordinated plan. Prof. Wüst calls upon the present reviewer to undertake this task. Four years ago, when I was still in Munich, Prof. Wüst impressed upon me the necessity of this undertaking. His advice and injunction have never been off my mind since, and I have tried in the meantime to qualify myself for the task, which to-day appears to be much more complex and difficult than it did when I discussed the plan with

Prof. Wüst four years ago. For there is not yet for Prākrit even a mentionable philological dictionary which must necessarily precede any linguistic and etymological work in the same field. Be it by myself or somebody else more qualified for the task, the work of bridging up the gulf between the dictionaries of Professors Wüst and Turner has to be taken up without further delay. In the fitness of things it ought to be taken up by an Indian.

As far as the actual dictionary is concerned, even the first entry, which is naturally *a-*, has not been finished in the present volume, although no less than 12 pages have been devoted to it. This shows how copious and exhaustive the dictionary is going to be. Not the least important part of the present volume is the exhaustive and classified list of books utilized for this dictionary.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Jaina Gazette, November, 1936.

The Jaina Theory of Salvation by Jagat Prasad. A very lucid exposition of salvation as propounded by the Jains.

Man in India, April–September, 1936.

1. Problems of the Racial Composition of the Indian peoples by H. C. Chakladar.
2. A few Fasts, Festivities and Observances in Orissa by N. Tripathi.
3. Notes on the Chawte Kuki clan by R. C. Roy.
4. Caucasic Peoples between India and the Pacific by H. C. Chakladar.

The Aryan Path, November, 1936.

The Mysticism of Yogachara Buddhism by Radha Kamal Mookherjee.

The Hindusthan Review, November, 1936.

1. The Damiḷas of Ancient Ceylon by B. C. Law.
2. Marketing Methods and Practices by G. D. Law.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVII, Pt. IV (1935-1936).

1. Countries and Peoples of India (Epic and Pauranic sources) by Bimala Churn Law.
2. A few Parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works by A. M. Ghatage.

   It is an interesting paper dealing with some parallel passages taken from the Buddhist and Jain books.

3. Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra and Yuktikalpataru by P. A. Mankad.
4. Further Light on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India from Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa by M. V. Kibe.
5. Notes on Indian Chronology by P. K. Gode.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

The New Review, November, 1936.

1. Dravidian and Indo-European Languages by S. Gnana Prakasar.
2. Women of Mahārāshtra by Mary L. B. Fuller.

The Journal of the Polynesian Society, September, 1936.

Dafal by F. L. S. Bell.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September, 1936.

Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty as Historical Documents by H. G. Creel.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1936.

1. Uposatha by J. Przyluski.
2. Religious Policy of Aurangzeb by Sri Ram Sharma.
3. The East India Company and its trade monopoly by Prakash Chandra.
4. Crime and Punishment in the Jātakas by R. N. Mehta.
5. Geographical Data in Pāṇini by B. Upadhyaya.
6. Hemakūṭa by H. V. Trivedi.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1936.

On some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian centuries by K. P. Jayaswal.

The Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, April–June, 1936.

1. The Number of Rasas by Dr. V. Raghavan.
2. Svarabhakti according to the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya by M. Lakshmi Narasihmayya.

Journal of the Annamalai University, October, 1936.

Bhartṛhari a Bauddha ? by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri.

Epigraphia Indica, October, 1933.

1. Irda Copper-plate of the Kamboja King Nayapaladeva by N. G. Mazumdar.
2. Two Bhor State Museum Copper-plates by A. S. Altekar.
3. The Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II of the (Chedi) year 880 by V. V. Mirashi.
4. Draksharama Inscription of Kullottunga by K. V. S. Aiyer.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, ¾ *Heft*, 1936.

Die Hāritī von Skārah Dherī by L. Bachhofer.

It is a very interesting and learned paper.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, *October*, 1936.

1. The Question of Gramas by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.
2. Rank (*manṣab*) in the Mogul State Service by W. H. Moreland.
3. Cattle Theft in the *Arthaśāstra* by E. H. Johnston.

Journal of Indian History, *Vol. XV*, *Pt.* 2, *August*, 1936.

1. Some Problems connected with Rājādhirāja II by S. S. Desikar.
2. Ballappa Daṇṇayaka by A. Venkatasubbiah.
3. References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India—A.D. 730 to 1320 by R. S. Avasthy and A. Ghosh. ✓
4. Procedure of Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi by A. C. Banerjee.
5. Appointments in the East India Company's Service by Prakash Chandra.
6. The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck by Ishwar Sahai.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Letters*, *Vol. II*, 1936, *No.* 1.

1. Notes on a Fourth Tour in the District of Dinajpur by S. K. Saraswati.
2. Two Inscriptions from Barakar by S. N. Chakravarti.
3. Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā by J. C. Ghosh.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, *July*, 1936.

Tiṃgyadeva and Vaidyadeva by N. N. Das Gupta.

The Calcutta Review, *November*, 1936.

Nawab Najimuddowla and the English by A. P. Dasgupta.

Published by Satish Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta, and Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

THE VEDIC DOCTRINE OF 'SILENCE'

By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

The general significance of 'silence' in connection with rites, myths, and mysteries has been admirably discussed by M. René Guénon in recent numbers of *Études Traditionelles*.[1] Here it is proposed to cite some more specific details from the Vedic tradition. It must be premised that the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*) is not merely in itself 'without duality' (*advaita*), but when considered from another and external point of view is an identity of many different things. By this we do not mean only that a first unitary principle transcends the reciprocally related pairs of opposites (*dvandvau*) that can be distinguished on any level of reference as contraries or known as contradictories; but rather that the Supreme Identity, undetermined even by a first assumption of unity, subsumes in its infinity the whole of what can be implied or represented by the notions of the infinite and the finite, of which the former includes the latter, without reciprocity.[2] On the other hand, the finite cannot be excluded or isolated from or denied to the infinite, since an independent finite would be in itself a limitation of the infinite by hypothesis. The Supreme Identity is therefore inevitably represented in our thought under two aspects, both of which are essential to the formation of any concept of totality *secundum rem*. So we find it said of Mitrāvaruṇau (*apara* and *para* Brahman, God and Godhead) that from one and the same seat they behold 'the finite and the infinite' (*aditiṁ ditiṁ ca*, RV., V. 62. 8); where, of course, it must be borne in mind that *in divinis* to 'see' is the same as to 'know' and to 'be'. Or in like manner, but substituting the notion of spiration for that of manifestation,

---

[1] Guénon, R., 'Organisations initiatiques et sociétés secrètes', and 'Du secret initiatique', *La Voile d'Isis*, 1934, pp. 349, 389, and 429; 'Mythes, mystères et symboles', *ib.*, 1935, p. 385. *La Voile d'Isis* is now published as *Études Traditionelles*.

[2] 'The Infinite (*aditiḥ*) is Mother, Sire, and Son, whatever hath been born, and the principle of birth, etc.' (RV., I. 89. 10); 'Nothing is changed in the immovable Infinite (*ananta*) by the emanation or the withdrawals of worlds' (Bhāskara, *Bīja-gaṇita*, repeating the thought of *Atharva Veda*, X. 8. 29 and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 1, that 'Though plenum (*pūrṇam*) be taken from plenum, plenum yet remains').

The inclusion of the finite in the Infinite is expressly formulated in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 3. 8 'A is Brahman, the ego (*aham*) is within it'.

On the relation of unity to multiplicity see my 'Vedic Exemplarism', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, I, 1936, pp. 44–64.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

it can be said that 'That One is equally spirated, despirated' (*tad ekam ānīt avātam*, RV., X. 129. 2); or is at the same time 'Being and Non-being' (*sadasat*, RV. X. 5. 7).[1]

The same conception, expressed in terms of utterance and silence, is clearly formulated in RV., II. 43. 3, 'Whether, O Bird, thou utterest weal aloud, or sittest silent (*tūṣṇīm*), think on us with favour'.[2] And similarly in the ritual, we find that rites are performed either with or without enunciated formulæ, and that lauds are offered either vocally or silently; for which the texts also provide an adequate explanation. Here it must be premised that the primary purpose of the Vedic Sacrifice (*yajña*) is to effect a reintegration of the deity conceived of as spent and disintegrated by the act of creation, and at the same time that of the sacrificer himself, whose person, considered in its individual aspect is evidently incomplete. The mode of reintegration is by means of initiation (*dīkṣā*) and symbols (*pratîka*, *ākṛti*), whether natural, constructed, enacted, or vocalized; the sacrificer is expected to identify himself with the sacrifice itself and thus with the deity whose primordial self-sacrifice it represents, 'the observance of the rule thereof being the same as it was at the creation'. A clear distinction is drawn between those who may be merely 'present' and those who 'really' participate in the ritual acts which are performed on their behalf.

As already stated, there are certain acts that are performed with a vocal accompaniment and others silently. For example in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 2. 2. 13-14, in connection with the preparation of the Fire-altar, certain furrows are ploughed and certain libations made with an accompaniment of spoken words, and others silently,—'Silently (*tūṣṇīm*), for what is silent is undeclared (*aniruktam*), and what is undeclared is everything (*sarvam*) . . . This Agni (Fire) is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is both declared (*niruktaḥ*) and undeclared, bounded (*parimitaḥ*) and unbounded.

---

[1] The 'distinct operations' (*vivrata*), interior and exterior (*tira* or *guhya*, and *āvis*), of the Supreme Identity are represented by many other pairs, e.g. order and disorder (cosmos and chaos), life and death, light and darkness, sight and blindness, waking and sleep, potency and impotence, motion and rest, time and eternity, etc. It may be observed that all of the negative terms represent privations or evils if considered empirically, but absence of limitation, and good, when considered anagogically,—the negative concept including the positive, as cause includes effect.

[2] Cf. RV., X. 27. 21 'Beyond what is heard here, there is another sound' (*śrava id ena paro anyad asti*): I. 164. 10 'At the back of yonder Heaven the Gods incant an omniscient word without outgoing effect' (*mantrayante . . . viśvavidam vācam aviśvaminvam*); *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, III. 7–9, where the initiate (*dīkṣitaḥ*, regarded as one dead to the world) is said to utter a 'non-human' word (*amānuṣim vācam*) or 'brahma-dictum' (*brahmavādyam*). Nothing but an echo of the veritable Word can be heard or understood by human ears.

Now whatever he does with spoken formulæ (*yajuṣā*), thereby he integrates (*saṁskaroti*) that form of his which is declared and bounded; and whatever he does silently, thereby he integrates that form of his which is undeclared and unbounded. Verily, whoever as a comprehensor thereof does thus, he integrates the whole totality (*sarvaṁ kṛtsnam*) of Prajāpati; the ab extra forms (*bāhyāni rūpāṇi*) are declared, the ab intra forms (*antarāṇi rūpāṇi*) are undeclared.' An almost identical passage appears in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1. 2. 18; and in VI. 4. 1. 6 there is another reference to the performance of a rite in silence, 'He spreads the black antelope skin silently, for it is the Sacrifice, the Sacrifice is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is undeclared'.

In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III. 1. 9, the first libations are drawn off silently (*upâṅśu*), the latter with noise (*upabdim*), and 'thus one bestows upon the deities the glory that is theirs, and upon men the glory that is theirs, and becomes divinely glorious amongst the deities and humanly glorious amongst men'.

In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 31-32, the Devas, unable to overcome the Asuras, are said to have 'seen' the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīṁ śaṅsam apaśyan*), and this the Asuras could not follow. This 'silent laud' is identified with what are called the 'eyes of the soma-pressings, by means of which the Comprehensor reaches the Light-world'. There is a reference to 'these Eyes of soma, by which our eyes of contemplation (*dhī*) and intellect (*manas*) we behold the Golden' (*hiraṇyam*, RV., I. 139. 2, sc. Hiraṅyagarbham, the Sun, the Truth, Prajāpati, as in X. 121). It may be observed in this connection that, like the wine of other traditions, the soma partaken of is not the very elixir (*rasa*, *amṛta*) of life, but a symbolic liquor, —'Of what the Brāhmans understand by "soma", none ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth' (RV., X. 85. 3-4): it is 'by means of the priest, the initiation, and the invocation' that the temporal power partakes of the semblance of the spiritual power (*brahmaṇo rūpam*), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 31.[1] Here the distinction between the soma actually and soma theoretically partaken of is analogous

---

[1] *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 3. 7 'By means of the form of Yonder-one one has being in this world' (*amuno rūpeṇênaṁ lokam ābhavati*); the converse, 'by means of this (*human*) form one is wholly reborn in that world' being stated here, and also in II. 3. 2 where a 'person' (*puruṣa*) is distinguished from the animal man (*paśu*) in that he 'by the mortal seeks the immortal, that is his perfection.' For example, in AB. VII. 31, cited above, it is by means of the *nyagrodha* shoots that the representative of the temporal power partakes of soma metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*). This doctrine of 'transubstantiation' is similarly enunciated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 7. 3. 11 'By faith he makes the *surā* to be *soma*', cf. ib. XII. 8. 1. 5 and XII. 8. 2. 2. See also my 'Angel and Titan', p. 382, Note 12 (JAOS. 55).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

to that between the spoken words of the ritual and that which cannot be expressed in words, and similarly to the distinction between the visible representation and the 'picture that is not in the colours' (*Laṅkâvatāra Sūtra*, II. 118).

The well-known orison, RV., X. 189 addressed to the Serpent Queen (*sarparājñī*), who is at once the Dawn, Earth, and Bride of the Sun, is also known as the 'mental chant' (*mānasa stotra*), evidently because it is as explained in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VII. 3. 1, 'chanted mentally' (*manasā*[1] *stuvate*), and this just because it is within the power of the intellect (*manas*) not merely to encompass this (*imām*, i.e. the finite universe) in a single moment, but also to transcend it, not only to contain (*paryāptum*) but also to environ (*paribhavitum*) it. And in this way, by means of what has previously been enunciated vocally (*vācā*) and what is afterwards enunciated mentally, 'both (worlds) are possessed and obtained'. Precisely the same is implied in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 1. 4. 29, where it is said that whatever has not been obtained by the preceding rites is now obtained by means of the Sarparājñī verses, recited, as is evidently taken for granted, mentally and silently; and thus the whole (*sarvam*) is possessed. Similarly in the *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1, where the two first parts of the Ājya are the 'silent murmur' (*tūṣṇīṁ-japaḥ*) and the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīṁ-śaṅsa*), 'He recites inaudibly, for the attainment of all desires', it being understood, of course, that the vocalized chant pertains to the attainment only of temporal goods.

It may be noted too, that in perfect agreement with the correspondence of the spoken words to the exterior and those unspoken to the interior forms of deity, cited above, is the formulation of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 27, where when the soma has been bought from the Gandharvas (types of Eros, armed with bows and arrows, who are the guardians of Soma, ab intra) at the price of the Word (*vāc*, f. called here 'the Great Naked One',—the Nude Goddess,—and represented in the rite by a virgin heifer) it is prescribed that until she has been redeemed from them, that is to say so long as she remains 'within', the recitative is to be performed in silence (*upāṅśu*).

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 6, where there is a dialogue on Brahman, the position is finally reached where the questioner is told that Brahman is 'a divinity about which further questions cannot be asked', and at this the questioner 'holds her peace' (*upararāma*). This is, of course in perfect agreement with the employment of the *via remotionis* is the same texts, where it is said that the Brahman is 'No, No' (*nêti, nêti*) ; and also with the traditional text quoted by Śaṅkara on *Brahma Sūtra*, III. 2. 17, where Bāhva, questioned regarding the nature of Brahman remains silent (*tūṣṇīm*), only exclaiming when the question is repeated for the third time, 'I teach you indeed, but you do not understand : this Brahman is silence'. Precise the same significance attaches to the Buddha's refusal to analyze the state of *nirvāṇa*. In *Bhagavad Gītā*, X. 38 Krishna speaks of himself as 'the silence of the hidden ones (*mauna guhāyām*), and the gnosis of the Gnostics' (*jñānaṁ jñānavatām*) ; where *mauna* corresponds to the familiar *muni*, 'silent sage'. This is not, of course, to say that He does not also 'speaks', but that his speaking is simply the manifestation, and not an affection, of the Silence ; as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 5, also reminds us, the supreme state is one that transcends the distinction of utterance from silence,—'Without respect to utterance or silence (*amaunaṁ ca maunaṁ nirvidya*), then is he indeed a Brāhman'. When it is asked further 'By what means does one thus become a Brāhman ?', the questioner is told, 'By that means by which one does become a Brāhman', which is as much as to say, by a way that can be found but cannot be charted. The secret of initiation remains inviolable by its very nature ; it cannot be betrayed because it cannot be expressed,—it is inexplicable (*aniruktam*), but the inexplicable is everything, at the same time all that can and all that cannot be expressed.

---

[1] Hence Manasā Devī, the modern Bengali designation of the Serpent Goddess.

It will be seen from the citations above that the Brāhmaṇa texts and the rites to which they refer are not only absolutely self-consistent but in complete agreement with the values implied in the text of RV., II. 43. 3 ; the explanations are, indeed, of universal validity, and could be applied as well to the Orationes Secretae of the Christian Mass (which is also a sacrifice) as to the unvoiced repetition of the Indian Yajus-formulæ.[1] The consistency affords at the same time an excellent illustration of the general principle that what is to be found in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads represents nothing new in principle, but only an expansion of what is taken for granted and more 'eminently' enunciated in the 'older' liturgical texts themselves. Those who assume that quite 'new doctrines' are taught in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are simply placing unnecessary difficulties in the way of their own understanding of the Saṁhitās.

---

[1] It may be added that while from a religious point of view silence and fasting and other acts of abstention are acts of penance, from a metaphysical point of view their significance has no longer to do with the mere improvement of the individual as such but with the realization of supra-individual conditions. The contemplative life as such is superior to the active life as such. It does not however follow that the state of the Comprehensor or even that of the Wayfarer should be one of total inaction ; this would be an imperfect imitation of the Supreme Identity where eternal rest and eternal work are one and the same. There is an adequate imitation only when inaction and action are identified, as intended by the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the Taoist *wu wei* ; action no longer implying limitation when it is no longer determined by needs or compelled by ends to be attained, but becoming a simple manifestation. In this case, for example, utterance does not exclude, but rather represents silence ; and it is in just this way that a myth or other adequate symbol, although an 'expression' actually, remains a 'mystery' essentially. In the same way every

It will be advantageous also to consider the derivation and form of the word *tūṣṇīm*. This indeclinable form, generally adverbial ('silently') but sometimes to be rendered adjectivally or as a noun, is really the accusative of a supposedly lost *tuṣṇa*, f. *tuṣṇī*, corresponding in meaning to Greek *sigé*, and derived from the root *tuṣ*, meaning to be satisfied, contented, and at rest, in the sense that motion comes to rest in the attainment of its object, and indeed as speech comes to rest in silence when all has been said that can be said. The word *tūṣṇīm* occurs perhaps as a real accusative (Caland, '*tūṣṇīm* is equal to *vācamyamaḥ*'),—for to speak of 'contemplating silently' would involve a tautology,—in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 6. 1, where Prajāpati, desiring to proceed from the state of unity to that of multiplicity (*bahu syām*), expresses himself with the words 'May I be born' (*prajāyeya*), and 'having by intellect contemplated the Silence' (*tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat*), therewith 'saw' (*ādīdhīt*) that the Germ (*garbham*, sc. Agni or Indra who as the Bṛhat becomes the 'eldest son',) lay hidden within himself (*antarhitam*), and so proposes to bring it to birth by means of the Word (*vāc*). *Tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat* then corresponds to the more usual *manasā vācam akrata* (RV., X. 71. 2) or *manasāivā vācam mithunaṁ samabhavat* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 2. 9), with reference to 'the act of fecundation latent in eternity', for thus[1] 'He (Prajāpati) became pregnant (*garbhin*)[2] and expressed (*asṛjata*) the Several Angels'. The birth of the Son is strictly speaking not only a conception from the the conjoint principles, in the sense of vital operation, but at the same time a conception intellectually,—*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*, corresponding to the designation of the Germ (*garbham*, sc. Hiraṇyagarbha) as a concept (*dīdhitim*) in this sense, RV., III. 31. 1.

---

natural function when referred to the principle it represents, can properly be said to have been renounced even when it is performed.

[1] 'Thus', i.e. as St. Augustine expresses it: having thus 'made Himself a mother of whom to be born' (*Contra V. Haereses*, 5).

[2] Cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXXIV. 4 'The Father was in travail' and in folklore, the 'comrade'.

The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, cited above, goes on to explain, with reference to the intention of 'bringing to birth by means of the Word' (*vācā prajanayā*), that Prajāpati 'released the Word'[1] (*vācaṁ vyasṛjata*, in other words effected the separation of Heaven and Earth), and She descended as Rathantara (*vāg rathantaram avapadyata*, where *avapad* is literally to "step down"), . . and thence was born the Bṛhat . . . that had lain so long within' (*jyog antar abhūt*) ; cf. RV., X. 124. 1, 'Thou hast lain long enough in the long-darkness' (*jyog eva dīrghaṁ tama āśayiṣṭhāḥ*).[2] That is to say that Aditi, Magna Mater, Night, becomes Aditi, Mother Earth, and Dawn, to be represented in the ritual by the altar (*vedi*) that is the birth-place (*yoni*) of Agni : distinction is made between the Word that 'was with God and was God' from the Word as Earth Mother, or in other words of 'Mary ghostly' from 'Mary in the flesh'.[3] For as we know from *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III. 1. 7 and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 145-6, the Bṛhat (the Father brought to birth) corresponds to Heaven,[4] the future (*bhaviṣyat*), and to despiration (*apâna*), the

---

[1] It is of interest to note the ritual parallel in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 6. 9. 24 where after sitting speechless (*vācaṁyamaḥ*), the sacrificers are to 'release their speech' (*vācaṁ visṛjeran*) according to their desires, e.g. 'May we be abundantly supplied with offspring'.

[2] Dīrghatamas, 'Long Darkness', one of the blind 'prophets' (*ṛṣi*) of the Rigveda, is accordingly the designation of an ab intra, occulted, form of Agni, whose relation to his younger brother Dīrghaśravas, 'Far Cry' as is that of Varuṇa to his younger brother Mitra or Agni, or in other words as of Death (*mṛtyu*) to Life (*āyus*). Of Dīrghaśravas it is also said that he had 'long been under restraint and lacking food' (*jyog aparuddho' śayānaḥ, Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XV. 3. 25), and all these expressions correspond to what is said of Vṛtra in RV., I. 32. 10, viz. that 'Indra's enemy lay in the long darkness (*dīrgham tama āśayat*) beneath the Waters'; the ab intra aspect of deity being that of the Dragon or Serpent (*vṛtra, ahi*), the procession of Prajāpati a 'creeping forth from the blind darkness' (*andhe tamasi prâsarpat, Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XVI. 1. 1) and that of the Serpents generally a 'crawling forth' (*ati sarpaṇa*) whereby they become the Suns (*ib.*, XXV. 15. 4). On this serpentine procession see my 'Angel and Titan, a study in Vedic Ontology', *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1935 : the procession of Dīrghatamas requires a longer discussion.

[3] Otherwise represented mythically as the rape of the Word (RV., I. 130. 9, where Indra 'steals the Word', *vācam . . . muṣāyati*), or as an analysis of the Word (RV., VII. 103. 6, X. 71. 3 and 125. 3), or again as a measurement or birth of Māyā from Māyā (*Atharva Veda*, VIII. 9. 5 'Māyā was born from Māyā', followed by the *Lalita Vistara*, Lefmann 27. 12, 'Inasmuch as her, i.e. the Buddha's mother's, likeness was modelled after that of Māyā, Māyā she was called').

[4] Agni, although the Son, is the Father himself reborn, and immediately ascends; moreover, 'Agni is kindled by Agni' (RV., I. 12. 6). It can be said of him accordingly not only that 'Being the Father, he became the Son' (*Atharva Veda*, XIX. 53. 4) and that He is both 'the Father of the gods and their Son' (RV., I. 69. 1, see *Śatapatha Br.*, VI. 1. 2. 26), but also that 'He who heretofore was his own Son now becomes his own Father' (*Śatapatha Br.*, II. 3. 3. 5), that he is 'His Father's

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rathantara (the Father's separated nature) to Earth, the past (*bhūtāt*), and spiration (*prâṇa*).[1] The same assumptions are found in *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. 53 f., substituting Sāman and Ṛc for Bṛhat and Rathantara : the Sāman (m.) representing intellect (*manas*) and despiration (*apâna*), the Ṛc. (f.) the Word (*vāc*) and spiration (*prâṇa*). The Sāman is also *in seipso* 'both she (*sā*) and he' (*ama*), and it is as a single luminous power (*virāj*)[2] that the conjoint principles generate the Sun, and then immediately depart from one another, this division of essence from nature, Heaven from Earth, or Night from Day being the inevitable condition of all manifestation ; it is invariably the coming of the light that separates in time the Parents that are united in eternity. Now *sāman* always has reference to the music, *ṛc* to the articulate wording of the incantations (*ṛc, mantra, brahma*), so that when words are sung to measured music this represents an analysis and naturing of a heavenly music that in itself is one, and inaudible to human

---

father' (RV., IV. 16. 35), at once the Son and Brother of Varuṇa (RV., IV. 1. 2 and X. 51. 6), and 'Own-son' (*tanūnapat*, passim),—this last expression exactly corresponding to the Gnostic 'Autogenes'. It is then easy to see how Agni, although a Son of chthonic birth, can in his identity with the Sun be regarded also as the Lover of the Earth Mother ; the syzygy Agni-Pṛthivī being then an aspect of the parents Heaven and Earth, Savitṛ-Sāvitrī, and more remotely Mitrāvaruṇau (*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 32 and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br.*, IV. 27, etc.).

[1] Cf. in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II. 3. 6 the distinction of spirit (*prâṇa*) from body (*śarīra*), of which the former is hidden (*tira*) and the latter evident (*āvis*), like 'a' inherent and 'a' expressed: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X. 4. 3. 9 'No one becomes deathless by means of the body, but whether it be by gnosis or by works, only after abandoning the body'.

[2] Virāj, from whom all things 'milk' their specific virtue or character, is commonly a designation of the Magna Mater, but even when so regarded is a syzygy,—'Who knoweth her progenitive duality?', *Atharva Veda*, VIII. 9. 10. The terms *virāj* and *aditi* although both usually feminine, may also have a masculine sense with similar reference to the first principle. To maintain, indeed, that any creative power considered in its creative aspect can be defined as exclusively 'male' or exclusively 'female' involves a contradiction in terms, all creation whatever being a *co*-gnition and *con*-ception ; even in Christianity, the generation of the Son is 'a vital operation from a conjoint principle' (*a principio conjunctivo*, St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 45. 5), i.e. a principle that is both an essence and a nature,—'That nature by which the Father begets'. It is only when it is realized once for all that the creative power on any level of reference,—whether for example as God, or Man,—is always a unity of conjoint principles, that is to say a syzygy and *mithunatva*, that the propriety can be seen of such expressions as 'He (Agni) was born from the Titan's womb' (*asurasya jaṭharāt ajāyata*, RV., X. 29. 14, 'Mitra pours the seed in Varuṇa' (*retaḥ varuṇo siñcati*, *Pañcaviṁśa Br.*, XXV. 10. 10), 'My womb is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the Germ' (*Bhagavad Gītā*, XIV. 3), and many similar references to the maternity of a deity referred to by names grammatically masculine or neuter.

ears.[1] We may say accordingly that the name 'Great Liturgy' (*bṛhad uktha*, where *uktha* is from *vac*, 'to speak') applied to Agni, e.g. in RV., V. 19. 3, represents the Son as a *spoken* Word, and *manifested* Logos[2]; and in the same way Indra is 'the most excellent incantation' (*jyeṣṭhaś ca mantraḥ*, RV., X. 50. 4).

---

[1] Just as in Plotinus, *Enneads*, I. 6. 3 'Harmonies unheard in sound create the harmonies we hear and wake the soul to the one essence in another nature' and V. 9. 11 'An earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm (=Skr. *chandāṅsi*) of the ideal world'. It is precisely in this sense that the ritual music, like every other part of the Sacrifice, is an imitation of 'what was done by the Divinities in the beginning' (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 2. 1. 4 and passim); which holds good no less for the Christian Mass or Sacrifice.

It may be observed that in the operation of conjoint principles we necessarily conceive of one as active, the other as passive, and say that one is agent and the other means, or that one gives and the other receives. The apparent conflict with the Christian doctrine, which denies a 'passive power' in God (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 41. 4 ad 2), is unreal. St. Thomas himself remarks that 'in every generation there is an active and a passive principle' (*Summa*, I. 98. 2*c*). The fact is that a distinction of this kind is determined by the necessity of speaking in terms of time and space; whereas *in divinis* action is immediate, and there is no real, but only a logical distinction of agency from means. Savitṛ and Sāvitrī are both equally 'wombs' (*Yonī*, *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br.*, IV. 27). If 'One of the perfections acts (*kartā*), the other fosters' (*ṛndhan*, RV., III. 31. 2), both of these are active operations; it does not mean that either 'act' or 'fostering' represent possibilities which might or might not have been realized, but merely refers to the co-operation of the conjoint principles, intention and power. There is no distinction of potentiality from act. It is only when the creation *has taken place*, and concepts of time and space are therefore involved, that we can think of a *puro atto* as divided from *potenza* by the measure of the whole universe (Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX. 31–36), of Heaven and Earth as 'driving apart' (*te vyadravatām*, *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br.*, I. 54), or of 'Nature as receding from likeness to God' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 14. 11). This separation (*viyoga*) is the occasion of cosmic suffering (*traiśoka*, the pain of the Three Worlds that had once been one, *Pañcavimsa Br.*, VIII. 1. 9, *loka-duḥkha*, 'Weltschmerz', *Kaṭha Up.*, V. 11), and it is no wonder that 'When the conjoint pair were parted, the Devas moaned, and said "Let them be wed again"' (RV., X. 24. 5); it is, however, only 'at the meeting of the ways', 'at the worlds' end', that Heaven and Earth 'embrace' (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br.*, I. 5, etc.), only 'in the heart' that the marriage of Indra and Indrāṇī is really consummated (*Śatapatha Br.*, X, 5. 2. 11), that is to say in a silence and darkness that are the same as that 'Night that hides the darkness of the conjoint pair' in RV., I. 123. 7, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* interpreting this condition of unconscious cognition (*saṁvit*), perfect beatitude (*paramânanda*) and sleep (*svapna*) as an 'entering into, or being possessed by, what is one's very own' (*svâpyaya*).

[2] The Sacrifice in its *liturgical* aspect is a 'bringing to birth by means of the Word': one 'sings the Sāman on a Ṛc', and this is a procreative coupling (*mithunam*), identical with that of Intellect and Word (*manas* and *vāc*), Sacrifice and Guerdon (*yajña*, *dakṣinā*, i.e. Prajāpati and Dawn) and literally an in-*form*-ation of Nature, 'for were it not for Intellect, the Word would be incoherent' (*Śatapatha Br.*, III. 2. 4. 11), whereas it is in fact the 'birthplace of Order'. The Rathantara, for example, is a 'means of procreation' (*prajananam*, *Pañcaviṁśa Br.*, VII. 7. 16,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

The spoken Word is a harmony. In *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XXIII. 2 and XXIV. 1, 'Prajāpati is he whose name is not mentioned; this is the symbol of Prajāpati . . . . . 'Aloud' in 'Sing aloud, O thou of wide radiance' (Agni) is a symbol of the Bṛhat'. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 1. 15 the triumphant Jubilate of the spoken Word is described as follows: 'She (the Earth, *bhūmi*, being *pṛthivī*, 'spread out'), feeling herself altogether complete (*sarvā kṛtsnā*), sang (*agāyat*); and because she 'sang', therefore she is Gāyatrī. They say too that 'It was Agni, indeed, on her back (*pṛṣthe*)[1] who, feeling himself altogether complete, sang; and inasmuch as he sang, therefore he is Gāyatra. And hence whosoever feels himself altogether complete, either sings or delights in song.'

We have thus briefly discussed the divine nativity from certain points of view in order to bring out the correspondences of the Vedic and the Gnostic references to the Silence. In both traditions the authentic and integral powers on every level of reference are syzygies of conjoint principles, male and female; summarizing the Gnostic doctrine of the Aeons (Vedic *amṛtāsaḥ=devāḥ*) we may say that ab intra and informally these are Bythos and Sige, 'Abyss', and 'Silence', and ab extra, formally, Nous and Ennoia or Sophia, 'Intellect'

---

corresponding to *prajananam* as 'mistress' *viśpatnī*, the 'mother' of Agni in RV., III. 29. 1); Sāvitrī in this sense is identified with the metres (*chandāṅsi*) and called the 'Mother of the Vedas' (*Gopatha Br.*, I. 33 and 38), which 'metres' are commonly referred to as the means *par excellence* of reintegration (*saṁskaraṇa*, *Aitareya Br.*, VI. 27, etc.), and in her conjunction with Savitṛ presents an analogy with the Gnostic Ecclesia ('Mother Church') and Gnosis as constituting with the Man (Anthropos=Prajāpati, Agni, Manu) a syzygy. In this connection also there should be noted the close relationship of the words *mātrā*, *mātṛ*, and *māyā*, 'metre', 'mother', and 'magical-means' or 'matrix'; *mā* to 'measure' and *nir-mā*, to 'measure out' being constantly employed not only in the sense of giving form and definition but in the closely related senses of creating or giving birth to, notably in RV., III. 38. 3, III. 53. 15, X. 5. 3, X. 125. 8, *Atharva Veda*, VIII., 9. 5, and in the well-known expression *nirmāṇa-kāya* denoting precisely the assumed and actually manifested and born 'body' of the Buddha.

Sacrifice and birth are inseparable concepts; the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, indeed proposes the hermeneia, '*yajña*, because "*yañ jayate*"'. Sacrifice is divisive, a 'breaking of bread'; the product is articulated and articulate. The Sacrifice is a spreading out, a making a tissue or web of the Truth (*satyaṁ tanavāmahā*, *Śatapatha Br.*, IX. 5. 1. 18), a metaphor commonly employed elsewhere in connection with the raying of the fontal light, which forms the texture of the worlds. Just as the kindling of Agni is the making perceptible and evident of a hidden light, so the utterance of the chants is the making perceptible of a silent principle of sound. The spoken Word is a revelation of the Silence, the measures the trace of what is in itself is immeasurable.

[1] *Pṛṣthe*, i.e. either (1) with reference to Agni's being seated on the earthen altar (*vedi*) which is his birthplace (*yoni*), and/or (2) with reference to Agni's being supported by the Pṛṣtha-stotra, of which hymn the Gāyatrī is the mother by Prajāpati, *Pañcaviṁśa Br.*, VII. 8. 8.

and 'Wisdom', and without going into further detail, that Sige corresponds to Vedic *tuṣṇī* and Nous to *manas*, Sige and Sophia respectively to the hidden and manifested aspects of Aditi-Vāc; and also that the 'fall' of the Word (*vāg . . avapadyata*, cited above), and her purification as Ṛc, Apālā, Sūryā (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. 53f., RV., VIII. 91 and X. 85) correspond to the fall and redemption of Sophia and the Shekinah in the Gnostic and Qabbalistic traditions respectively. In what are really more academic rather than more 'orthodox' forms of Christianity, the two aspects of the Voice, within and without, are those of 'that nature by which the Father begets' and 'that nature which recedes from likeness to God, and yet retains a certain likeness to the divine being' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 41. 5c and I. 14. 11 ad 3), respectively the eternal and the temporal Theotokoi.

Let us repeat in conclusion that the Supreme Identity is neither merely silent nor merely vocal, but literally a no-what that is at the same time indefinable and partially defined, an unspoken and a spoken Word.

ASCETICISM IN PRE-BUDDHIST DAYS [1]

By RATILAL MEHTA

It has been a common belief, since the time of Max Müller and other philosophically-minded workers in the field of Oriental Research, that the people of India have remained, through all ages, spiritually-minded, that they leaned more and more towards renunciation of worldly-life, rather than take interest in their day-to-day work, or pursuit the practical ways for scientific knowledge.

Now this is a wrong belief which seems to have been founded on and developed from the reading of purely sectarian Literature and from a religious view-point only. The reading seems to have been confined mainly to the religious and philosophic points and subjects treated in the Brahmanic, Buddhist or Jaina texts. The other side, that of the representation of the life and mind of the common people as against that of the minority of learned authors of these texts, seems to have been completely ignored.

The above-spoken-of renunciation spirit is said to have been most rampant in the days of Gotama Buddha, Mahāvīra and a little earlier. In this paper I try to get an impression of that other side of the thing from the *Jātaka* stories which can be taken to represent the common life of the pre-Buddhist period. It will be seen that asceticism was not so wide a phenomenon as has been maintained uptil now.

The New Ideal.—Ascetic ideals and practices are found in very early stages of society. But their aims have been changing ever since. With the rise of the doctrine of rebirth,[2] actions and their consequences (*kammaphala*),[3] human life and its values began to appear in a different aspect. Life with an unending chain of repeated existences became something to be escaped.[4] Philosophic thoughts turned towards asceticism, more vigorously than ever before, but with a different aim. That aim was more of self-purification and realization of the Eternal Truths than anything else. And this ascetic ideal slowly but steadily permeated through the whole mass of people in those days.

---

[1] Read before the Buddhist Society, Ananda Vihāra, Bombay, on 28th June, 1936.

[2] *Jātaka* (henceforth abbreviated *J.*), II, p. 17 ; VI, pp. 189—*gāthā* (abb. *g.*), 828—'*cavanti upapajjanti es' assa pariṇāmita*' ; 239—*g.* 1075—'*asaṅkheyyāpi jātiyo*'.

[3] *J.*, I, p. 350 ; II, p. 202—*g.* 143 ; III, p. 158—*g.* 15 ; IV, p. 397—*g.* 39.

[4] *J.*, III, p. 434—*g.* 17 ; *cf.* the pathetic words of Vessantara who addresses his son and daughter :

> 'Be thou my ship to ferry me safe over existence's sea,
> Beyond the world's men and gods I'll cross and free I'll be :
> —*J.*, VI, p. 546—*g.* 2144-6.

There were two groups of ascetics, viz. the *Samaṇas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* or the Recluse-philosophers and the Hermits. The order of the *Paribbājakas* or the Wanderers strictly so called, was yet to come. At any rate, its existence is not as clear in the *Jātaka* stories as it is in the Buddhist *Nikāyas*.

The Older Hermits.—The institution of Hermits (*isi : tāpasa*) is of course very old. In course of time, however, in the days of Yājñavalkya who alludes to both the *Śramaṇas* and the *Tāpasas*, and also perhaps not long before the rise of Buddhism, a new order of *religieux* was formed, who called themselves *Śramaṇas*—to distinguish themselves both from the hermits who practised penance and sacrifice in the wood, and the *Brāhmaṇas* who were householders.[1] The institution of hermits or *isis* was not completely wiped out. And people still cherished the fond memory of old sages—Yāmahanu, Somayāga, Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata, Kālikara, and Kassapa Aṅgirasa, Akitti and Kīsavaccha,[2] who by practising *tapassā* attained to *Brahmaloka*. These hermits (*pabbajitas*) of the stories, as Prof. Rhys Davids puts it,[3] lived in the forests adjoining the settlements, according to the various tendencies of the schools to which they belonged, either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practices of self-torture, or in repeating over to themselves and in teaching to their pupils, the *suttas* containing the tenets of their school. Much time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance . . . And there was difference of opinion and of practice, as to the comparative importance attached to the learning of the texts. But the hermitages where the learning, or the repeating of texts was unknown, were the exceptions.

Life of the Pabbajitas.—Usually the *pabbajitas* retired to the sylvan and lonely forests of the Himalayas.[4] There they built small and suitable huts of grass and leaves.[5] Foot-paths (*padika-magga*) led to these hermitages (*assama*).[6] There were also separate marked-out places where the hermits had their daily walk (*caṅkamaṇakoṭi*).[7] The usual requisites of an ascetic (*pabba-*

---

[1] Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 239-40.

[2] *J.*, VI, p. 99—*g.* 422-3.

[3] *Buddhist India*, pp. 140-1.

[4] *J.*, I, p. 140; II, pp. 103, 269; III, p. 515; IV, p. 221.

[5] *J.*, I, p. 375; VI, p. 75.

[6] *J.*, IV, p. 489; V, p. 132; VI, pp. 74, 532—*g.* 2037.

[7] *J.*, IV, p. 329; VI, p. 232.

jitaparikkhāra) were: robes, inner and outer, dyed in bark (*rattavakacīraṁ*), antelope's skin (*ajina*) thrown over the shoulder, a walking-staff in hand (*daṇḍa*), shoes (*upānaha*), umbrella (*chattaṁ*), hook (*aṅkusa*) for gathering fruits, *etc*. and a bowl (*pattaṁ*).[1] The hermits, unlike the *Samaṇa-pabbajitas*, kept long locks of matted hair and tied them in a coil (*jaṭāmaṇḍalaṁ*), and, if need be thrust needles in them.[2] They wore a girdle of *muñja* grass.[3] A wooden bedstead (*kaṭṭhattharaka*) was kept in the hut.[4] As to their food, they generally lived upon wild bulbs and radishes, catmint and herbs, wild rice, black mustard (' spread out to dry '), jujubs, herbs, honey, lotus-fibres, myrobalan, scraps of meat.[5] The daily routine in the hermitages was something like this: The hermitage was swept clean in the morning, water was brought from the near-by river, wild roots and fruits were collected, wood chopped for fuel, food prepared and eaten, little rest at noon, study and discussion in the afternoon, evening-meal and rest at night.[6] They constantly tended the 'holy fire' (*Jātaveda*).[7] When a stranger approached a hermit dwelling in the forest, he would first of all inquire as to his welfare in the usual formal words:

> ' O holy man, I trust that you are prosperous and well,
> With grain to glean, and roots and fruit abundant where you
>   dwell;
> Have you been much by flies and gnats and creeping things
>   annoyed,
> Or from wild beasts of prey have you immunity enjoyed? '

And the same sweet reply was given by the hermit with an affectionate reception:

---

[1] *J*., I, p. 304 ; III, p. 82 ; IV, pp. 25, 129, 476—*g*. 294-5 ; V, pp. 312, 232—*g*. 124 ; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528—*g*. 2011.

[2] *J*., I, pp. 304–375 ; V, pp. 132 ; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528—*g*. 2011 ; 242 ; *Jaṭilo* : IV, p. 476 ; V, p. 202—*g*. 28.

[3] *J*., V, p. 202—*g*. 32. The stock description of a hermit is : ' with uncleansed teeth (*paṅkadanto*), and goatskin garb (*kharājino*) and hair all matted (*jaṭilo*) and muttering holy words in peace (*japanto*) ' : *J*., III, p. 236—*g*. 10 ; IV, p. 299—*g*. 62 ; VI, p. 536—*g*. 2037-8.

[4] *J*., II, p 41 ; VI, p. 21, 158.

[5] *J*., I, p. 450 ; IV, pp. 221, 306, 371-2—*g*. 269–86 : *ālukalambāni*, *bilālitakkalāni*, *sāmākanīvāraṁ*, *sākaṁ*, *bhisaṁ*, *madhuṁ*, *maṁsaṁ*, *badarāmalakāṁ* ; ascetic and hermits taking strong drink and meat was not a common thing : *J*., I, pp. 361-2 ; II, pp. 262, 382 ; V, p. 235 ; VI, p. 63 ; *cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 230.

[6] *J*., IV, 221—*g*. 40 ; V, pp. 313ff. ; VI, p. 75.

[7] *J*., I, pp. 285, 494 ; II, pp. 43-4 ; V, p. 476 (*aggisālā*) ; VI, p. 201—*g*. 872 ; *Mahāvagga*, I. 15. 2.

'I thank you, brahmin, yes, I am both prosperous and well,
With grain to glean and roots and fruit abundant while I
dwell;
From flies and gnats and creeping things I suffer not annoy,
And from wild beasts of prey I here immunity enjoy.
In all the innumerable years I've lived upon this ground,
No harmful sickness that I know has ever here been found;
Welcome O brahmin, bless the chance directed you this way,
Come, enter with a blessing, come, and wash your feet I pray,
The *tinduk* and the *piyāl* leaves, and *kāsumāri* sweet,
And fruits like honey, brahmin, take the best I have, and eat,
And this cool water from a cave high hidden on a hill,
O noble brahmin, take of it and drink if it be your will.'[1]

In the rainy season, the recluses came down from the mountains. For, as it is said, in the Himalayas, during the rainy season, when the rains are incessant, as it is impossible to dig up any bulb or root or to get any wild fruits, and the leaves begin to fall, the ascetics for the most part come down from the Himalayas and take up their abode amidst the haunts of men.[2] After the rains were over, they returned to the mountains, for then the flowers and fruits began ripening.[3] And they thus lived on in peace and solitary calmness, thinking out the mysteries of this and the 'other' world, and deep problems for humanity at large, with hundreds of disciples around them, freed of all desires and fetters. These silent recluses, though living far from the mundane world, did no doubt influence the existing society to a great extent. *Dhamma* was recognized to be the 'standard' of the *isis*[4]; to injure the *isis* in any way was a great sin.[5] Men besought these sages for the solution of intricate problems affecting them, and the way to peace, order and happiness.[6]

The virtues of an ideal ascetic are thus enumerated: He has no anger towards anyone, even when angered, does not allow it to be seen, bears hunger with a pinched belly, restrained in eating and drinking, has abandoned all sport and pleasure, utters no falsehood, is averse to all pomp and carnal desire, has nothing as his own, is resolute, unselfish, has forbearance and freedom from all hindrances to religious perfection—all properly fitted in him like the spokes in the nave of a wheel.[1]

---

[1] *J.*, IV, p. 434—*g.* 150–3; V, p. 323—*g.* 130–9; VI, p. 532—*g.* 2041–8; *cf.* the sweet words of Vāsantī, the 'Forest Deity', in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacaritaṁ*, II, 1.

[2] *J.*, II, p. 85; III, p. 37.

[3] *J.*, II, p. 72.

[4] *J.*, V, p. 509—*g.* 490—'*dhammo hi isinaṁdhajo*'.

[5] *J.*, II, p. 172—*g.* 124; IV, p. 383—*g.* 9; V, pp. 143-4—*g.* 69, 73.

[6] *J.*, IV, pp. 134—*g.* 97–9—'*Samaṇā anusasanti isi dhammoguṇeratā*'; 395—*g.* 31.

Sham Ascetics.—But, as always, there may have existed sham ascetics as well (*kūṭa-tāpaso : kūṭa-jaṭilo*). We must not, however, be led away by the descriptions of these ascetics in the *Jātakas* which, averse as they are to all kinds of penance and austerities, paint them in exaggeratedly bad colours. We may, nevertheless, note them in order to discern some reality at least.[2]

We have seen that gradually the *Samaṇas*, the newly-risen ascetic-order, broke away from past traditions, revolted against the older Vedic system of sacrifice and self-mortification.[3] The *Jātakas* show particular hatred against austerities and false practices (*samādānaṁ*),[4] many of which are enumerated. Some did the swinging penance (*vaggulivataṁ*),[5] some lay on thorn-beds (*kaṇṭaka-sayyaṁ*),[6] some underwent the five-fire penance (*pañca-tāpaṁ*).[7] Some practised the mortification by squatting (*ukkuṭikappadhanaṁ*).[8] Some did the act of diving (*udaka-gāhana*), and some repeated texts (*mante sajjāpenti*).[9] Various and many are the instances, in these stories, wherein hypocritical, lewd, sham and many other types of ascetics are portrayed. Quite consistently with their aversion towards ascetic appearances, and with their character as folk-tales, these stories occasionally cast slur and bitter satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness. In the *Kāsāva Jātaka*,[10] a sham ascetic clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of a *paccekabuddha*, with a covering about his head (*paṭisīsakaṁ*). Elsewhere,[11] a sham ascetic misconducts himself in the royal chamber at night, and stands by day in a cemetery on one foot worshipping the sun. But the satire bites most pungently in the beast-fables. The *Bilāra*

---

[1] *J.*, VI, pp. 257–61—*g.* (?) ; *cf. Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I. I. 3.

[2] For an exhaustive treatment of the subject from various sources, see Maurice Bloomfield's article '*On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction*' : *J.A.O.S.*, 44, pp. 202ff.

[3] See Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[4] *J.*, I, p. 391.

[5] See *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 95.

[6] Pictures of ascetics doing penance on thorns are not at all rare nowadays : for instance, see *The National Geographic Magazine*, 24, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1279.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1286 ; the penance consists of sitting between four fires, the sun burning down upon the head as the fifth : Richard Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien*, pp. 17, 158, 168, 181.

[8] As though they had remained so for years.

[9] *J.*, III, p. 235 ; IV, p. 299 ; V, p. 241—*g.* 160 ; *cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 226–32.

[10] *J.*, II, pp. 197-8—*g.* 140-1.

[11] *J.*, III, pp. 303ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Jātaka,[1] for instance, presents before us a jackal, unaccountably substituted in the story for the cat which is clearly the original subject as is indicated by both the title and the *gāthā*, which shams asceticism to beguile the troop of rats: Morning and evening the rats come to pay their respects to the saintly jackal. 'Godly is my name', says the jackal. 'Why do you stand on one leg?' 'Because, if I stood on all four at once, the earth could not bear my weight. That is why I stand on one leg only.' 'And why do you keep your mouth open?' 'To take the air. I live on air: it is my only food.' 'And why do you face the sun?' 'To worship him.' The saintly jackal always seizes and devours the last of the troop as they depart, wipes his lips and looks as if nothing had happened. At last he is caught. And the *Bodhisatta* has to declare:

> 'Where saintliness is but a cloak,
> Whereby to cozen guileless folk,
> And screen a villain's treachery
> —The cat-like nature there we see.'[2]

In the *Aggika Jātaka,*[3] again, the jackal happens to have all the hair singed off his body by a forest-fire so that he is left perfectly bald, except for a tuff like a scalp-knot where the crown of his head is pressed against a tree. Drinking from a pool, he catches sight of his top-knot reflect in the water, and exclaims: 'At last I've got wherewithal to go to market'. He then poses as Bhāradvāja, votary of the God of Fire (*aggika*) and does the same mischief as in the previous instance.[4] In the *Vaka Jātaka,*[5] a wolf living on a rock is once surrounded by the winter-floods (*himodakaṁ*), and to make the best of a bad business, decides to keep the fast (*uposatha: nikkammassa pana nipajjanto uposathakammaṁ varaṁ*), but when he sees a goat, he at once tries to catch him, thinking to keep the fast on another day. And as he cannot get at the goat, he still maintains: 'Well, my fast is not broken after all', thus revealing his hypocritical nature.[6] Similarly we read of a monkey in order to obtain food, putting on the airs of a holy man—bark dress, lifting a basket and a crooked stick, seeking alms and worshipping the sun.[7] In the bird-world, we find a shore-sighting crow (*disākāka*) as a typical sham ascetic. After the wreck of the merchant-ship he reaches an island, is happy at seeing a great flock of birds 'whose eggs and young' he can eat. Very elaborately he shams asceticism and preaches a sermon to the birds. The birds put their young ones in his charge. When they go to their feeding ground, the crow eats away their eggs and young. He is, at last, caught red-handed and killed.[1] And thus with distinct ironic intention and a humorous touch, these stories expose the hypocrisy that is sometimes found in asceticism. As Maurice Bloomfield, writing on the subject,[2] has said, 'both with man and animal these mock descriptions of ascetic get-up figure so largely as to show them to be the reflex of a settled scepticism as to the sincerity or efficacy of such professions in general, dashed strongly with contempt in the mind at least of the intellectual story-teller if not altogether in the mind of the average listener to such stories. It must be understood, however, that this attitude of mind does not exclude faith in really sincere professors of these practices. In spite of their evil ways the populace stands in awe and shows honour to the profession.'[3]

---

[1] *J.*, I, pp. 460-1.

[2] *J.*, I, p. 461—*g.* 124.

[3] *J.*, I, pp. 461-2.

[4] *J.*, I, p. 462—*g.* 125.

[5] *J.*, II, pp. 450-1.

[6] *J.*, II, pp. 451—*g.* 148-50.

[7] *J.*, II, pp. 68-9—*g.* 44; also II, pp. 72-3—*g.* 48; 269-70—*g.* 199.

The *Jātakas* make no secret of the vices that attended on sham ascetics. As hypocrisy, so lust, greed, gluttony and sundry other vices are standard qualities attributed to these ascetics, monks other religious folk. We have instances of lewd ascetics who lead a corrupted life in the darkness of night and pretend saintliness by day, as in the *Dhajavihetha Jātaka*.[4] 'Being, in theory, immune to the lure of women, and therefore ineligible as lovers and husbands, they are driven by their evil instincts to resort to some crafty device to obtain their end.'[5] After all, biological instincts and moral forces have always been in conflict, and are perhaps destined to remain so for a pretty long time.

We also find covetous ascetics, where the ideal is of complete renunciation. One of the ascetics under Mahārakkhita in the *Somanassa Jātaka*,[6] returns back, pleases the king who assigns to him a place in his park, as one of his own household. The ascetic plants vegetables, pot-herbs, and runners, sells them in the market and amasses wealth. Elsewhere,[7] we find a shifty rascal of an ascetic (*kūṭajaṭila : kuhakatāpasa*) who carries away the money given to him by a village squire to keep it safely, and still shows himself the most innocent and pure-minded man ever born on earth, bringing back even a straw of the roof of the squire's hut which had stuck in his hair. Instances may be multiplied to show the weak and

---

[1] *J.*, III, pp. 267–70—g. 64–9.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

[3] *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 245.

[4] *J.*, III, pp. 303ff.

[5] *J.A.O.S.*, 44, p. 218.

[6] *J.*, IV, pp. 444ff.

[7] *J.*, I, p. 375.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

vicious character of ascetics.[1] But we should not tarry too long on the subject. The impression is unavoidable that there was a distinct move towards scepticism over older methods of asceticism, for which the ascetics themselves, more than anything else, were responsible.

The Samaṇas.—And here, in the course of our discussion, may well step in those other ascetics, the *Samaṇas*, who undoubtedly played a very important part in moulding the material as well as spiritual life of the people a little earlier than the time of the Buddha, and whose representative philosophies can be noticed from the *Mahābodhi Jātaka.*[2] This important order of teachers, like the *paribbājakas*, was not known in India much before the rise of Buddhism. The remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids[3] regarding the 'wanderers' may well apply to the *Samaṇas* in general: 'Besides the hermits, there was another body of men, greatly respected throughout the country . . . They were teachers or sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Like the sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty.' The time had already come for the earnest thinkers like Satyavāha Bhāradvaja, who represents the common case of all who called themselves *Sramaṇas* against worldly *Brāhmaṇas*, to uphold transcendentalism against both asceticism as largely practiced by the Vedic ascetics and worldly life as regulated with Puritanic strictness by the Brāhmaṇa priests and jurists, and thus prepare the way for the rationalism of the Buddha who enunciated the Midde-path (*majjhima-paṭipadā*) and sought for a '*via media*' of thought, conduct and intellectual training.[4]

It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the wanderers (*paribbājakas*) strictly so called, and the Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) who were also in a sense, a class of wanderers.[5] The most outstanding factors which distinguished the new order of *religieux* (*samaṇas* : *paribbājakas*) from the older one were that they shaved their head clean[1] and begged their food (*bhikkhācariyaṁ*),[2] instead of feeding like the *tāpasas* or *isis*, on pot herbs and fruits. It was perhaps from the practice of begging that they became later on known as *Bhikkhus* or mendicants. The origin of this order of *religieux* is now obscure. But it is probable, as Prof. Rhys Davids has said,[3] that the *Bhikkhu* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food.

---

[1] *Cf.* for gluttonous nature and rude manners: *J.*, I, pp. 480ff.; II, pp. 382ff.; III, pp. 84ff.—g. 97-8; 137ff.; 537ff.; treachery upon a confiding friend: *J.*, V, pp. 75ff—g. 226-7—'*acelo samaṇo ayaṁ sammato bhāvitatto*'.

[2] *J.*, V, pp. 228ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

[4] Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[5] In fact there are many points of resemblance between the two orders—the earlier Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) on the one hand and the later Wanderers (*paribbājakas*) on the other. Both sought to build up a system of moral philosophy entirely upon a human or rational ground rather than on a theocratic basis. The Wanderers proper, by their views and ways of life furnished a connecting link between the Recluses on one hand and the *Brāhmaṇas* on the other: Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-50.

The outer appearance of a *samaṇa* was also distinctive. He did not keep hair and beard : he wore three yellow (*kāsāva*) robes (*ticīvaraṁ*)—one as underdress, the other as upper and the third he wrapped round his shoulders ; his earthen vessel (*patto*) he put in a bag and fastened it on his left shoulder ; he held a walking staff (*kattaradanḍaṁ*) in his hand ; and he also kept with him a razor (*vāsi*), a needle (*sūci*), a strainer (*bandhanaṁ*), and a zone (*parissavana*).[4] He had to stitch his own robe.[5]

The *Samaṇas*, whether *Brāhmaṇas* by birth or not, were highly respected by the common folk as well as by kings and the nobility. These homeless ascetics, as we saw before, wandered about the country precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions and preaching the *dhamma* or the simple ethical code of the laity. They are sometimes represented as meeting one another at the parks outside the royal cities or at resthouses (*sālā*) set up by the villagers on the roadside for the common use of the travellers. Usually they took their abode in the royal park (*rajjuyyānaṁ*) outside the city and went a-begging in the city where they invariably were received and respected with greetings (*paṭisanthāraṁ*) by the king.[6] It was a common custom with the people at large to respect these ascetics, give them food, place for residing and other necessaries of life and to ask them questions pertaining to *dhamma*.[7] In their eyes these ascetics were dear (*piyā*) and vener-

---

[1] *E.g.*, *J.*, III, p. 371 ; V, p. 187—*g.* 222 ; VI, p. 52.

[2] *J.*, I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 406, 505 ; III, pp. 39, 79, 143, 238 ; IV, p. 299.

[3] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 215ff. ; Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2. Later on both the words *bhikkhu* and *samaṇa* came to be applied specially for the Buddhist monks.

[4] *J.*, III, p. 377—*g.* (?) ; IV, p. 342 ; V, p. 187 ; VI, p. 52.

[5] *J.*, IV, p. 25.

[6] *J.*, I, pp. 140, 333, 361, 373, 406, 505 ; III, pp. 39, 79, 119, 143, 238, 352, 440 ; V, p. 482.

[7] *J.*, I, pp. 187, 298, 480 ; III, pp. 304ff. ; IV, pp. 28-30 ; 178—*g.* 46 ; 299, 320 ; VI, pp. 287—*g.* 1247 ; 296—*g.* 1298 ; 378—*g.*(?)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

able (*mānāpā*), and their words worthy to be received.[1] To kings they advised on matters of polity and administration, and to the common folk they showed the right way of living from which the ethical *dhamma* began to grow and develop. Thus they became real reformers, whose vehicle of expression was the language of the common people.

Career open to all.—The career of such a wandering teacher or a homeless ascetic seems to have been open to anyone, and even to women. 'Not only did world-sick old people renounce the world, but even kings who were in undisputed possession of sovereignty and in the fulness of their power; young princes preferred the severe life of the ascetic to the glitter of sovereign power, rich tradesmen gave away their riches and heads of families their wives and children in order to build a hut in the forests of the Himalayas and to live on roots and fruits or to eke out an existence by begging alms.'[2]

Wave of Renunciation.—But why did people turn towards asceticism? The philosophy of life, then prevalent, was no doubt largely responsible for this. The political conflicts with war, tyranny, lawlessness, and general immorality in their train, and corrupt social practices such as the domination of one class over another, of men over women, and of masters over slaves and servants, the ruthlessness of criminal laws and in the economic field, the system of usury: all combined to bring the problem of misery to forefront. 'There is suffering: this is the inexhaustible theme which, now in the strict forms of abstract philosophical discussion and now in the garment of practical proverb, ever more comes ringing in our ears from the Buddhist literature.'[3] The doctrine of *karma* and Rebirth was far deeply rooted in the minds of the people. And the philosophers of every shade and opinion, in spite of their speculations and discussions, 'could only produce extravagant theories, pernicious in their moral consequences and detrimental to the source of distinctions between truth and falsehood, vice and virtue, beauty and deformity'.[4] In consequence, the people at large were worried at the thought of the transitoriness of earthy goods, of the unworthiness of human existence. And this supplied generally the impulse (*ārammaṇaṁ*) to renounce the world:

---

[1] *J.*, V, p. 315; VI, pp. 190, 242.

[2] Fick, *Social Organization*, pp. 67-8; see specially *J.*, IV, p. 238; a barber in III, p. 452; *Caṇḍālas*, IV, p. 392; *Kulaputtas*, V, p. 263.

[3] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 212-3, 221.

[4] Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

> ‘ How transient are all component beings !
> Growth is their nature and decay ;
> They are produced, they are dissolved again,
> And then is best—when they have sunk to rest.’ [1]

Cause of Renunciation.—This is the keynote of the whole pessimistic philosophy. The prince of the *Yuvañjaya Jātaka* [2] sees some dew-drops (*ussavabindu*) which sparkled in the early morning, like pearls in a necklace, on the leaves of the trees, on blades of grass and in the webs of the spiders, disappearing in the evening, and he says to himself : ‘ Even this life, this being, is like the dew-drop which hangs from the top of the blade of grass . . . . I will become an ascetic before disease, age and death overcome me.’ [3] As in this case a dew-drop, so in other cases a grey hair is the *ārammaṇaṁ*, the cause of renunciation.[4] Sometimes,[5] it is the signs of the heaven such as the capture of the moon by Rāhu, that bring the transitoriness of things to the forefront. At another time,[6] a rich *Brāhmaṇa* reads on a golden tablet in his jewel-room, the name of his ancestors who left the property, and he thinks : ‘ Those who won this wealth are seen no more, but the wealth is still seen ; not one of them could take it where he is gone ; we cannot tie our wealth in a bundle and take it with us to the next world ’. He then goes away to the Himalayas amid the lamentations and tears of a great multitude. Once, owing to the unwillingness of the two sons to set up a household, the whole *Brāhmaṇa* family renounces worldly life.[7] Similarly a *Brāhmaṇa*, seeing his wife dead leaving a son, thinks of the impermanence of life and goes away to the Himalayas with his son.[8] Thus this tendency of renunciation appears to have been widely prevalent in the *Jātaka* times. But it was surely no *en masse* exodus to the Himalayas as the stories, with their inherent tendency to generalize, would seem to suggest. As a matter of fact, it was not the thought of higher metaphysical speculations that led

---

[1] *J.*, I, p. 392—*g.* 94 :
aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino,
uppajjitvā nirujjanti tesaṁ ūpasamo sukho.
see also : *J.*, I, pp. 168—*g.* 17 ; 406 ; III, pp. 98—*g.* 114 ; 163-7—*g.* 19–28 ; 239 ; IV p. 120.

[2] *J.*, IV, pp. 119ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 120—‘ *Sattānaṁ jīvitasaṅkhārāpi tiṇagge ussavabindusadisā, mayā vyādhijarāmaraṇehi apīliten’eva . . . pabbajituṁ vaṭṭati* ; also *g.* 76.

[4] *J.*, I, p. 138 ; III, p. 393 ; V, p. 177.

[5] *J.*, III, p. 364.

[6] *J.*, IV, pp. 7-8.

[7] *J.*, V, p. 313.

[8] *J.*, IV, p. 220 ; also I, p. 245 ; II, p. 422 ; III, p. 300.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the ordinary people, the masses, to look to the forest life for relief. It seems, on the contrary, that generally failures in practical life and experience of its miseries and treacheries [1] would lead men to run away from the world, and that too amid the lamentations and beseechings of their near and dear.[2] Naturally the relations who may have to suffer in consequence of their supporters going away, try to dissuade him in every possible way. Everywhere we hear about these conflicts. For instance, in the *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka*,[3] we read of a poor *gahapati* supporting his mother by working for hire. His mother, quite against his will, brings a wife for him, and dies soon after. Then his wife becomes pregnant ; he knows nothing of her condition ; and one day says to her : 'My wife, you must earn your living, I will renounce the world'. 'But I am pregnant, wait and see the child that is born of me, and then go and become a hermit.' He agrees. And when she is delivered he says : 'Now, wife, you are safely delivered and I must turn hermit'. 'Wait', she says, 'till the time when the child is weaned (*thanapānato apagamanakāle*)'. And after that she becomes pregnant for the second time. 'If I agree to her request', the man thinks, 'I shall never get away at all'. And so without informing her he gets up at night and flees away. And surely, we think, he is protesting against the general mentality when he utters :

> 'Not iron fetters—so the wise have told—
> Not ropes, or bars of wood, so fast can hold,
> As passion, and the love of child or wife,
> Of precious gems and earrings of fine gold.
> These heavy fetters—who is there can find
> Release from such !—these are the ties that bind :
> These if the wise can burst, then they are free,
> Leaving all love and all desire behind.' [4]

The *Cullasutasoma Jātaka*,[5] presenting before us a typical and a very pathetic scene, shows what a tremendous force may have been acting against the spirit of renunciation. The king seeing grey hair on his head, thinks of renouncing the world. He gathers the whole townsfolk (*mahājano*) and informs them about his intention. One by one the ministers, much grieved to hear this, dissuade him. The mother comes : the king does not mind her tears ; the father laments and asks : 'What is this Law that leads thee to become eager to quit thy kingdom and thy home! With thy old parents left behind to dwell here all alone, seek'st thou a hermit's cell!' The Great Being is silent; he is unmoved even at the reference of his children of tender years. His wives come and embracing his feet, bewail most piteously. He does not hear this, nor even his queen-consort's heart-rending request. The eldest son comes and most stubbornly resists; but the father only thinks the ways and means to get rid of him. The state-officials come and request his presence in the kingdom. He is unmoved. To all who try to dissuade him, his only answer is: 'But holy orders I must take, that I may heavenly bliss attain (*saggañca patthayāno*)'. He goes away at last and the people frantically search for him, but of no avail.[1] The whole idea behind this story is of course to show the invincible determination of those who are bent upon renunciation. But giving every latitude to poetic and legendary exaggerations and objective colouring, the fact cannot be gainsaid that it was a hard conflict, that between home-life and ascetic-ideal.

---

[1] *J.* II, p. 422 ; III, p. 540.

[2] *J.*, I, p. 440 ; V, pp. 177ff.—*g.* 192–241 ; also III, p. 396 ; IV, p. 8.

[3] *J.*, II, pp. 139–41.

[4] *J.* II, p. 140—*g.* 97-8 : *Dhammapada*, 345-6 ; also *J.*, III, pp. 395-6—*g.* 117–20.

[5] *J.*, V, pp. 177–92—*g.* 191–241.

Gharāvāsa praised.—Glories of worldly life have not remained unsung:

'Houses in the world are sweet,
Full of food, and full of treasure:
There you have your fill of meat—
Eating and drinking at your pleasure.'[2]

This simple praise of householder's life (*gharāvāsa*) must have impressed more upon the minds of the people than this unconvincing argument in favour of renunciation (*pabbajjā*) or rather against *gharāvāsa*:

'He that hath houses peace can never know,
He lies, and cheats, he must deal many a blow
On others' shoulders; nought this fault can cure,
Then who into a house would willing go?'[3]

---

[1] *Cf.* 'From the unprofitableness of a state of being to which they had not learnt to give stability by labours and struggles for ends worthy of labour and struggle, men fly to seek peace for the soul in a renunciation of the world. The rich and the noble still more than the poor and the humble, the young wearied of life before life had well begun, rather than the old who have nothing more to hope from life, women and maidens abandon their homes and don the garb of monks and nuns. Everywhere we meet pictures of those struggles which every day must have brought, in that period, between those who make this resolution and the parents, the wife, the children who detain those eager for renunciation; acts of invincible determination are narrated of those who, in spite of all opposition have managed to burst the bond which bound them to home-life.'—Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 66.

[2] *J.*, II, p. 232—*g.* 168.

[3] *J.*, II, p. 233—*g.* 169.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Similarly the bold assertion that :

‘ In lonesome forest one may well be pure,
’Tis easy there temptation to endure ;
But in a village with seductions rife
A man may rise to a far nobler life.[1]

must have produced not an insignificant appeal on the masses.

Not a mass-wide phenomenon.—The fact of the matter seems to be, that it is in the spiritual region that we have to seek cause of this asceticism ; the practice of world-renunciation is only an outward expression of the striving for knowledge and for emancipation, *mokṣa*, or to use the Buddhist term *nirvāṇa*.[2] Neither the spiritual yearning nor the striving after knowledge and emancipation could have been so intense and all-embracing as to render the practice of renunciation a mass-wide phenomenon. Even in the heyday of Buddhism and even of Jainism, it was not so. It could not be, for the simple reason that the masses were, as they always are, psychologically too pre-occupied with their daily struggles for existence to look to anything beyond this world. And it is for this reason that ethics, the religion of the lay man, the rules and principles for life as it should happily be lived, found the best favour with the ordinary mass of the people.[3]

This is what we see when Lord Buddha arrives on the scene. His *majjhima-paṭipadā* or the *via-media* really brought about a rapprochement between the two different sections of the people, between those on the one hand who were solely devoted to spiritual quests unmindful of worldly affairs, and those others who were wholly steeped in worldly affairs, not striving after some noble ideals of conduct. The rapprochement indeed brought about a mass-mentality which tried to lead the people, through all their worldly joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, cares and anxieties, to a noble way of living which did satisfy their spiritual consciousness and yearnings.

---

[1] *J.*, III, p. 524—*g.* 79.
[2] *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
[3] See my article on ‘ *Ethics of the Jātakas* ’, *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 271ff.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS

By ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

I

The importance of the part played by the Rājputs during the medieval period of Indian history is a fact which deserves more recognition and attention than have hitherto been accorded to the subject. Smith pointed out the truth when he said that 'the centuries from the death of Harsha to the Muhammadan conquest of Hindostan, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rājput Period'.[1] 'They shed a glory on the history of this time which deserves as great a record in the history of the world as the glory of the most heroic peoples in that history'.[2] During the entire period of Muhammadan rule in India, the Rājputs exercised a predominant influence on the course of events and emerged as the deciding factor in many a crisis. There are numerous broad and undisputed historical facts which clearly indicate the emphasis that must be laid on the study of the history of this brave and chivalrous people.

There is, again, another very important consideration which cannot be neglected without running the risk of forming an untrue conception of the course of Indian history. The works of the Muhammadan historians have been so long accepted as the only source of our knowledge regarding the history of the period during which their co-religionists exercised the supreme political power in the country. Though many of their errors have been corrected and their misrepresentations to some extent rejected, yet it is impossible to escape wholly from their spirit of prejudice. As a result, the history of India during the so-called Muhammadan Period has been now reconstructed absolutely from the Muhammadan point of view, and we have lost sight of the Hindu interpretation of events and personalities and neglected to enquire into the condition of the people who constituted the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country. It is high time that this wrong outlook on history should be corrected, and the study of the history of the Rājputs, who were the only Hindu people enjoying political power during the

---

[1] Oxford History of India, 1923, p. 172.

[2] C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, 1924, p. 4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

entire period of Muhammadan supremacy in India, can provide us with the true perspective of the history of those seven hundred years.

It must be confessed, however, that the present state of research on the history of the Rājputs is altogether unsatisfactory and is a clear testimony to the fact that we have not yet been able to shake off the absolutely wrong impression that this subject is only of local interest and has no important bearing upon the general history of the country. Some scholars have occasionally dealt with certain topics related to the subject, and some efforts have been made to join together disconnected facts which have been discovered. But unfortunately no noteworthy attempt has yet been made (except that of Pandit G. H. Ojha) to reconstruct the history of the Rājputs. Tod's work, which serves very little historical purpose, is still the only source from which information may be culled.

Of all the Rājput clans the Guhilots of Mewar deserve the best attention of the historian. Tod very rightly observes [3] that 'the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewar' as 'the first of the thirty-six royal tribes', and that it is almost the only state which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination and in the very lands where it was founded in the eighth century. The glory of the Guhilots also consists in the long-continued and resolute resistance which they offered to the Muhammadans in spite of numerous great reverses. 'In fact the heroism of this family and its sustained tenacious effort for the preservation of its independence and its religion are as stable as their fortune and dominion'.[4]

The reconstruction of the history of the Guhilots is, therefore, an unquestionable necessity, and much remains to be done in this sphere. The purpose of the present paper is to collect the necessary data, to discuss the more important views which have been so far advanced by various scholars, and to make an attempt of preparing a coherent narrative of the early political history of the Guhilots. It is proposed here to deal with the period from the earliest times down to the close of the tenth century—the period of confusion and darkness, as a tolerably certain chronological survey of the political history of the later period may be found in Tod's work.

It is almost needless to mention that the greatest difficulty which confronts a student of this period of the history of the Guhilots is the paucity of materials. He finds few stones to lean upon and is bewildered when he goes through the endless series of speculations indulged in by various scholars. He can gather very little from

---

[3] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, G. Routledge & Sons, Vol. I, p. 173.

[4] Vaidya, Vol. I, p. 70-71.

Muhammadan sources which are so valuable for the succeeding period. He is even denied the help of Rājput chronicles to any considerable degree, because the chronicles composed in a later period which were used by Tod have been found to be absolutely unreliable. Very few indigenous records of real historical value have yet been discovered. But, fortunately, the discovery of some inscriptions has thrown a flood of light on this subject, and with their help it is now possible to arrive at certain definite conclusions. But until fresh materials are discovered a very large portion of the narrative must remain open to question and necessarily, therefore, no dogmatic assertion can be made.

II

According to Tod,[5] who followed the traditional account recorded in local chronicles, Kanak Sen, a descendant of Rama, 'found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote' and established the kingdom of Valabhī in A.D. 144. In Kathiawar his descendants ruled for centuries, until the territory was sacked by invaders described as barbarians from the north (or Scythic), and the last chief, Śīlāditya, was killed in 524 A.D. His son, Goha, established himself at Edur, where his successors 'who were styled Gohilote, classically Grahilote, in time softened to Gehlote', continued to rule, Bappā was the son of Nagadit, the eighth prince of the line, who was killed by the Bhīls.[6]

From the very nature of the sources on which Tod relied we are led to be very suspicious about the truth of his account, particularly with reference to his genealogy and chronology. It is apparent that the bardic chronicles composed at a much later date, when the truth about the early days was clouded by mystery and tradition, should give us mere fragmentary legends concerning this period.

In the first place, it has been established that the Maitraka princes of Valabhi were in no way connected with the legendary solar race to which Rāma belonged. On the other hand, they can hardly be accepted as of Indian origin, and it has been very plausibly suggested by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that they were a foreign tribe allied with, if not a branch of, the Hūṇas.[7]

Secondly, Kanak Sen is an 'entirely mythical'[8] hero. It has been successfully proved that Bhaṭāraka was the founder of

---

[5] Tod, Vol. I, pp. 176–81.

[6] Cf. K. D. Erskine, Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. IIA, 1908, pp. 13-14.

[7] Paper on 'the Guhilots', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909. Cf. N. Ray, 'The Maitrakas of Valabhi', Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 457.

[8] Crooke, Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, Annals of Mewar, Chap. I, note.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Maitraka ruling family.[9] In the genealogical list of the princes of Valabhi which has been prepared in accordance with epigraphic evidence, there is no mention of Kanak Sen, nor has he been identified with any other name in that list.[10]

Thirdly, the dates of the establishment and destruction of the kingdom of Valabhī given by Tod must be rejected. Epigraphic evidence clearly shows that Bhaṭāraka must have flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.[11] Bühler remarks, 'The destruction of Valabhī is an event around which there hangs more than one mystery and the question when it happened is one of the most difficult to decide'.[12] It has been ascertained, however, from epigraphic evidence that Śīlāditya VII, the last king of the dynasty, was alive in Gupta era 447 or A.D. 776. So the destruction of the kingdom may very probably be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century. It may be mentioned in this connection that the dynasty was probably overthrown by an expedition of the Arabs from Sind.[13]

Whether Bappā belonged to the family of the Maitrakas of Valabhī is an important and controversial problem. Mr. C. V. Vaidya believes that 'the Guhila family of Nagada in which Bappā was born was . . . really connected with the Maitraka family of Valabhī'.[14] But unfortunately he gives us no reason for this belief, except the implication that local tradition appears to him as justified by historical parallels. At the same time, however, he seems to have a lurking suspicion that this connection may 'be looked upon as concocted by bards of the eighth and later centuries'.

'The traditional account given by Tod tracing the descent of the Rāṇā's family from Śīlāditya, the last prince of Valabhi, does not stand the test of modern epigraphic knowledge.'[15] The truth of this statement will be revealed if we compare and co-ordinate the facts disclosed by certain inscriptions. As we have seen, Śīlāditya VII, the last prince of Valabhī, was alive in A.D. 776. On the other hand, there is an inscription to show that Śīla, a king of the Guhiot dynasty, lived in V.S. 703 or A.D. 646. Mr. Vaidya admits this when he says that Śīla's inscription of the seventh century has been found.[16] The Rāṇpur, Achalgaḍh, Chitorgaḍh and Āṭapura inscriptions distinctly show that Śīla was five generations removed from Guhadatta or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty. Guhadatta, therefore, must be carried to the middle of the sixth century, allowing roughly twenty years for each generation. Thus it was quite impossible for him to be descended from Śīlāditya VII.

---

[9] N. Ray, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 460.
Smith, Early History of India, 1924, p. 332.
C. M. Duff, Chronology of India, pp. 36, 67.

[10] 'It has been suggested that the name is a reminiscence of the connexion of . . . . . Kanishka with Gujrat and Kathiawad'.—Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 1, Part I, p. 101. This suggestion seems to have no historical evidence in its support.

[11] N. Ray, Smith and Duff, as cited above.

[12] Indian Antiquary, 1872, Vol. I, p. 130.

[13] Duff, p. 308. Cf. Crooke, Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 254, note. N. Ray, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, pp. 466-7.

[14] Vol. II, p. 338.

[15] Bhandarkar, 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

It may be argued, however, that the Guhilot princes may have been descended from another Valabhī prince of an earlier date. Mr. Vaidya does not expressly say so; but it seems that he is somewhat inclined to favour such an idea when he speaks of the 'connection of Bappā's family with the royal family of Valabhī which was *then* ruling'.[17] But there is no evidence to substantiate such an assumption, and we are not justified in pushing a legend so far.

Prof. Bhandarkar expresses the view that 'the Mewar and Valabhi dynasties were somehow connected'. He holds that the Guhilots were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas were Maitrakas; and therefore the Mewar and Valabhi dynasties belonged to the same foreign tribe.[18] This theory will be noticed in detail later on. But it is clear that there is no evidence to prove that the Guhilot princes were descended from the Valabhī *princes*.

III

The next controversial question which demands our consideration is—Was Bappā a brāhmaṇa? The orthodox view of the Aryan origin of the Rājputs has been revived by Pandit G. H. Ojha and Mr. Vaidya. As they have employed historical arguments in support of their contention, we shall do well to examine them carefully.

As we have seen above, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar holds[19] that the Guhilots were originally Nāgar brāhmaṇas. This theory, indeed, now holds the ground, and it may be said that the great majority of scholars have accepted it.[20] Some of his arguments,[21] therefore, are reproduced below.

---

[16] Vol. II, p. 78.

[17] Vol. III, p. 338. As we shall notice later on, Mr. Vaidya identifies Bappā with Guhadatta, and thinks that Śīla, whose date is referred to above, must be an *ancestor* of Bappā (pp. 342, 78).

[18], [19] Paper on the 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

[20] Crooke, Introduction, Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I.

[21] 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

In the first place, certain verses in the Achaleśvara stone inscription (V.S. 1342), Chitorgaḍh stone inscription (V.S. 1331) and the Māmādeva praśasti distinctly show that Bappā was a brāhmaṇa.

Secondly, the Chitorgaḍh inscription calls Bappā a brāhmaṇa who had come from Ānandapura. Now, 'the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar is based on irrefragable' grounds, because it is supported by the Vaḍnagar praśasti of the reign of Kumārapāla, the tradition current among Nāgar brāhmaṇas, the Alīnā charters of A.D. 649 and 656, and many popular stories. Therefore, it is clearly shown that Bappā was a Nāgar brāhmaṇa.

Thirdly, the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha says that Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila race, was a brāhmaṇa belonging to a brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Ānandapura. The same work again tells us that Vijayāditya, the ancestor of Guhadatta, was the ornament of the Nāgara race. These facts lend further support to the above argument, and prove that the Guhilots were known as Nāgar brāhmaṇas in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign.

Fourthly, we gather from the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, the Rasikapriyā (a commentary by Rāṇā Kumbha on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda-kāvyam) and a famous stanza often recited by the brāhmaṇas of Mewar that the gōtra of the Guhilots was Vaijavāpa. Now, 'that Vaijavāpa was one of the gōtras amongst the Nāgaras as early as the thirteenth century can be proved by epigraphic evidence' including the praśastis of Nānāka found at Koḍināra in the Amrelī division of the Baroda State. 'There can be no reasonable doubt that Vaijavāpas are meant to be Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.'

Fifthly, the history of the tradition of the brāhmaṇa origin of the Rāṇās' family is interesting. We have the Achaleśvara inscription of V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) and the Chitorgaḍh inscription dated V.S. 1331 (A.D. 1274). The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya says that this tradition comes from 'the ancient poets' and thereby implies that it must have been current long before Rāṇā Kumbha. Then there are the Ātapura inscription of V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977) and the Chātsū inscription of nearly the same period. Again, 'this origin was not forgotten by the people even to a late period'.[22] The *Khyāt* of Mūtā Neṇsi refers to this tradition and shows that as late as the middle of the seventeenth century it was alive in the memory of the people. A work called *Tawārikh Mālwā*, composed by Munsi

---

[22] Abul Fazl also refers to this tradition. (Ain-i-Akbari, English translation, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 269.) This point has not been noticed by Prof. Bhandarkar.

Karim-ud-dīn in the middle of the nineteenth century, refers to this tradition.

It might seem that this is an invincible array of arguments, which solve the problem once for all. But a very wide difference of opinion with regard to the question has expressed itself. The theory of the Aryan descent of the Rājputs appears to know no death.

Pandit G. H. Ojha is of opinion that Bappā was a Kshatriya and not a brāhmaṇa, and that he was a solar race Kshatriya.[23] He relies, in the first place, on the disc of the sun found on the obverse of a golden coin which he ascribes to Bappā. Secondly, the expression 'Raghuvaṁśa-kīrtipiśunāḥ' in the Naravāhana inscription of V.S. 1028 is, according to him, a decisive proof that the Guhilots belonged to the solar race.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive. With regard to the first point, Mr. S. C. Dutt has shown that it is very difficult to accept that particular coin as a genuine one issued by Bappā.[24] Even if we agree with Pandit Ojha in ascribing the coin to Bappā, it is clear that a mere disc of the sun found in only one coin cannot be accepted as a decisive proof in favour of the solar descent of the Guhilots. The second point, however, is more important. We must agree with Mr. Vaidya[25] that 'Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[26] has..... omitted to take into consideration the word Raghuvaṁśa'. We may even accept his interpretation of the Naravāhana inscription and hold with him that 'as early as the Naravāhana inscription .... the (Guhila) vaṁśa was ... known as Raghuvaṁśa'. But this only shows that in the later part of the tenth century A.D. the Guhilots had begun to advance the claim that they were Kshatriyas of the solar race. Against this we know the fact that the tradition of their brāhmaṇa origin was current during the whole period from 977 A.D. to the middle of the nineteenth century. Pandit Ojha has not been able to disprove the authenticity of the verses relating to this tradition in the Achaleśvara and Chitorgaḍh inscriptions and in the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya. It is, therefore, impossible to prefer the Naravāhana inscription to all other epigraphic, literary and traditional accounts.

Mr. Vaidya has tried to vanquish Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments with great skill and knowledge. He is a champion of the solar kshatriya origin of the Guhilots. It is necessary to examine his points in detail.

---

[23] Cf. Vaidya, Vol. II, pp. 332-3.

[24] Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

[25] Vol. II, p. 333.

[26] Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

First, he holds that the Chitor and Abu inscriptions must be rejected on the strength of the earlier Naravāhana inscription and the gold coin attributed to Bappā.

Secondly, he does not accept Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Chātsū inscription. There he finds no implication to the effect that Bhatripatta (a Guhilot prince) was a brāhmaṇa.

Thirdly, during that period brāhmaṇas could marry Kshatriya wives and their progeny was in that case treated as a Kshatriya. So even if Bappā was a brāhmaṇa, that could not make the whole Guhilot family a brāhmaṇa family.

Fourthly, he thinks that Ānandapura in the Ātapura inscription means the town of Nāgahrada and not Vaḍnagar. So a brāhmaṇa coming from Ānandapura need not have been a Nāgar brāhmaṇa. The word ' Mahīdeva ' in the same inscription means a king and not, as Prof. Bhandarkar says, a brāhmaṇa.[27]

Fifthly, ' there is no contemporary evidence to show that Bappā Rāwal was a Nāgar Brahmin '.[28]

It is not very difficult to meet these arguments. With regard to the first point, we have already seen that the Naravāhana inscription does not deserve so much importance as Pandit Ojha and Mr. Vaidya attach to it. The value of the gold coin has also been examined. Secondly, it is true that if we take the Chātsū inscription as an isolated record, we do not find in it any distinct statement regarding the brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilots. But we have seen that there are other inscriptions which explicitly mention them as brāhmaṇas, and it is clear that indirect references in the Chātsū inscription should be interpreted in conformity with those statements. Mr. Vaidya's third argument is a novel and interesting one. He has not given us any conclusive evidence to show that the issue of a brāhmaṇa father and a kshatriya mother was regarded as a kshatriya. But, even if we concede this point, he does not point out definitely how this principle worked with regard to the Guhilot dynasty. Mr. Vaidya's contention harmonizes the two traditions which existed side by side—one about the brāhmaṇa origin and another about the kshatriya origin ; but it is entirely based on supposition. Moreover, if Mr. Vaidya admits that Bappā was a brāhmaṇa, he is led to admit the foreign origin of the Guhilots, because, as we shall see, his arguments that Bappā was not a *Nāgar* brāhmaṇa and that Nāgar brāhmaṇas were not foreigners do not stand. Fourthly, the evidences which Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced to justify the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar are decisive. Even Pandit Ojha agrees with him and holds that Ānandapura brāhmaṇa means Nāgar brāhmaṇa. The real meaning of the word 'Mahīdeva' (that is, brāhmaṇa) is clear from this. Lastly, it is true that 'there is no contemporary evidence to show that Bappā Rāwal was a Nāgar Brahmin'. But it is also true that there is no contemporary evidence to show that he was *not* a Nāgar brāhmaṇa. When we have only later evidences at our disposal, we must accept the preponderance of views among them. It will be seen that Mr. Vaidya has nothing to say about Prof. Bhandarkar's point about the gōtra of the Guhilots.

---

[27] All these points are elaborated in Vol. II, pp. 332–7.

[28] Vol. II, p. 84.

From all these considerations we are led to the conclusion that the Guhilots were originally Nāgar brāhmaṇas. It is necessary now to see whether they were really foreigners, that is, whether Prof. Bhandarkar's opinion that 'the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas were Maitrakas who . . . were a foreign race'[29] is correct. Mr. Vaidya says that 'nobody will agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in holding that Mitra is another name of Mihara and, therefore, of Mer, the well-known outcast people of Kathiawar'.[30] He considers it unnecessary 'to write a note on this subject refuting the flimsy arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar and show that Nāgars are not Mers'. It is true that Dr. Bhandarkar's arguments about this point are not very strong. But his suggestions are plausible, and considering the circumstantial facts and the cumulative effect of other evidences, we may tentatively adhere to his conclusion.

We may refer in passing to Tod's view about the 'alleged Persian extraction of the Rāṇās of Mewar'.[31] Abul Fazl, the only authority who mentions this point, says that the Rana 'pretends a descent from Noshirwān the Just'.[32] Tod deems 'it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any male branch of the Persian house', but he 'would not equally assert' that the Rāṇās may not have been descended from a female branch of the Sassanians. Crooke says, 'There is no real evidence of the Persian descent of the Rāṇās'.[33]

IV

We are now concerned with the problem of chronology. The dates of Bappā's birth, accession and abdication must now be considered.

---

[29] 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

[30] Vol. II, p. 84.

[31] Tod, Vol. I, Annals of Mewar, Chap. III.

[32] Ain-i-Akbari, English translation, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

[33] Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 278, note.

According to Tod,[34] Bappā was born in V.S. 769 (A.D. 713), he occupied Chitor in V.S. 784 (A.D. 728) and abdicated in V.S. 820 (A.D. 764). The domestic annals give the year 191 as the date of Bappā's birth; and relying on certain Jain annals Tod has concluded that this date is counted from the year of the sack of Valabhī. Bappā is said to have been 15 years of age when he ascended the throne of Chitor; so his accession must be placed in 728 A.D. We have epigraphic evidence to show that the Mori dynasty was reigning in Chitor in V.S. 770 (A.D. 714). Tradition gives V.S. 820 (A.D. 764) as the date of Bappā's abdication.

It is superfluous to add that we must be very cautious about this account. The unreliability of the sources of Tod's information raises a suspicion about the historical value of his dates. It is absurd that Bappā ascended the throne of Chitor at the tender age of 15, for we know that his accession was an usurpation and most probably had violence at its back. We must, therefore, turn to other available pieces of evidence.

Pandit G. H. Ojha is of opinion that Bappā abdicated in 753. The learned scholar infers that he could not have ascended the throne of Chitor earlier than 713, the date of the inscription of Rājā Mān, the Mori prince of Chitor. So Bappā's life may be held to have extended roughly over the first half of the eighth century. Pandit Ojha places his birth about 712 and his accession about 734.

This view has been criticized by Mr. Vaidya.[35] He tries to refute Pandit Ojha's arguments by various details, and finally takes shelter of the excuse that the dates given by him do not fit in with the tradition that Bappā ruled long and abdicated at old age.

We may now refer to Mr. Vaidya's own views. He holds that the traditional date of Bappā's abdication (V.S. 820=A.D. 763) seems compatible with Rājā Mān Mori's inscription dated in V.S. 770 (A.D. 713). Bappā's accession is, therefore, to be placed between A.D. 763 and A.D. 713. He thinks that the Arab incursion on the Mori kingdom must have taken place sometime before the date of the Navasāri inscription (738 A.D.). As Bappā fought as the general of the Mori prince during this event, his own accession to the throne of Chitor may be placed about 740 A.D. or even earlier, about 730 A.D. If Bappā was comparatively young at his accession, his birth may be placed about 700 A.D.

According to Dr. Bhandarkar,[36] two Ekaliṅga-māhātmyas composed during the reigns of Rāṇā Kumbha and his son Rāṇā Rāyamalla give V.S. 810 as Bappā's date and indicate that 'this was the year of his bestowing the royalty on his son and becoming an ascetic'. The learned professor is of the opinion that this date (V.S. 810=A.D. 753) for Bappā 'deserves credence'.

---

[34] Rajasthan, Vol. I, pp. 187-8.

[35] Vol. II, pp. 338–42, 75.

[36] 'Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra', Indian Antiquary, 1910.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is no substantial difference of opinion among these scholars about Bappā's dates. There is disagreement with regard to the dates of particular events; but it is agreed that Bappā's life may be taken to have roughly covered the first half of the eighth century A.D. This proposition must be taken as a tolerable background for the reconstruction of history. We may only expect that some epigraphic or numismatic evidence will be discovered in future and will set at rest all uncertain controversies and vague speculations.

V

We now come to discuss the all-important question of Bappā's place in the genealogy of the Guhilots.

The word Bappā requires an explanation. It is clear that it is not a proper name, though Mr. Vaidya takes it to be so.[37] Tod remarks, 'Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a "child"'.[38] Crooke suggests that the word is the old Prākrit form of 'bāp' and means 'father'.[39] Mr. Vaidya himself admits that the word 'originally means father'.[40] Pandit G. H. Ojha also thinks that the term and its variations originally signified 'father' and were later on used in a sense of reverence.[41]

The title 'Rāwal' is generally associated with Bappā. There is a considerable element of difficulty and uncertainly with regard to the true sense of this term. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that 'Rāwal' means an ascetic of a particular sect and Bappā is so called because he belonged to that sect.[42] Mr. Vaidya accepts his proposition that 'Bappā sometimes means a Bāvā or recluse', but holds that 'Rāwal' means a small Rāo or prince.[43] Crooke suggests that 'Rāwal' comes from the Sanskrit word 'rājakula' which means royal family

---

[37] Vol. II, p. 76.

[38] Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 182, note.

[39] Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 261, note.

[40] Vol. II, p. 76.

[41] Cf. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

[42] Indian Antiquary, 1910 (Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra).

[43] Vol. II, pp. 72, 76.

—a rather ingenious explanation.[44] Now, it is a fact that the earlier kings of Chitor were known as Rāwals and the later kings from Hāmīr were called Rāṇās. The Rāyāsāgar inscription implies this by stating that there were 26 Rāwals in all from Bappā. Abul Fazl also remarks, 'The chief of the state was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Ráṇá'.[45] Tod says that Rahup, a Guhilot prince of the early thirteenth century, defeated the 'Purihar prince of Mundore' who was called Rāṇā, and himself assumed that title.[46] But, as we shall see, the Mewar family was divided into two branches in the end of the twelfth century; the one with the title of Rāwal ruled at Chitor and the other with the title of Rāṇā ruled at Sesoda. After 'Alā-ud-dīn's capture of Chitor the younger branch, the Rāṇās, became the head of the Guhilot clan. Mr. Vaidya remarks, 'The later kings were called Rāṇās as they came from a minor branch, Rāṇā meaning a subordinate king as in Himalayan states. But the name Rāṇā, being taken by the illustrious kings of Udepur, now bears a higher meaning in Rajputana.'[47]

Let us now turn to the question of Bappā's place in the genealogy of the Guhilots. We have seen that Bappā is not a proper name; it is only a title of honour. As Dr. Bhandarkar points out, 'Bappa does not appear to be the name of a merely legendary or a later prince'.[48] With what early prince is he to be identified?

It is necessary to mention at the outset that we have four very important inscriptions giving the early genealogy of the Guhilot princes. These are—the Āṭapura inscription (V.S. 1034=A.D. 977), the Chitorgaḍh inscription (V.S. 1331=A.D. 1274), the Achalgaḍh inscription (V.S. 1342=A.D. 1285) and the Rāṇpur inscription (V.S. 1496=A.D. 1439). Of these, the Āṭapura inscription of 977 A.D. (of a Guhilot prince named Śaktikumāra) is the earliest and the completest record. It is, therefore, the most authoritative and useful source for our purpose. The genealogy of the Guhilots as given in these inscriptions is reproduced here.

---

[44] Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 249, note.

[45] Ain-i-Akbari, English Translation by Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

[46] Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 211.

[47] Vol. III, p. 155, note.

[48] 'The Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra', Indian Antiquary, 1910.

	Āṭapura list	Chitorgaḍh list	Achalgaḍh list	Rāṇpur list
		Bappā	Bappā	Bappa.
(1)	Guhadatta	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila.
(2)	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja.
(3)	Mahendra (I)	....	....	....
(4)	Naga	....	....	....
(5)	Śīla	Śīla	Śīla	Śīla.
(6)	Aparājita	....	....	....
(7)	Mahendra (II)	....	....	....
(8)	Kālabhoja	Kālabhoja	Kālabhoja	Kālabhoja
(9)	Khommāna (I)	....	....	....
(10)	Mattaṭa	Mattaṭa	....	....
(11)	Bhartripatta (I)	Bhartribhata	Bhartribhaṭa	Bhartribhaṭa.
(12)	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha.
(13)	Khommāna (II)	....	....	....
(14)	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	Mahāyika	Mahāyaka.
(15)	Khommāna (III)	Khummāna	Khummāna	Khummāna.
(16)	Bhartripatta (II)	....	....	....
(17)	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa.
(18)	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	Naravāhana.
(19)	Śālivāhana	....	....	....
(20)	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra.

We have already seen that Bappā's life covered the first half of the eighth century A.D. Now, we have a few dates from epigraphic evidence—Śīla, V.S. 703 (A.D. 646); Apārajita, V.S. 718 (A.D. 661); Allaṭa, V.S. 1008 and 1010 (A.D. 951, 953); Naravāhana, V.S. 1028 (A.D. 971); and Śaktikumāra, V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977). These are the data on which our attempt at identifying Bappā with any of the princes named in the Āṭapura list must be based.

Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Bappā with Khommāna I and his argument[49] may be thus summed up: The date for Aparājita being 661 A.D. and for Allaṭa 953 A.D., we have 292 years for 12 generations. Thus we get an average of 24$\frac{1}{3}$ years to each generation. The difference between 753 A.D., the date of Bappā, and 661 A.D., the date of Aparājita, is 92 years. Bappā has, therefore to be placed in the fourth generation from Aparājita. So he must be identified with Khommāna I.

Pandit G. H. Ojha identifies Bappā with Kālabhoja. He objects to Dr. Bhandarkar's view principally on two grounds: first, traditions in Mewar describe Khommāna as Bappā's son; secondly, Dr. Bhandarkar's average of 24 years for each reign is questionable.

---

[49] Indian Antiquary, 1910.

Prof. S. Dutt,[50] however, points out the futility of these arguments. He shows that there are conflicting traditions, some even identifying Bappā with Śīla. He also says that Dr. Bhandarkar's calculation of 24 years as an average is based upon an accurate examination of the period. Prof. Dutt further gives three good reasons in support of Dr. Bhandarkar's view. In the first place, Bappā having acquired celebrity by his conquest of Chitor, it was natural that later rulers should feel pride in describing themselves as his descendants. Secondly, inscriptions of the fifteenth century (like the Rāṇpur inscription of 1439 A.D.) describe the Rāṇās as the descendants of Bappā, but in earlier inscriptions (like the Hastikundi inscription of 996 A.D. and the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D.) the rulers of Mewar often describe themselves as descendants of Khommāna. Thirdly, of the first twenty princes of the dynasty as many as three bore the name of Khommāna, and a big historical poem dealing with the exploits of the Guhilots is known as 'Khommāna Rāsā'. The cumulative effect of all these evidences is to prove that Bappā is really to be identified with Khommāna I.

It remains to dispose of the contention of Mr. Vaidya that Bappā is to be identified with Guhadatta, the first name mentioned in the Āṭapura inscription.[51] This view, indeed, is quite absurd on the face of it, and we would be glad if Mr. Vaidya's zeal for supporting orthodox tradition had not led him to ignore all epigraphic, literary and circumstantial evidences. We know that Śīla and Aparājita, the fifth and sixth descendants of Guhadatta, lived in 646 A.D. and 661 A.D. respectively. The date of Guhadatta must, therefore, lie in the earlier part of the sixth century. How, then, can he be identified with Bappā who, according to Mr. Vaidya himself, was born about 700 A.D.? The learned author tries to explain this difficulty by saying that 'the two kings Śīla and Aparājita whose inscriptions of the seventh century have been found must be considered to be Bappā's ancestors', and that these names recurring in the Ātpur new copy are 'descendants having the same names'. This assertion, with no evidence to support it, will convince nobody. Again, if Bappā is identified with Guhadatta, we have twenty generations from him to Śaktikumāra. Then we get 277 years for 20 generations, because Bappā, says Mr. Vaidya, was born about 700 A.D. and the date of the Aṭapura inscription of Śaktikumāra is 977 A.D. This gives us an average of about 14 years for each generation—an absurd estimate. Mr. Vaidya has tried to solve this difficulty by saying that 'it may be that this line of kings had a specially short average or it may be that the Āṭapura inscription repeats some kings wrongly or brings together kings of different branches who were contemporaries'. But here he clearly transgresses the limits of possibility and without adducing any concrete example doubts the statements of the Āṭapura inscription the authenticity of which has been confirmed by all the inscriptions hitherto discovered. Mr. Vaidya makes much of 'tradition'; but what does 'tradition' really mean? Pandit Ojha admits that there are many conflicting traditions, some identifying Bappā with Śila and some with Kālabhoja for example. This clearly shows that traditions cannot be cited as historical evidence in deciding this point. Mr. Vaidya remarks that if Bappā is not identified with Guhadatta, 'the memorable exploit of Bappā in founding an independent kingdom of Chitod goes not to the founder of the family but to a descendant many degrees below!!!' His meaning is not quite clear. The supporters of the identification of Bappā with Khommāna I believe that 'the memorable exploit of Bappā in founding an independent kingdom of Chitod' does go to Bappā and not 'to a descendant many degrees below'. According to them, the ancestors of Bappā, that is, Khommāna I, from Guhadatta down to Kālabhoja were not princes of Chitor. The tradition that Bappā was the founder of the family really means that he established the family in Chitor, not that he was the very first man in the family. He is the founder of the family in the same sense as Śivajī was the founder of his family. In a word, he was the founder of the greatness of the family. This is the most natural interpretation of the epithet 'Guhilagōtranarendrachandra' in the Naravāhana inscription of 971 A.D. This explanation is supported by the fact that, as we have seen, in earlier inscriptions the princes of Mewar describe themselves as descendants of Khommāna. Mr. Vaidya's view, therefore, is entirely based on misconceptions.

---

[50] Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

[51] Vol. II, pp. 78, 86, 342–8.

VI

We have already given the genealogy of the Guhilot princes from the earliest times to almost the close of the tenth century A.D. We now proceed, therefore, to discuss the available data in order to reconstruct an outline of their history during this period.

From the difficulty in collecting the genealogy and chronology of this dynasty which we have experienced, it must have become apparent that the enumeration of events and achievements must be more difficult still. Indeed, there is only one central event of importance—the contest with the Muhammadans of Sind. Mr. Vaidya well observes, '... the kings of this line, however diverse their fortune, were, each and all, chivalrous and virtuous, lovers of independence and supporters of their . . . faith. Indeed we may say that the sublime character of the hero-god Rama, as a man and a king whom they look upon as their progenitor, still exercises its influence over the princes of this line . . . In fact . . . the Guhilot kings of Chitore fought hard-fought battles with foreigners, so much so that the whole country was strewn with flesh and the meda (fat) of the evil warriors slain and thus acquired the name Medapāta (undoubtedly a poetic fancy suggested by the name Medapāṭa, Prakṛita Mewad, but yet proving the terrible battles which the heroic Rajputs and the equally heroic Arabs fought on this soil).'[52] Tod gives an account of this long-continued and fierce struggle,[53] but the paucity of materials prevents us from examining the historical value of his statements. Every one of Bappā's ancestors—Guhadatta, Bhoja, Mahendra I, Nāga, Śīla, Aparājita, Mahendra II and Kālabhoja—is described in inscriptions as having fought many times against the mlechchhas. Bappā himself is regarded by Mr. Vaidya as 'the Charles Martel of India against the rock of whose valour the eastern tide of Arab conquest was dashed to pieces in India'.[54] Bappā's successors down to Rāṇā Rājasimha of the later seventeenth century were all stern fighters against the enemies of their faith. Indeed, the struggle with the Muhammadans is the central theme in the history of the Guhilots.

7030

Tod has recounted some of the strange legends which have gathered round the life and history of Bappā Rāwal.[55] It is natural that ancient literature and tradition should give us wonderful anecdotes about the achievements of this great hero who is, according to all available versions, the founder of the 'regal splendour' and greatness of the Guhilot dynasty. But, as Hume remarks, 'poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions and use strange liberties with truth when they are the sole historians, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggeration'.

We hear that Bappā 'had his capital at Nāgadā, about twelve miles to the north of the present city of Udaipur . . . he ousted Mān Sing (of the Mori or Maurya clan of Rājputs ruling at Chitore) in 734 and ruled in his stead taking the title of Rāwal. Bāpā was the real founder of the state, for while his predecessors enjoyed limited possession in the wild region bordering on the Arāvallīs in the west and south-west, he extended his possessions to the east by seizing Chitor and the neighbouring territory'.[56] This is the minimum uncontroversial estimate of Bappā Rāwal's achievements.

---

[52] Vol. II, pp. 77, 79.
[53] Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar, Chap. IV.
[54] Vol. II, p. 72.
[55] Rajasthan, Vol. I, Annals of Mewar, Chs. II, IV.

We may well believe that Bappā's predecessors were small local princes. In his youth he was a 'prince among Bhils with whom he freely associated and whom he disciplined and engaged in service for his own preferment'. The Navasāri Chaulukya grant [57] (739-40 A.D.) tells us that the Arabs had attacked the Maurya, who may be identified with the Mori king of Chitor. An inscription of Mān, a Mori prince of Chitor, is dated in 713 A.D. There is reason to believe that the Arab invasion referred to in the above grant took place in his reign. We may accept Mr. Vaidya's suggestion that Bappā was probably a Sāmanta of that king.[58] At any rate, it appears practically certain that Bappā was the leader of the Mori forces opposed to the Arabs and distinguished himself by a great victory. This exploit must have given him a great position in the court of the Mori king. Abul Fazl remarks that 'his daring was so conspicuous that he became in favour with the Rājā and a trusted minister of state'.[59]

The next step was Bappā's accession to the throne of Chitor. How he occupied Chitor is almost an insoluble problem. According to Tod, the revolted sardars of Chitor deposed the Mori king and placed the crown on Bappā's head.[60] Mr. Vaidya does not believe in this tradition. He thinks that the then Mori king died childless and Bappā became the king of Chitor.[61] Abul Fazl's version is this: 'On the death of the Rájá, his four nephews disputed the succession, but they eventually decided to resign their pretensions in favour of Bápa and to acknowledge his authority. Bápa, however, declined their offer. It happened one day that the finger of one of these four brothers began to bleed, and he drew with the blood the ceremonial mark of installation on the forehead of Bápa and the others also concurred in accepting his elevation. He then assumed the sovereignty . . . . The ungrateful monarch put the four brothers to death.' [62] It is not possible to come to any conclusion regarding the exact nature of the dynastic revolution.

Bappā 'had a numerous progeny' and died at a very ripe old age. Nothing else is definitely known about his political life.

---

[56] Erskine, Rajputana Gazetteer, 1908, Vol. 2A, p. 14.

[57] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 465.

[58] Vol. II, p. 73.

[59] Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

[60] Rajasthan, Vol. I, pp. 185-6.

[61] Vol. II, pp. 73-4.

[62] Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, pp. 268-9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

'The close of Bappa's career', says Tod, 'is the strangest part of the legend ..... Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorassan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the "barbarians", by whom he had a numerous offspring.'[63] It is impossible to accept this story. Crooke says, '... the whole story is a mere legend, a tale like that of the mysterious disappearance of Romulus and other kings'.[64] 'It has been suggested that his legend is mixed up with that of Bappa or Śaila of Valabhī, the story of his retreat to Irāṇ representing the latter being carried as a captive to Mansūra on the fall of Valabhi ......'[65] Tradition records that in his old age Bappā abdicated in favour of his son and became a Śaivite recluse. The Ekaliṅga inscription of 971 A.D. supports the latter statement.[66]

It is very probable that the Guhilots were vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.[67] Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that a Guhilot prince named Harsharāja was a vassal of Bhoja, the great Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, and fought many times on his behalf.[68] We do not, however, find this name in any of the inscriptions which give genealogical information. But as Bhoja's reign extended from about 840 to 890 A.D.,[69] we may suppose that either Mahāyaka or Khommāna III might have been the Guhilot prince here referred to, although there is no positive evidence to support this assumption. The Nilgunda inscription of Amoghavarsha I (866 A.D.)[70] states that the Rāstrakūta monarch conquered the hill fort of Chitrakūta, which has been identified with Chitor by Mr. Vaidya and Dr. H. C. Ray (though Mr. R. D. Banerjee identified it with the ancient Chitrakūta referred to in the Rāmāyana). It was Bhartripatta II who probably shook off the allegiance of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The Āṭapura inscription describes him as 'the ornament of the three worlds' and says that he married a princess named Mahālakshmī of the Rāstrakūta dynasty.[71] It is possible that this matrimonial alliance indicated the reconciliation of the former vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras with their hereditary enemies, the Rāstrakūtas. From this time onwards the history of the Guhilots is closely connected with other Rājput princes. Munja-rāja, the Paramāra king of Malwa (973–97 A.D.), is believed to have attacked Mewar and ruled it for a time.[72] The Guhilots were assisted by the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and epigraphic evidence shows that matrimonial alliances were concluded between these two dynasties.[73] The Āṭapura inscription says that Allata married Hariyadevī, daughter of a Hūṇa prince. From the same source we learn that Naravāhana's queen was of the Chāhamāna family and a daughter of Jejaya. The Chitorgaḍh inscription tells us that Śaktikumāra destroyed the enemies of religion, terrible like daityas. This, as Mr. Vaidya suggests,[74] is a plain reference to the Muhammadans. Śaktikumāra's known date is 977 A.D., the date of the Āṭapura inscription. It is quite possible, therefore, that he might have joined Jayapāl, king of Lahore, against Sabuktagin about 989 A.D.

---

[63] Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 186.

[64] Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 268, note.

[65] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 94, note 2.

[66] D. R. Bhandarkar, Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII.

[67] Prof. S. Dutt, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 798.

[68] Gurjara-Pratihāras.

[69] *Ibid.*, and Smith, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

[70] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 100.

[71] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 30ff.

These facts clearly indicate that the Guhilots were no longer small local princes in the hilly regions of Rājputānā. They had risen in power and prestige and had begun to play a part in the international politics of their age.[75]

---

[72] S. Dutt, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 798.

[73] Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, 1914.

[74] Vol. III, p. 154.

[75] The writer is specially indebted to Prof. S. C. Dutt of St. Paul's College and Calcutta University. This article was written in 1931 (when the writer was a Post-Graduate student) at Prof. Dutt's suggestion, and it was kindly revised by him. It must not be supposed that he agrees with all the conclusions advanced here.

DOMESTIC RITES AND RITUALS

By Girija Prasanna Majumdar

Gṛhyāṇi is the term used in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra to denote all domestic rites and rituals. Gṛhyāṇi is the same expression as *gṛhya karmāni* which is met with in the text of Gobhila. Śāṅkhyāyana denotes the same set of domestic rites and rituals by the expression *pākayajña*, while Pāraskara speaks of them as *gṛhya-sthālī-pākānaṃ karma*. Each of these four terms has been used to denote the subjects treated of in a number of Gṛhya Sūtras forming one of the three important divisions of the ancient Sūtra literature of the Brahmins. In the opinion of Oldenberg the term *Pākayajña* or *Gṛhya-sthālī-pāka* is rather too narrow, since 'it does not include the offerings of sacrificial butter which constituted a great number of ceremonies'.[1]

The Domestic Rites and Rituals, as prescribed and codified in the Gṛhyasūtras are popularly known among the Hindus as *karmas* and *saṁskāras*. As karmas they are cherished as programmes of duty to be observed by all good householders.

The question arises: Why are these rites and rituals called Saṁskāras? A satisfactory answer to this question is furnished in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI, 5, 1). The Brāhmaṇa offers the following definition of Saṃskāras: *Chandomayaṃ vā etair yajamāna ātmānaṃ saṁskurute*. By these the devotee so fashions himself as to render it *chandomaya* or rythmical. Self-building (*ātmasaṁskritiḥ*)[2] is indeed the ulterior object of the saṁskāras. Accordingly the saṁskāras are to be regarded as creations of art (*śilpa*). Art in the human sense is to be understood as meaning 'an imitation of a creation of Art Divine (i.e. of Nature). The figures of elephant, the figurations in brass, drapery and gold, and the mule-yoked chariots (made by human hand) are (examples of) Art Human.'[3] According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, 2, 1, 5): *Yad vai pratirūpaṃ tac chilpam*: 'Whatever is facsimile is Art'.

Going by this definition we are to understand that the saṁskāra is a work of Art Human produced in imitation (*anukritiḥ*) of a work of Art Divine (*devaśilpa*). By implication, the best work of art human is that which is produced in the best possible imitation of a work of Art Divine. The form of an art can be considered excellent, or super-excellent if it is intended to be a best possible copy of a living model supplied by Nature. The imitation, one may say, is ape. But the meaning of imitation (*anukritiḥ*) as a criterion of a work of art in the Brāhmaṇas, may be far deeper than what appears at first sight. On this head we have the following comment from Dr. Barua: 'The point is concerned with the "fashioning of self" (*ātmasaṁskritiḥ*), the art of self-building. The question is of bringing a son into the world in a full-fledged form which is nothing but an art of reproducing one's own self as a separate individual who will stand out as a perfect model of bodily form and mental constitution, endowed with harmony and intelligence .... the fashioning of semen (*retaḥ*) as the seed of life is in the hands of creative power of the Divine Being working in and through Nature, while imparting of certain specific characters to it in its passage through the womb is possible on the part of the parents. The substance with potentialities or possible forms is given as a work of Art Divine, and the methodical realization of those possibilities is the achievement of human skill and intelligence. The text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa would have us understand that a purely æsthetic factor (e.g. the chanting of select hymns) may prove of a great psychical effect in producing the required artistic mood. The definition implied is: Art consists in intelligent working up a desired form on a natural material, making manifest what is hidden or potential.'[1]

---

[1] S.B.E., Vol. 30, p. xxiii.

[2] Cf. संस्कारं विना देवि देहशुद्धिर्न जायते ।
ना संस्कृतोऽधिकारी स्यात् दैवे पैत्र्ये च कर्मणि । महानिर्वाणतन्त्र

[3] Barua, *Indian Culture*, I, i, p. 119.

The significance of the term *karma* is equally deep, if not deeper still and this may be realized from the text of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka in which the entire process of the cosmos, starting from the creative will of Prajāpati, the Lord of Beings, is said to reach its consummation in Brahma and Karma, both together denoting the final stage of evolution of the universe of life as a self-acting system, guided by supreme intelligence and endowed with harmony throughout.[2]

In one aspect the *gṛhyāṇi* or domestic saṁskāras are nothing but what are called *maṅgalas* in Buddhism. The *maṅgalas* as superstitious rites are repudiated in some of the Pali texts, as also in some of the edicts of Aśoka. King Aśoka in his ninth Rock Edict says: There are men who perform the auspicious rites of a superior or inferior kind, at the time of illness, or at the time of the marriage of sons and daughters, or for the birth of sons or progeny, or at the time of setting out on a journey. On these and such other occasions the people perform the auspicious rites of various descriptions, especially, the women perform many and diverse auspicious rites of lesser or no importance.[1]

---

[1] *Indian Culture*, I, i, pp. 119-120; see also A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 86; for the comprehensive meaning of the term 'imitation' see Coomarasvamy.

[2] Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Philosophy, p. 63.

In Pali the word *maṅgala* is used to mean victory or success in contradistinction to *parābhava*,[2] meaning defeat. The Maṅgala Sutta was worn on the person of a warrior, generally on the wrist of the hand, a sanctified piece of thread serving as a means of safety and protection.[3] Thus another meaning of the word *maṅgala* is just safety or well-being (*sotthi*, *svasti*). In the very opening stanza of the Pali Maṅgala Sutta which was promulgated almost verbatim by Aśoka in two of his Edicts (IX and XI) [4] we are told that many gods and men thought out, in all ages, the subject of maṅgalas and yet could not come to any final decision about it. The matter was ultimately referred to the Buddha who in returning an answer to the question set out a programme of duty to be followed by a good householder.[5] All that is set out in the Maṅgala Sutta is nothing but a metrical summary of the whole duty of a noble householder sketched in a prose discourse, called the Singālavāda Sutta.[6] The duties mentioned either in the Maṅgala Sutta or in the Singālavāda contained nothing which cannot be brought within the scope of the Gṛhya Sūtras.

The difference between the Gṛhya scheme and the Buddhist Maṅgala is one between symbolism and its meaning. This is clearly brought out in the Singālavāda Sutta in which the discourse has been set out in the ready-made symbolical scheme. A young householder used to salute the six quarters in the early morning just after his bath and before he changed his clothes out of respect for the dying word or behest of his father without any ado to grasp its meaning. Accepting the symbolical scheme implied in the

---

[1] Inscriptions of Aśoka, Rock Edict, IX : asti jano ucāvacaṃ maṅgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā ābāha-vīvāhesu vā putralābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā. Etamhi ca añamhi ca jano ucāvacaṃ maṅgalaṃ karote. Eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukaṃ ca bahuvidhaṃ ca chudaṃ ca nirarthaṃ ca maṅgalaṃ karote. Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 30-31.

[2] Matriculation Pali Selection, Notes, p. 101 ; University of Calcutta.

[3] The Conquest of Ceylon : Suttañ ca tesaṁ hatthesu laggetvā, etc. A Pāli Reader by D. Anderson, Part I, pp. 110-111 ; Lond., 1901.

[4] The Maṅgala Sutta and the Rock Edicts of Aśoka—S. L. Mitra, Proc. 2nd Orient. Conf., Cal., 1922.

[5] Khuddaka-Pāṭha (Ed. Smith), p. 3, Maṅgala Sutta : Bahū devā manussā ca maṅgalāni acintayuṃ । ākaṃkhamānā sotthānaṃ brūhi maṅgalaṃ uttamaṃ ॥

[6] Dīgha Nikāya, XXXI, Vol. III, pp. 180–193, P.T.S.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

daily practice of the young householder the Buddha tried to deepen its significance by saying: 'This, O, son of the householder! is not verily the mode of saluting the six quarters in accordance with the approved discipline of the cultured people (*ariyassa vinaye*). According to that discipline, the six quarters are the six persons to whom a householder holds some indispensable duties and obligations, the parents representing the eastern quarter (*puratthima*); the teachers, the southern; the family, the western; the friends and relations, the northern; the slaves and servants the nadir (*heṭṭhima*) and the religious teachers representing the zenith (*uparima*) and the mode of saluting the six quarters consists in the earnest fulfilment of these duties and obligations.' [1]

Similarly in the social background of the maṅgalas set out in the Maṅgala Sutta (sometimes called Mahāmaṅgala Suttanta) and also in the Mahāmaṅgala Jataka (Fausböll No. 453) [2] we have mention of certain superstitious beliefs and practices, which too fall within the scope of the Gṛhyasūtras. The beliefs and practices are distinguished as: (1) *diṭṭha-maṅgala*, belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain sights and the facing of welcome sights and the avoidance of unwelcome sights with that belief; (2) *Suta-maṅgala*, the belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain sounds, and the greeting of welcome sounds and the avoidance of unwelcome sounds in accordance with that belief; and (3) *muta-maṅgala*, the belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain touches and the greeting of welcome touches and the avoidance of unwelcome touches in accordance with that belief.[3]

Even behind these *maṅgalas* or superstitious practices there is an idea of the personal hygiene and well-being of the self. Those sights, sounds and touches are sought to be avoided which offended or affected the moral sensibility of a cultured man or woman. And those sights, sounds and touches were welcomed that might be calculated to be pleasing or agreeable to that moral sense.

---

[1] Text, Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III (P.T.S.), p. 181.

[2] Cambridge English Ed., Vol. IV, pp. 46-47. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, ii, 4. The maṅgalas taught by the Buddha in the Maṅgala Sutta differ in their tone and quality from those propounded by the Bodhisatva in the Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka.

[3] According to the Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka Omens of sight are: A perfectly white bull, a woman with child, a red fish, a jar filled to the brim, new-melted ghee of cow's milk, a new unwashen garment and rice porridge; Omens of sound are: growing, eat, chew, etc.; Omens of touch are—earth, green grass, fresh cowdung, a clean robe, a red fish, gold or silver and food.

Cf. धेनुर्वत्सप्रयुक्ता वृषगजतुरगा दक्षिणावर्त्तवह्निः
दिव्यस्त्री पूर्णकुम्भा द्विजनृपगणिका पुष्पमाला पताका ।
सद्यो मांसं घृतं वा दधि-मधु-रजतं काञ्चनं शुक्लधान्यं
दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा पठित्वा फलमिह लभते मानवो गन्तुकामः ॥

Śuci (purity) and *snāna* (bathing) are the two terms that express together the idea of personal hygiene, bathing serving as a means and purity denoting the result. Of purity and bathing there are two aspects, external and internal. The external aspect is that which finds its expression in words and actions, and the internal aspect (*antara-snāna*) [1] is that which concerns the mind and the mental state, in short, character. Buddhism and such like religions shifted the emphasis from the external modes and means of purity to the internal,[2] while the Gṛhya rites and rituals were devised to serve both as external and as internal modes and means with apparently more emphasis on the side of the external. The Saṁskāras constituted those very rites and rituals which were considered sufficient as a means to the personal hygiene and well-being of a cultured householder.

Poetry and philosophy on the one hand and science and superstition on the other are beautifully intermingled in them. In the words of Barth 'The very ancient and always ingenious and suggestive symbolism which invests the majority of these usages is often of very great beauty ; and from the whole there stands forth the image of a life at once grave and lovable, and which, though bristling somewhat with formalities, is nevertheless serviceably active, and nowise morose or inimical to joyfulness of heart'.[3]

The domestic rites and rituals, as prescribed and codified in the Gṛhyasūtras, were punctiliously observed among the twice-born classes of the Indo-Āryan community. These rites and rituals are observed up till now among all sections of the Hindus. We need not go into the origin of these rites and rituals, we may take it for granted that the Gṛhyasūtras presuppose certain Gṛhya hymns in the Ṛg-Veda which were incorporated in the Atharvan Collection though in altered settings of the Riks, or individual verses, obviously to suit the programme actually followed in the society. We may even go so far as to suggest that it is with the incorporation of those hymns from the Ṛg-Veda that the growing Atharvan Collection was ultimately recognized as a Veda. The Gṛhya hymns in the Ṛg-Veda themselves presuppose the existence of some well-known domestic rites, the hymns serving only to heighten their importance. In connection with each of the rites the Gṛhyasūtras prescribe

---

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, I, Vatthūpama-Sutta (7).

[2] Barua, Gaya and Buddha Gaya, Vol. I, p. 93f.

[3] Barth, The Religions of India, London, 1921.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

recital of certain texts, only the catch-words of which are generally given.

These rites and rituals constitute together certain ceremonies the order and enumeration of which vary with different authorities. The continuity of the Gṛhya texts can be followed through the Dharmasūtras, the Dharma-śāstras, their later commentaries and digests.[1]

---

[1] *Vedic Period.*—Prominence is given to only two ceremonies, namely, marriage and funeral, though a reference to holy rites is being made in R.V., III, 62, 10–12.

Sūtra Period.—The performance of purificatory ceremonies, or Saṁskāras beginning with the Garbhādhāna or the rite of impregnation and ending with the *Antyeṣṭi* or the funeral rite including *Śrāddha* as enumerated in the Gṛhya Sūtras, are many and varied. Their number is more than fifty.

Āśvalāyana prescribes that of these, sixteen are to be performed as occasions for them arise, seven are to be performed once a year, one every month and the rest daily :

नैमित्तिकाः षोडशोक्ताः समुद्वाहावसानकाः ।
सप्तैवाग्रयणाद्याश्च संस्कारा वार्षिका मताः ॥
मासिकं पार्वणं प्रोक्तमशक्तानां तु वार्षिकम् ।
महायज्ञाश्च नित्याः स्युः संध्यावच्चाग्निहोत्रवत् ॥

Hārita, however, divides all these Saṁskāras into two broad groups, Brāhma and Daiva. He also speaks of the merits to be achieved by the performance of such rites :

द्विविधा एव संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो दैवश्च । गर्भाधानादिः स्मार्तो ब्राह्मः । पाकयज्ञा हविर्यज्ञाश्चेति दैवः ॥ ब्राह्मेण संस्कारेण संस्कृतः ऋषीणां सलोकतां गच्छति । दैवेनोत्तरेण संस्कृतो देवानां समानतां सलोकतां गच्छतीति ।

Gautama (VIII, 18–20) enumerates forty Saṁskāras :

गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकर्म्म-नामकरणान्नप्राशन-चौलोपनयनानि चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि स्नानं सहधर्म्मचारिणीसंयोगः पञ्चाणां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानमष्टका पार्वणः श्राद्धं श्रावण्याग्रहायणी-चैत्र्याश्वयुजीति सप्तपाकयज्ञसंस्था अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ चातुर्मास्यान्याग्रयणेष्टिर्निरूढपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्था अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम—उक्थ्यः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽप्तोर्याम इति सप्तसोमसंस्था इत्येते चत्वारिंशत्संस्काराः ॥ इति ।

Of these forty rites the first *fourteen* are occasionals : Garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cuḍākaraṇa, upanayana, snāna, marriage, and four Vedavratas (only the first ten, *daśakarma*, are now in vogue amongst the Hindus of Bengal). The next *five* are Mahāyajñas : Oblations to god, pitṛis, living beings in general, men and ṛṣis ; *seven* are Pākayajñas, or little domestic sacrifices : Aṣṭaka (on the eighth day of four winter months), pārvaṇa (on the days of new and full moon), śrāddha (funeral oblations), śrāvaṇī, agrahāyaṇī, caitrī and aśvayujī (in different months), *seven* are Haviryajñas or iṣṭis : Agnyādheya (setting up of the sacred hearth), agnihotra (daily oblations to three fires), darśapūrṇamāsa (iṣṭis of the new and full moon), agrayaṇa (first fruits of harvest), cāturmāsya (at the beginning of each of the three seasons), nirūḍhapaśubandha (the animal sacrifice) and sautrāmaṇī and the last *seven* are the Soma sacrifices : Agniṣṭoma, atyagniṣṭoma, ukthya, ṣoḍaśin, vājapeya, atirātra and aptoryāma. For a detailed exposition of these rites and rituals see Ind. Stud., X, p. 322 seq.

The setting up of the Gṛhya fire (*gṛhyāgni*) is the essential ceremony, and all the rites and rituals prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras centre round it. The agent who is to perform all these ceremonies

---

Aṅgira mentions twenty-five Saṁskāras in the life of a man :

गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तो बलिरेव च ।
जातकृत्यं नामकर्म्म निष्क्रमोऽन्नाशनं परम् ॥
चौलकर्मोपनयनं तद्व्रतानां चतुष्टयम् ।
स्नानोद्वाहौ चाग्रयणमष्टकाश्च यथायथम् ॥
श्रावण्यामाश्वयुज्यां च मार्गशीर्ष्यां च पार्वणम् ।
उत्सर्गश्चाप्युपाकर्म महायज्ञाश्च नित्यशः ॥

संस्कारा नियताह्येते ब्राह्मणस्य विशेषतः ।
पञ्चविंशति संस्कारैः संस्कृता ये द्विजातयः ।
ते पवित्राश्च योग्याश्च श्राद्धादिषु सुयन्त्रिताः ॥

Vyāsa Saṁhitā recommends sixteen Saṁskāras :

गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्म च ।
नामक्रिया निष्क्रमणमन्नाशनं च वपनक्रिया ॥ १२
कर्णवेधो व्रतादेशो वेदारम्भ-क्रियाविधिः ।
केशान्तस्नानमुद्वाहो विवाहाग्निपरिग्रहः ॥ १४
त्रेताग्निसंग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोडशः स्मृताः ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa also fixes the number at sixteen : गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सीमोन्तोन्नयन-विष्णुबलि·जातकर्म-नामकरण-निष्क्रमणान्नप्राशन-चूड़ोपनयन-वेदव्रत-चतुष्टय-समावर्तन-विवाहाः षोडशसंस्कारा : III, x, Comm. on Śloka 1 ; cf. Gaḍuḍa Pur. 3/23.

Mahānirvāṇa Tantra reduces the number to ten only :

जीवसेकः पुंसवनं सीमन्तोन्नयनं तथा ।
जातनाम्नी निष्क्रमणमन्नाशनमतः परम् ॥
चूडोपनयनोद्वाहाः संस्काराः कथिता दश ॥ ४
शूद्राणां शूद्राभिन्नानामुपवीतं न विद्यते ।
तेषां नवैव संस्कारा द्विजातीनां दश स्मृताः ॥ ५

Pūrva Khaṇdam, Navamullāsa. Manu II, 27, 28—adds to the above list of ten, Keśānta, or godāna (celebrating the day on which the young man first shaves his hair) and pretakarma (funeral obsequies). The above saṁskāras are also prescribed for women without mantras, the only omission being the initiation (Upanayana) which is replaced by marriage. Cf. also Manu II, 66, 67 ; Yājñavalkya, i, 13.

For other references see—The Religions of India by A. Barth (Lond., 1921) ; The Rites of the Twice-Born—Mrs. Sinclair (Lond., 1920) ; Maxmüller—Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen : Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl, Gesellsch ; t. ix ; E. Haas—Die Heirathsgebrüche der alten Inder nach den Gṛhysūtra, with additions by A. Weber, in the Ind. Studien, t.v. ; O. Donner—Piṇḍapitṛiyajña, das Manenopfer mit klössen bei den Indern, 1870. The last particularly in connection with the marriage and funeral ceremonies. Saṁskāra Mayūkha—Saṅkara Bhatta, pp. 10–12, Bombay, 1913 ; Bhabadeva Bhatta—History of Dharmaśāstras ; P. V. Kain, Vol. I, pp. 302, Poona, 1930.

is the householder. The householder as treated off in the Gṛhyasūtras, is a natural agent for procreation. He is the person who is burdened with certain household duties. The Gṛhya hymns in the Ṛg-Veda expressly deal with two topics, namely, marriage and funeral. There are two hymns, namely, the hymn of Vāmadeva, and the hymn on Frogs, in the first of which we have some sort of a conception of the birth in the womb and in the second a reference to the chanting of hymns by the Brahmacārins of the time. We can say that the domestic rites and rituals are connected with four things in life, namely, birth, studentship, marriage and death. Those relating to birth may be further discriminated as pre-natal, natal and post-natal. Those relating to studentship may be discriminated as those connected with initiation, those with actual studentship and those with the completion of the course of the study. Those relating to marriage may be likewise discriminated as pre-nuptial, nuptial and post-nuptial. And those relating to death may also be discriminated as pre-obituary, obituary and post-obituary. The Sanskrit technical names for the above ceremonies are as follows :

A. Those relating to Birth—
  (*a*) Pre-natal (i) Garbhādhāna,
    (ii) Puṁsavana,
    (iii) Sīmantonnayana.
  (*b*) Natal (i) Jātakarma.
  (*c*) Post-natal (i) Nāmakaraṇa,
    (ii) Niṣkramaṇa,
    (iii) Annaprāśana,
    (iv) Cuḍākaraṇa.

B. Those relating to Studentship—
  (*a*) Initiation (i) Upanayana.
  (*b*) Studentship (i) Brahmacarya.
  (*c*) Completion of the course (i) Samāvartana.

C. Those relating to Marriage—
  (*a*) Pre-nuptial (i) Vāgdāna.
  (*b*) Nuptial (i) Sampradāna.
  (*c*) Post-nuptial (i) Dvirāgamana,
    (ii) Pañcamahāyajñas.

D. Those relating to Death—
  (*a*) Pre-obituary (i) Antarjali.
  (*b*) Obituary (i) Antyeṣṭi.
  (*c*) Post-obituary (i) Śrāddha.

ASSES, HORSES AND GANDHARVAS

By JEAN PRZYLUSKI

1. ‘The Vedic (and Indo-European) name for horse, *aśva*, says Prof. J. BLOCH, is no longer represented to-day in Indo-Aryan except on the confines of the Iranian world where the corresponding word is still living (GRIERSON, *Piśāca Language*, p. 73, and the list of *Ling. Survey*, No. 68). The word which has replaced it in all other parts of the country occurs in the Śrauta Sūtra of Āpastamba—a text which appears to be of southern origin (cf. Bühler, SBE, II, p. xxx) under the form *ghoṭa*. Mr. J. CHARPENTIER has tried (KZ, XL, p. 441) to identify this word with German *gaul*; this equivalence would be strange by itself; Prof. SOMMER has shown (IF, XXXI, p. 362) that this Germanic word has its correspondents in Slavonic and not in Indian. On the other hand, the similarity of *ghoṭa* with some Dravidian forms with the same meaning has long been recognized: Tel. *gurramu.*; Can. *kudure*; Tam. *kudirei* (Gondi *Kōṛā* is suspected to be borrowed from Hindi *ghoṛā* like Kui *gōḍā*); the Dravidian form which has preceded the Hindi word amongst the Gonds is undoubtedly that which accounts for Gadaba *krutā* and Savara *kurtā*, alone of their kind in Munda. The Brahui *hulli* is out of the question; on the value of initial *h*, cf. on one hand Br. *hal* “rat”, *hēṭ* “goat”, *hīn* “to deposit” and Tam. *eli*, *āḍu*, *īn*; on the other Br. *hur* and Gondi *hūrk*, Kui *sūḍ* (cf. TUTTLE, *Am. J. Phil.*, XL, p. 84).

‘It is easy to reconstitute the common prototype of all these forms **ghutr-*. In the same process one gets some important data for the history of Dravidian phonetics:

‘1st. The consonantal group has been eliminated in Telugu by total assimilation, in Tamil and Canarese by vocalic insertion.

‘2nd. In the last two languages, the intervocalic surd is changed into a sonant . . .

‘3rd. In the same languages the initial consonant is changed into a surd . . .

‘If it were certain that the Sanskrit word was borrowed from Dravidian, one could have rightly deduced at once a fourth observation, more important than all the previous ones. In that case the most ancient Dravidian, in fact, would have had aspirate consonants . . . But the name of the horse is essentially a name sub-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

ject to renewal and no one can foresee whence the new name would be taken . . . '[1]

2. Having mentioned again the forms of the word for horse in the Dravidian languages, Prof. P. C. BAGCHI adds : 'All these forms of the word show the possibility of the existence of another form like *kolla* which might have given rise to *kolha* of Kolhapur. It is probably the name of Kolhapur which is referred to as *Kollagiri* in the medieval Tantrik literature (cf. for example the Dākārṇava, H. P. SASTRI, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of A.S.B.*, Vol. I, p. 97) . . . In fact FLEET (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 538 and p. 497) says that the more ancient name of Kolhapur was *Kollapura* . . . '[2]

3. In a lecture which I delivered at Bruxelles in 1932, I said briefly : 'The school of Max MÜLLER had naturally noted the analogy between the name of the Centaurs and that of the Gandharva. In the language of the Avesta, *gandarəwa* corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit *gandharva*. To the first adepts of comparative mythology, followed again quite recently by M. DUMEZIL, Centaur, Gandarəwa, Gandharva describe a class of horse genii, the name and the cult of which are properly Indo-European. True, if one drops the last syllable *-va*, a common radical remains in Sanskrit and in Avestic : Gandhar, and it does not differ much from the Greek Kentaur. But the Indo-European quality of this radical is not at all demonstrated. I would rather incline to think that it is an old name of the horse : this name, though deformed, would have left some marks in the Dravidian languages where to this day it appears still in the forms *kudirei*, *kudri*, *kudira*, *kudure*, etc. '[3]

4. In 1934, Prof. St. SCHAYER wrote : 'There is beyond doubt a connection between the Greek Kentauros, Iranian Gandarewa and Indian Gandharva. Nevertheless the attempts to explain this connection by the comparative grammar of Indian-European languages are not convincing.[4] The word is probably not of Indo-European origin, and both the Indian Gandharva as well as the Greek Kentauros are folk etymologies[5] based on the same loan

---

[1] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, transl. by. P. C. BAGCHI, pp. 46–49 ; *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 326.

[2] I.H.Q., IX, no. 1, p. 257.

[3] *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, fév.-avr. 1932, p. 285.

[4] Besides A. KUHN, *Zeitschrift für vgl. Sprachforschung*, I, p. 513, there are two recent hypotheses to be noticed : H. Güntert, l. c., p. 69 and G. DUMEZIL, *Le Problème des Centaures*, 1929.

[5] Buddhists (cf. Abhidharmakosa III, 47) explain Gandharva as 'he who eats smell', and the Tibetan Lotsavas translate it in the same way as *dri-za*.

word. Przyluski's supposition,[1] that we are in presence of a word akin to the Dravidian names of horse (*kudirei*, etc.) deserves to be taken into account. It does not exclude the identification of Gandharva with *gardabha*, *garda* being probably also an un-Aryan loan word.[2] In the Atharva-Veda (VIII, 6) the Gandharvas bray like asses, and as the donkey is a notoriously lascivious animal, it fits in the erotic character of the Gandharvas.' And, in a footnote, the Prof. SCHAYER added: 'I am indebted to Prof. J. ' PRZYLUSKI for the following remarks: " I have long been " convinced that there is a link between *gandharva* and *gardabha* . . . " In un-Aryan India, as with the Sumerians, the horse, being of late " importation, may have received the name of the ass. In Sumerian, " the horse is called " the foreign ass ". This is generally translated " by " mountain ass ", but THUREAU-DANGIN has proved that " *kur* can mean " foreign " as well as " mountain ".'[3]

5. Then, quite recently, Prof. S. K. CHATTERJI writes: ' . . . the element *Śāli* in *Śāli-hotra* is unquestionably the same that we see in the name *Śāli-vāhana*, which, along with its variant *Sāta* (in *Sāta-vāhana*) has been shown by J. PRZYLUSKI (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929, pp. 273ff.) to be merely the ancient Kol (Austric) word for the 'horse' (found in Santali as *sad-om*). The Skt. form *ghoṭa* would appear itself to be a Prakritic formation, its older form being **ghotra* or **ghutra*, a form to which we can at once affiliate the Dravidian equivalents—Tamil *kutirai*, Kannaḍa *kudure*, Telugu *gurra-mu*. The word **ghutra-ghoṭa-kutirai* is itself of doubtful origin, but it is a very old word, widely spread all over the Near East. An ancient Egyptian name for the horse, which doubtless came from Asia (from Asia Minor or Mesopotamia), was *ḥtr*, which would appear to be just a variant of **ghutra*. The Modern Greek name for the ass, *gadairos*, and the Turki word for the mule, *katyr*, would appear to be connected with **ghutra-ḥtr*. For the present, we may tentatively look upon the word as extra-Indian (Asianic, that is belonging to Asia Minor and the Aegean ?) non-Aryan which was probably brought in by the Dravidians: it may be that it is a genuine Dravidian word; and we should note the possibility of the Dravidians themselves being Mediterranean (Cretan) in origin. *Śāli-hotra* would seem to preserve an old form of *ghoṭa* also, in its second element.'[4]

---

[1] *L'influence iranienne en Grèce et dans l'Inde*, RUB, 1932, p. 285.

[2] Cf. J. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 50.

[3] *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie, 1934, p. 65.

[4] *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan*, Seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 183–185.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

6. As I wrote to Prof. SCHAYER, and as I have taught for many years, I believe that the names of the ass, of the horse and of the *gandharva* are originally of a kin. The following facts can serve to back this hypothesis :

(i) In Pali, the word for ass is *gadrabha*. In *gadrabha/gardabha*, the element *-bha*, which is a suffix well-known in the names of animals, can be isolated. Middle-Indian *gadra-* 'ass', is close to *hotra* 'horse', and the name of the ass in Kurku, *gadrī*[1] can also be compared to it.

(ii) Some time ago[2] I have studied, in certain languages of India, the following curious phenomenon: in the same word the aspiration is liable to move from one syllable to another. If we admit a connection between **ghotra*, *gandharva* and *gadrabha*, it must be noted that in this case the aspiration would appear to be moveable and to be placed either on the 1st, the 2nd or the 3rd syllable. In the Munda tongues the name of the ass varies in the same way between *gadha*, *gada*, *gadrī* and *gadahā*.

(iii) Sanskrit *mudrā* 'seal' has two equivalents: *muṃdra*, *muṃtra*, in the documents in Kharoṣṭhī, of Niya, and we find the following Iranian forms, which are believed to be borrowed from the Indian : bal. *mundarī*, 'ring, finger-ring', afgh. *mūndra* 'ring, ear-ring'.[3] Between *mudrā* and *mundarī*, there is just about the same interval as between *gadra-* and *gandhar-*.

(iv) In Kui, we have *gōḍā* 'horse' and *goḍo* 'ass'; in Tamil, *kudirei* 'horse', and *kaṛudei* 'ass'; in Mal. *kudira* 'horse' and *kaṛuda* 'ass'. These linguistical analogies can hardly be fortuitous, if we consider the likeness which the horse bears really to the ass. The two names do not derive directly the one from the other, but they may be two imperfect copies of the same original, which one feels inclined to look for in the Near East.

(v) The Centaur's name is not the only indication of a connection with the Near East. Midas is a royal name which appears more than once in the onomastics of Greece and of Asia Minor. According to the legend, Midas had the ears of an ass. He was, then, a king connected with the ass. Now the Macedonian Midas was the son of Gordias, and the Midas of Phrygia was the son of Gordios. One is tempted to recognize in Gordias and Gordios the same root as in *garda-bha*. Besides, M. DUMEZIL has already compared Gordias and Gandharva and he observes that in the IIIrd Century A.D., the Phrygians of Nicée stamped a coin in honor of Emperor Gordianus Pius. This medal displays a man sitting on a horse which has a man's leg, and it bears the following legend: 'the horse with a man's leg of the Niceans', and this suggests a connection between the names belonging to the Gordios and Gordianus type, and the Centaurs.[1]

---

[1] On the reverse, the name for horse in Savara is *kurtā*. The metathesis *tr/rt*, *dr/rd* is observed in the name of the ass as well as in the name of the horse. M. J. BLOCH believes that both Savara *kurtā* and Gadaba *krutā* were borrowed by the Munda from the Dravidian. (*L'indo-aryen*, p. 326.)

[2] JA, 1926, I, p. 11 and fol.; BSL, t. 30, 2, pp. 200-201.

[3] LÜDERS, *Die sakischen Mūra*, SPAW, dez. 1918, p. 742.

7. The above observations lead us to suppose that the gandharvas were primitively conceived under the shape of an ass. Later on, the horse, looked upon as a nobler animal, replaced the ass. A mutation quite similar to this has happened in the cult of the Mother-Goddess. Originally, this goddess was pictured between two animals: birds, lions, etc., then, the horse has taken the place of those former acolytes which have become two horse-gods, and, finally, have changed into gods on horseback: the Aśvin. OLDENBERG has observed rightly that before they became horsemen, the Aśvin had been Horse-Gods. I have pointed out elsewhere that, in the Vedic period, the Aśvin were pictured as two birds.[2] The multiplicity of their animal shapes accounts for the fact that in the Vedic hymns the Aśvin's chariot is drawn by horses, birds, buffaloes, one or several asses.[3]

8. If the gandharvas were asses primitively, their true nature is more easily explained. The gandharvas are lubric and musical beings. Those are precisely the distinctive features of the ass, lascivious and noisy animal. Let us recall, moreover, that in AV, VIII, 6, the gandharvas bray like asses.

9. The part played by the gandharva in the popular Buddhist theory of reincarnation has been compared by Prof. St. SCHAYER with its part in the Vedic wedlock rites: '. . . at the moment of death, the individual loses his psycho-physical apparatus and becomes a

---

[1] Cf. G. DUMEZIL, *Le Problème des Centaures*, pp. 241–250.

[2] *Les Aśvin et la Grande Déesse*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, I, 1, p. 133.

[3] V. H. VADER, *The twin gods Aśvinau*, IHQ, 8, p. 275.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

so-called Gandharva, a separate being in the " intermediary state ", which sets forth into the world to look for the womb of its future mother. As soon as it finds its proper parents—" proper " meaning that they belong to the class of beings in which it is to be born in accordance with its karmic destination—it " keeps ready " (*pratyupasthita*) and, on the occasion of its parents' coition enters its mother's vulva. The part played by parents, especially by the father, is quite secondary and the whole process strongly reminds the ratapa theory of the Australian Arandas, with this difference, however, that the ratapas are emanations of mythical ancestors. . . . . It is worth noticing that the part of Gandharva in the Vedic wedlock rites stands in no contradiction to the Buddhist conception : before the betrothed is allowed to be united with her husband, she belongs, for three nights to the Gandharva Viśvavāsu. During that time the newly wedded couple sleeps chastely on the ground separated by a staff representing the Gandharva, anointed with scents and adorned with materials and cords.' [1]

10. Now the following conclusion seems to impress itself upon us. Before the betrothed is allowed to be united with her husband, she belongs to the Gandharva Viśvavāsu. The child born of this union belongs, consequently, to the race of the Gandharvas ; so that in the societies where the old beliefs were preserved, the children of men were asses in reality. Some elements exist in Indian onomastics, which can be explained by the persistence of this belief.

Amongst the populations which use the Munda languages we note the Gadabā tribe, the dialect of which is very unsatisfactorily known. It is spoken by about 35,000 individuals.[2] It seems difficult to separate Gadabā from the name of the ass. In the Gadabā dialect, as it is spoken in the State of Bastar, the name of the ass has the forms of *gadhaī* and *gadōḍī*, but the dialect is not exactly the same in the different places.

In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (trsl. WILSON, pp. 474, 475), Garddhaba or Gardabhin is the name of a dynasty. Mark, in Garddhaba, how the aspiration has moved. Besides, the family of Gardabhila appears in the Purāṇas among the successors of the Andhras.[3] The Jain story of Kālaka, the *Kālakācāryakathā*, records how the saint Kālaka, having been insulted by King Gardabhilla of Ujjain, went to the land of the Śakas and persuaded a number of Śaka satraps to invade Ujjain and overthrow the dynasty of Gardabhilla.[1] Upon the illustrations of the manuscripts which relate this story, the city wall of Ujjain is shown with a towered gate. King Gardabhilla sits within, weaving his spells before a brazier and the She-Ass magic appears before him, standing upon one of the towers. Its mouth is wide open to bray.[2] According to some legends, Gardabhilla is the father of Vikramāditya. Other texts tell us that Vikramāditya's father was a divinity named Gandharvasena, who had been cursed to wear the shape of an ass.[3] I have shown, elsewhere,[4] that the element *-sena* is an un-Aryan suffix. Gandharvasena is to gandharva what Gardabhilla is to gardabha. The variations in the legend prove that *gardabha=gandharva*. An ass of divine essence was the protector of Ujjain, as well as the ancestor of its kings.

---

[1] *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie, 1934, pp. 61, 64.

[2] *Ling. Surv. of India*, Vol. IV, p. 229.

[3] Cf. *Kali Age*, pp. 44–46, 72 and *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 533.

11. Similar beliefs have survived in Dekhan to the modern times. By a letter which father DE BOURZES wrote in 1713, from the mission at Madure, we gather that in that country an entire caste claims to be issued from an ass, and that it is the royal caste. 'Those belonging to this caste, writes the missionary, treat the asses as their own brothers.'[5]

12. If one starts from *gandharva* now, it seems possible to explain some other ethnical names. Let us compare Greek Kentauros, Iranian Gandarəwa, and Indian Gandharva. Clearly, the element *-va* is a suffix, like the terminal *-bha* of Gardabha.[6] So that, as we can separate the element *gandhar-*, we obtain the ethnical Gandhāra, Gāndhāra, Gandhāri, Gāndhāri. The third form is already testified for in the Vedic hymns. Herodotus III, 91, knows the Gandarioi, which Ptolemy calls Gandarai.[7]

In the Mahābhārata I, 115, Gāndhārī is the daughter of the Gāndhāra king Subala, the wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the mother of Duryodhana. One day, Dvaipāyana granted her the boon that she should have 100 sons. As soon as Duryodhana was born he began to cry like an ass. This legend reveals still the signs of the antique connection between the ass and the Gāndhāra.

---

[1] W. NORMAN BROWN, *The story of Kālaka*, pp. 56, 80, 106.

[2] *The story of Kālaka*, *ibid.*, pl. 12 and fig. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60, n. 17.

[4] RHA, 9, Oct., 1932, p. 58 and fol. The suffix *-sena* is added sometimes to un-Aryan ethnics. Cf. Kaliṅgasena.

[5] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Paris, 1781, t. XII, pp. 94-95.

[6] About the links between the suffixes *-bha* and *-va*, cf. *Un ancien peuple du Penjab : les Salva*, JA, 1929, II, p. 318, where I have compared *salva* and *sarabha*.

[7] Ptolemy VII, 1, 44 ; cf. Diod. Sic. II, 37 Gandaridai.

13. We know that in the un-Aryan languages of India the guttural initial could be softened, or could disappear completely.[1] Gandhar- was then liable to have the form *andhar-*. Pliny VI, 67, mentions the Andarae, meaning thus the great un-Aryan people of Dekhan, the name of which is Andhra in Skt. and Andha in Middle-Indian.[2] I have demonstrated long since that the Andhra- or at least the royal caste of this people—were the Sons of the Horse, and we have just seen here that the mythical Horse has replaced the Ass. We reach the same point again, though by a different path.[3]

---

[1] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 29, 150.

[2] *Sp.* I, 255, 28 (ad. Vin. III, 27, 35) *milakkhukaṃ nāma yo koci anariyako Andha-Damiḷādi*, quoted in D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, s.v. Andha.

[3] My previous researches about Hippokoura, Satiyaputra and Satakarni have been discussed recently by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR (*Indian Culture*, Jan., 1936, pp. 549ff.), who rejects my conclusions for three principal reasons: (1) *kura* is not an Indian word meaning town; (2) *hippo-* is a Greek noun, *kura* belongs to another language; (3) if Baleokoura is a king's name, it cannot be the name of the capital. The answer to these objections shall be found in: (1) SYLVAIN LEVI, *Paloura-Dantapura*, in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 173–175, and cf. *ibid.*, pp. 137–139; (2) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan*, Seventh Oriental Conference, p. 177 and fol. ('translation-compounds'); (3) JRAS, April, 1929, p. 276. The results to which the study of the un-Aryan nouns leads are not in contradiction with history, as M. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR thinks. They rise against tradition only.

TRACES OF UGRIAN OCCUPATION OF INDIA

By B. BONNERJEA

During the last few years much has been written in various scientific journals of Europe and America, and more in the daily press, about the supposed relationship between Finno-Ugrian (FU) and Muṇḍā languages; and just now the controversy concerning the position of Muṇḍā languages is as spirited as ever.

In 1906 Pater W. Schmidt published a work in which he attempted to prove that the Muṇḍā languages belonged to the 'Austro-Asiatic' family of languages created by himself.[1] For almost a quarter of a century this hypothesis remained unchallenged; but in 1930 de Hevesy questioned the existence of the 'Austro-Asiatic' languages and suggested that the Muṇḍā languages belong to the FU stock, and two years later, in 1932, he published a book in which he amplified his former suggestion.[2] This, as can be imagined, stirred up a veritable hornet's nest. The Viennese school headed by Schmidt, as well as the FU scholars in Hungary and Finland, with very few exceptions, have refused to accept de Hevesy's conclusions. Schmidt insists that the Muṇḍā languages are formed by prefixation[3]; and the FU scholars have not taken any definite attitude—either for or against—towards this question.[4]

The reason for this seeming indifference is perhaps to be looked for in the almost complete ignorance on the part of the FU scholars in all matters connected with the Muṇḍā people and their language. Even the very name is totally unknown to the large majority of FU scholars versed in linguistics; and FU languages are *terra incognita* to all Indian scholars.

Matters stood thus when, in January 1935, the present writer, an ethnologist, decided to study FU linguistics so as to be able to

---

[1] W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker. Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Brunswick, 1906). *Id.*, 'La position des langues munda', *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques* [Conférence : le 2 août 1934], London.

[2] W. von Hevesy, 'On W. Schmidt's Munda-Mon-Khmer Comparisons, etc.', *Bull. School Or. Lang.*, vi (London, 1930), pp. 187–200. *Id.*, *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Vienna, 1932).

[3] Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

[4] The criticisms of de Hevesy's works by A. Sauvageot (in *Bull. de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xxxiv, p. 180 *sq.* [Answer, *ibid.*, p. 237 *sq.*]) and Göbl-Gáldi (*Revue des Etudes Hongroises*, 1933, p. 334 *sq.* [Answer, *ibid.*, 1934, p. 203 *sq.*]) are superficial and biassed; hence they cannot be taken seriously.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

give an opinion on the subject, and as a result, at the invitation of the Hungarian Minister of Education, came to Budapest in the capacity of '*Maitre des Conférences*' at the Royal University.

The idea that there is a connection between the languages of India and those of the FU group is by no means a new one. Körösi-Csoma (1784–1842) looked for Hungarian (Magyar) origins in India. Eugen Toth and Francis Zajti thought on insufficient evidence that they had discovered in India the Hun settlements. As long as nearly eighty years ago Caldwell and Max Müller, and a little later Gabriel Balint, and quite recently Schrader of Kiel thought that they had discovered similarities between FU and the Dravidian languages of Southern India.[1] But these similarities were merely lexical similarities ; morphologically there is no resemblance between them, and therefore they could have occurred only through chance borrowings and there can be no question of a genetic relationship between FU and Dravidian.

On the other hand the theory brought forward by de Hevesy that there is a close relationship between FU and Muṇḍā, in spite of its many shortcomings in technique, seems to be worthy of serious consideration. In one of his latest works Hevesy says : '*Wird auch volle Klarheit und ganze Gewissheit erst auf Grund sprachgeschichtlicher Untersuchungen zu erlangen sein : so kann zusammenfassend bereits heute gesagt werden, dass ein besonders hoher Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür besteht, dass die Mundasprachen dem ugrischen Zweige der finnisch-ugrischen* (*uralischen*) *Sprachfamilie angehören*'.[2]

Daring statements such as the one quoted above cannot be allowed to go unanswered. After this challenge, as it were to the whole of the scientific world, we have no alternative but to take up the gauntlet thrown before us. The results obtained so far from a study of the two groups of languages are, to say the least, startling. On morphological similarities it is seen that Hevesy's general thesis regarding the genetic relationship between FU and Muṇḍā is correct.[3] But this linguistic relationship brings up too many ethnological problems which are as yet far from any solution, and will probably require many years of intensive study before they can be answered with any degree of certainty.

---

[1] F. O. Schrader, 'Drawidisch und Uralisch', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iii (1925), pp. 81–112.

[2] W. von Hevesy, in *Mitteilungen an den III-ten Internationalen Kongress der Linguisten* (Rome [typed MS.]), p. 25.

[3] See for example, B. Bonnerjea, 'A munda nyelvekröl', *Magyar Nyelvör*, lxiv (Budapest, 1935), pp. 99–102, 124–130 ; *Id.*, 'de Hevesy on Munda and Finno-Ugrian Linguistics, and Easter Island Script', *American Anthropologist*, new ser. xxxviii (1936), pp. 148-149 ; *Id.*, 'Hungary and India', *Polyglot Herald*, Budapest, 1st May, 1936, p. 1.

The Muṇḍā peoples of the present day are principally situated in Choṭā Nāgpur.[1] Anthropologically they show an admixture of the Mongoloides. The Muṇḍā languages together with the dialects are spoken by approximately 3 million people. According to one of their traditions they came to their present domicile from another country situated in the west, and they were originally in Sapta-Sindhu. The same tradition also relates that at the time of their immigration eastwards they split up into different tribes or nations, and that after being driven from one country to another they finally came and settled in the Santâl Parganâs.[2] We shall see later on how far these traditions are of any value.

The FU languages are (1) Hungarian or Magyar (Magy.), in Hungary; (2) Vogul, east of the Ural Mts. in the governments of Perm and Tobolsk; (3) Ostyak (Ost.), also in Tobolsk; (4) Syrienian, in the governments of Vologda, Archangel, Wjatka and Perm; (5) Votyak (Vot.), in Wjatka and Ufa; (6) Cheremis, in Wjatka, Kazan, Ufa, Perm, Kostroma and Nizniy-Novogorod; (7) Mordwin (Mord.), in Samara, Simbirsk, Pensa, Saratow, Tambow and Nizniy-Novogorod; (8) Finn, in Finland; and (9) Lapp, in Lappland. To these we may add Samoyed, which, according to Setälä,[3] is closely related.

As yet we are not certain if we know all the Muṇḍā languages.[4] In Ganjam Ramamurti has recently discovered a new one.[5] Be that as it may, it is certain that the Kherwari group of Muṇḍā languages—about 11 in all—differ from each other only dialectically. This particular group of languages has been variously designated; the Danish scholars called it 'Kherwari'; the present writer had called the peoples speaking these languages 'Kolarians'[6]; the *Linguistic Survey of India* calls them Muṇḍā; and of late years the term 'Austro-Asiatic' has been applied to them. But the nomenclature itself is of minor importance. Hevesy gives the derivation of *Kherwar*=*Jäger* (hunter). The word Muṇḍā is Indo-

---

[1] Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 14–49.

[2] Bonnerjea, 'The Social and Ceremonial Life of the Santâls', *The Indian Antiquary*, lix (Bombay, 1930), p. 58.

[3] E. N. Setälä, 'Zur Frage der Verwandtschaft der finno-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen', *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* [*Journal de Société Finno-Ougrienne*], xxx (Helsingfors, 1918), No. 5.

[4] Munda languages known so far are enumerated in *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV.

[5] G. V. Ramamurti, *A Manual of the Savara or So:ra: Language* (Madras, 1931).

[6] Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Ch. II.

Aryan (IA) ; it denotes ' chieftain ; village chief ', and it still survives in certain modern Indian languages in a corrupted form, as in Bengali *muṇḍu*. Another designation of the same people is *mäñši* (*māñjhi*), a designation also to be found among the Voguls. Munkácsi derives the word magyar from an original root which also gave the Voguls their name for themselves.[1] Without however, going into a discussion as to the etymology of the word, we may state that the word *Muṇḍā* is used here merely as a conventional term to comprise all the languages and dialects belonging to this family, viz. Santali, Karmali, Turi, Gadaba, Kharia, Mundari, Nahali, Bhumij, Birhor, Koda, Ho, Asuri, Turi, Korwa, Juang, Kurku and Savara or So:ra:. Of all these languages the most important as well as the best studied, both structurally as well as phonetically, is Santali ; and Savara has the distinction of being the first language in the world which has adopted the International Phonetic Script as its alphabet.[2]

How similar the two groups of languages, FU and Muṇḍā, are may be seen from the few examples given below. Both groups belong to what is called the agglutinating family of languages. There is no sharp distinction between the different parts of speech, such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, and so on ; the context alone shows whether a word is used as a noun or an adjective or a verb. In fact, verbal suffixes may be added to all words irrespective of whether they are nouns, adjectives, personal pronouns, and even numerals and interjections.[3] In other words every base in Muṇḍā is also a verbal base. This seems to have been a peculiarity of FU tongues.[4] Prefixes—in direct contradiction to the opinion expressed by Schmidt—are not used in the formation of Muṇḍā words, and there is not one single genuine Muṇḍā word formed with a prefix ; such words as are formed by prefixation are borrowed from IA languages, e.g. the prefixes *a-*, *an-*, *be-*, *nir-*, and so on.[5] In the formation of Muṇḍā words suffixes principally employed, although it must be admitted that in several Munda languages infixation too is used. The use of infixes is contrary to FU, and hence Hevesy explains it by saying that infixation in Muṇḍā is of a comparatively recent date,[6] and had been borrowed from their neighbours for their convenience. Thus, for example, the infix *-p-* denotes reciprocity, and hence we have *čok-* ‘ to kiss ’ and *čo-p-ok* ‘ they kiss each other ’. How far this is right it is as yet difficult to say, but the fact that in the languages of Further India it is almost impossible to do without infixation—as in certain languages of the Malay Peninsula—whereas in Muṇḍā it is not so, speaks in favour of Hevesy. That infixation is not an integral part of Muṇḍā is attested by Hoffmann[1] who studied Mundari more than thirty years ago. According to him infixes are used only for greater emphasis. In Kurku infixes seem to be practically missing ; Drake[2] thought that he had discovered only one, *-p-* in the word *ā-pā-rang* ‘ to quarrel ’, which he derived from *ārāng* ‘ to abuse ’. The use of infixes therefore does not seem to be as important in Muṇḍā languages as it was hitherto supposed ; but it was merely a better instrument for expressing one’s self.

---

[1] Munkácsi Bernát, *Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* [Aryan and Caucasian Elements in Finno-Ugrian Languages], vol. i (Budapest, 1901) p. 454 *sq.* ; *Id.*, ' Vogul tankönyvek ', *Magyar Nyelvör* ', lxiv (1935), pp. 27, 28, 29.

[2] Ramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

[3] P. O. Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, ii (Dumka, 1929), p. 2 *sq.*

[4] Hevesy, *Finnisch-ugrisches*, p. 13, citing Balassa J. és Simonyi Z., *Magyar hangtan és alaktan* (Budapest, 1895), pp. 77, 80.

[5] Private communication from Rev. P. O. Bodding.

[6] Hevesy, *op. cit.*, p. 110, citing E. Scott, in BSOS., 1920, p. 171.

With regard to Muṇḍā phonetics we are unfortunately not in a position to say anything with definiteness. The only languages which have so far been studied phonetically are Santali and Savara. So we must content ourselves with only a few general remarks. It is true that all Muṇḍā languages have been influenced by the neighbouring IA languages, yet in their grammatical structure they have retained their original form. Like all other Indian languages Muṇḍā possesses the cerebral sounds *ṭ-* and *ḍ-* ; the existence of these same cacuminal sounds has been proved for the original FU language as also for modern Ostyak. Similarly FU possessed the aspirated *d‘-*, *t‘-*, *g‘-*, *k‘-*, *b‘-* and *p‘-* sounds of Muṇḍā. Certain phonetic changes are fairly regular within the Muṇḍā group. Thus initial *h-* of Muṇḍāri words often disappears in Santali and changes to *k-* in Kurku in the west ; Muṇḍāri *hisi* ‘ twenty ’ > Santali *isi* ; Muṇḍāri *hāto* ‘ village ’ > Santali *āto*. The cerebral *ṅg-* often becomes palatalized in Santali (*ń-*) ; Kherwari *iṅg* (*eṅg*) ‘ I ’ > Santali *iń* (*eń*) ; Muṇḍā *siṅg* ‘ sun ’ > Santali *siń*. Sonants are frequently changed to the corresponding surds in Santali ; this is especially the case with initial *b-* which is changed to *p-* in Santali (*b-*~*p-*). Thus Muṇḍā *bakor*, *bokor* (Magy. *bokor* [!]) > Santali *pakor*. Final vowels are often lost in Santali ; *kula* ‘ tiger ’ > Santali *kul*.

The so-called FU Stufenwechsel is also met with in Muṇḍā ; thus from *sāp* :- ‘ to catch ’, we have *sāb-e-āe* ‘ he will catch him ’ ; or from *oṛāk* :- ‘ house ’ we get *oṛāg-āe* ‘ he will build a house ’. The vowels too undergo the same Stufenwechsel according as to whether the question is about something far or near. Consequently the number of vowels in Muṇḍā is comparatively large. For Santali Bodding so far has found twenty-six of which he shows only sixteen [1]; Hoffmann found only 10 vowels in Muṇḍāri; Drake mentions 20 vowels in Kurku, but shows only 14 in his texts; Ramamurti shows us 20 vowels in Savara. In Ost. Paasonen found 24 vowels; Patkanow and Fuchs [2] give a list of 17 vowels to which we may add another two—their *i̯* and *u̯*—thus making 19 in all.

---

[1] J. Hoffmann, *Mundari Grammar* (Calcutta, 1903), p. 108 : ‘ A man will use this [i.e. infixation] when speaking earnestly or anxiously . . . whereas in ordinary conversation he himself and others neglect it altogether ’.

[2] J. Drake, *A Grammar of the Kurku Language* (Calcutta, 1913), p. 53.

In the treatment of pronouns Santali lays great stress on the distinction between animate and inanimate. Animate are those which are or were capable of spontaneous movement or locomotion, such as all animals, as also the sun, moon, stars, and so on. In Santal conception such objects possess a 'soul', and therefore they are animate; on the other hand the 'soul' does not possess a 'soul', and hence it is inanimate.[3] The same distinction is made in Magy. between *ki* and *mi*. In IA too a certain distinction is made; Eng. *who* and *what*, Fr. *qui* and *quoi*, Ger. *wer* and *was*, Beng. *ke* and *ki*, and so on. But whereas in IA languages we always have the same root, in FU and Muṇḍā we find two different roots *k*-(**kȣ*-) and *m*- (**mȣ*-). This distinction between the animate and the inanimate pervades through the whole of Santali pronouns and influences them to a very large degree.

In personal pronouns we see that Muṇḍā possesses two kinds of them: the forms used alone and those employed as suffixes. In order to express possession the following suffixes are used:

1 Pers.	*-iń, -ń* (in one case also *-ṅ*) my, our
2 Pers.	*-m, -me* thy, your
3 Pers.	*-t, -tet*: his, her, their.

Thus from *eṅgā* 'mother' we get *eṅgā-t* 'his mother'; we have parallel forms in Ost. *χoDə̂* 'Haus' > *χoDə̂-t* 'sein Haus', *aŋa* 'Mutter' > *aŋe-t* 'seine Mutter', or in Vog. *lo* [*sic.*] 'Pferd' > *lò-te* 'sein Pferd'.[4] The *-ń* of the Muṇḍā 1 Pers. may possibly correspond to the old Finn *-ni* in *lapse-ni* 'mein Kind, meine Kinder'.[5] In the 2 Pers. we have no analogies with FU, although the 2 Pers.

---

[1] Bodding, *op. cit.*, i (Dumka, 1930), *passim*.

[2] S. Patkanow and D. R. Fuchs, *Laut- und Formenlehre der Süd-Ostjakischen Dialekte* (Budapest, 1911), p. 12 [Reprinted from *Keleti Szemle* (*Revue Orientale*), VII, X–XII].

[3] I have dealt with Santal animism elsewhere (*Social and Ceremonial*, Repr., p. 13 *sq.*).

[4] J. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, 2te Aufl. (Berlin, 1922), pp. 101, 102 [Samml. Göschen, Nr. 463].

[5] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

in Ost. is *non, nen* ‘ thou ’, and Vog. *nü* ‘ thou ’ [1] ; in Nahali it is *ne* ‘ thou ’.

Most Muṇḍā languages have only two numbers. Santali, however, has also a dual. The root of the word itself without any further ending is the nominative singular form ; the dual is formed by adding *-kin,* and the plural by adding *-ko* to the root [2] ; e.g. *hoṛ* person, *un-kin hoṛ* those two persons, *ona-ko dare* or *ona dare-ko* those trees. Ost. shows a similar dual form in *-gen, -ken,*[3] as *χeide* ‘ Enkel ’ > *χeidègen, ńaurem* ‘ Kind ’ > *ńauremken.* On the other hand the plural termination corresponds almost entirely to Magy., e.g. *å kålåp* > *å kålåpok* ‘ hat ’, *hāz* > *hāz-åk* ‘ house ’, with the loss of the final *-o.* The formation of the plural with *-k* is also found in other FU languages,[4] such as Kola Lapp (*-k, -kk*), Norw. Lapp (*-k*) ; thus Kola Lapp *ta-* (*tā-*) ‘ this ’ > *ta-k* (*tā-k, ta-kk*) ‘ these ’, *mi* (√*mo-mẹ-*) ‘ which ’ > *mo-k, mẹ-kk* ; Norw. Lapp. *gėēɔta* ‘ hand ’ > *gėēδaɔk* ‘ hands ’. Hoffmann [5] says of the Muṇḍāri language that the sound of the final *-o* is very short. The same ending *-ko* as in Muṇḍā is met with in ancient Magy. linguistic texts, where we find *ångyål-ko* as the plural of *ångyål.*

Another FU plural ending is *-t* (in Ostsee Finn *-t, -D, -d,* etc.)[6] ; thus we have in Finn *hevose-* ‘ Pferd ’, *hevose-t* ‘ die Pferde ’, *hevos-te-n* ‘ of the horses ’, *lapse* ‘ child ’, *lapse-t* ‘ children ’, *la(p)s-te-n* ‘ of the children ’ ; or in Vog. *lū* ‘ horse ’, *lu-t* ‘ horses ’, Mord. *tolga* ‘ feather ’, *tolgat* ‘ feathers ’, *ṕe* ‘ end ’, *ṕet* ‘ ends ’. This plural *t-* ending is to be met with in Nahali, as *aba* ‘ father ’, *aba-ṭa* ‘ fathers ’; here, however, the denti-palatal *-t* appears as a cerebral *-ṭ.* In Ost. too, we are told,[7] that the regular plural ending is *-t* : *āmp* ‘ dog ’ forms its plural in *āmpet.*

In the formation of the different cases we find analogies between the languages under consideration. One of the locative case endings in Muṇḍā is *-te* (*-ta*),[8] as in *on-te* ‘ there ’, *in-te* ‘ here ’ (from the demonstrative pronouns *on, in*), *pah* ‘ side ’, *pah-ta* ‘ at the side ’. This seems to correspond to the FU *-t,* as in Ost. *to-t* ‘ there ’ (from *to*), Vog. *teüt-ta* ‘ in the fire ’ (from *teüt* ‘ fire ’), Magy. *vāšār-t* (from *vásár*). Another locative suffix which is identical in both groups is *-n*. Thus in Kurku we have *gaw* ' a village ' (IA), *gaw-en* ' in the village ', Santali *onḍe* ' there ', *onḍe-n* ' of (belonging to) there ', *k'it* ' garden ', *k'it-in* ' in the garden '. Similar forms are seen in Ost. *kim* ' äusserlich ', *kim-en* ' draussen ', or in Magy. *gåzdåg* > *gåzdåg-on* (adv.). With regard to the first of these forms, *-t, -te, -ta,* it may be noted that Bengali, an IA language derived from Sanskrit, uses the ending *-te* to form the locative, although it is unknown to the parent tongue.[1] Bodding thought [2] that this locative in *-t-* was borrowed from Bengali, but Hevesy believes it to be of FU origin and states [3] that Balassa-Simonyi, while admitting *-t* to be a very ancient Magy. suffix, are yet at a loss to ascribe an origin to it.

---

[1] Cf. Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 95 ; Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[2] Bodding, *op. cit.*, p. 36, § 26.

[3] Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 51, § 36. For dual in other FU languages, see Karl Bouda, ‘ Der Dual des Obugrischen, mit einem Exkurs über die Suffixlockerheit ’, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* [*Jour. Soc. Finno-Ougr.*], xlvii (Helsinfors, 1933), pp. 1–67.

[4] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[5] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[6] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[7] Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[8] Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 74.

The accusative case in Kharia is formed with the suffix *-t* ; from *bač'ru* ' calf ', acc. *bač'ru-te,* from *konger* ' servant ', acc. *konger-te*. This *-t-* ending is too well known in FU to need any further comment.

In the conjugation of verbs we meet with remarkable similarities. Szinnyei has pointed out [4] that the FU preterite form in **-ś~*-ź* is found in all languages except Magy. ; thus in Mord. *kulo-* ' sterben ', *kuloś* ' er starb ', Cher. *el-* ' leben ', *ələšə-m* ' ich lebte ', Ost. *mən-* ' gehen ', *mənsə-m* ' ich ging ', Vog. *äl-* ' töten ', *äl-s* ' er tötete ', *älsə-m* ' ich tötete ', and so on. An identical ending is encountered in Korwa ; *melai* ' to forsake ', *melai-si* ' forsook ', *sid-* ' to lose ', *sidsiki* (*sid+si+ki*) ' had been lost '. The conditional in Santali appears to be formed with the FU **n+*k*.[5] Just as in Ost. we have *məndäηe-m* ' I would go ' from *mən-*, so in Santali we have *ruāṛ-enge* ' I would return ' from *ruāṛ-*. In this connection it should be noted that in Hindustani—a language IA in structure but Semitic in its vocabulary—the 1 Pers. Pl. Fut. is formed with *-eṉ-ge,* and in the Santali examples given by Bodding,[6] *-enge* seems to have a future meaning as well. But when we consider that in Hindustani the future is formed from the aorist (a dubious tense) by adding *-gā, -ge, gī,* the conditional meaning becomes quite clear.

---

[1] The *-e* of the Beng. loc. is in accordance with Sanskrit ; and the infixed *-t-* has often been explained on rationalistic grounds. It is said to be inserted for the sake of euphony (as in Fr. *on va, va-t-on ; il a, a-t-il*), but numerous examples may be given where the vowel -e comes immediately after another vowel thus causing a decided hiatus. Further the *-te* is also used with words ending in a consonant, thus *gāčh-te* instead of *gāčh-e*.

[2] Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 74. note *.

[3] Hevesy, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[4] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 123 *sq*.

[5] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[6] Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 255.

More remarkable still is the distinction made in both Muṇḍā and FU in the conjugation of verbs with objects and without objects. In the perfect tense of a Magy. verb with object we see that the -*j*- is missing and a -*t*- (-*tt*-) appears : *vār-tåm, vār-tåd, var-tå, vār-tuk, vār-tātok, vār-tāk.* It is true that in Santali the perfect suffix is -*ked*, -*ket* :, but in Muṇḍāri it is -*tad*, *tet* :, and in Korwa -*ted*, *teḍ* (-*teṛ*).

Many other morphological similarities between the two linguistic groups can very easily be mentioned ; but as a detailed discussion would far exceed the limits of a paper in an ordinary journal, we shall merely point out a few pertinent points. Postpositions, instead of prepositions, are used in both ; but whereas in Finn they are used with the genitive case, in Magy., Vog. and Muṇḍā they are affixed to the simple root. In the formation of causatives there were originally but two FU suffixes,[1] -*t* and -*l* (*-*l*). Both of these are found in Santali. Many of the emphatic particles used in Muṇḍā are the same as in Magy. : -*tet* (Magy. -*tt*), -*se* (Magy. -*sze*), etc.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the science of linguistics of today is built up on ethnology. We may no longer regard ethnology and linguistics as two distinct sciences, but we must consider them as component parts of one and the same science, interdependent on each other. As Meillet[2] said : '*Les changements linguistiques ne prennent leur sens que si l'on considère tout l'ensemble du développement dont ils font partie*'. Proper linguistics can exist only when we know the whole history of the people speaking that language. The history of the Muṇḍā people is as yet largely a matter of conjecture. But from what we know already it is an undisputed fact that in the later neolithic period—about 2000 B.C.—there was a strong culture wave from Further India into the region now occupied by the Muṇḍā peoples.[3] Racially the Muṇḍās may be regarded as a mixture of three different elements, although the mixture is not the same in every tribe.[4] Of the Birhors who are still living in a hunting stage it may be asserted that they were certainly not originally a Muṇḍā people, but are remnants of the original inhabitants of India.[5] This hypothesis regarding the connection between Further India and India is also borne out by the somatological researches of Eickstedt and by the linguistic researches of *Pater* Schmidt. On the other hand the connection of the Muṇḍā peoples with those of the west is shown by the relatively important position held by the horse in death ceremonies. Little clay horse figures are supplied to the dead with the avowed purpose of carrying them in the spirit world—and this among peoples many of whom have never seen a horse. The custom can easily be explained by the supposition that a horse-riding people came to India at some past time and, in course of time, became thoroughly assimilated with the native population.[1] We know already that the Finno-Ugrian peoples, the proto-Ugrier, were such a people, and it is almost certain that these proto-Ugrians came into direct contact with the proto-Aryans,[2] we may therefore consider these horse-riding people to have been the proto-Ugrians. In a very recent study, a preliminary one, on the original home of the Indo-Aryans, Flor, commenting on this fact, writes : 'It is surely to be conjectured that this undoubtedly pre-Aryan Indian horse culture is attributable to an Ugrian invasion',[3] and the present writer has no hesitation in agreeing with him.

---

[1] Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 110 *sq.*

[2] A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris, 1926), p. 11 [Coll. Ling. VIII].

[3] R. von Heine-Geldern, ' Ungarn und Indien ', *Pester Lloyd*, 27. VI. 1935, pp. 1, 2.

[4] Heine-Geldern, 'Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien', *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt* (Vienna, 1928), p. 822.

[5] Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*

The Muṇḍā traditions, according to Skrefsrud,[4] say that they were originally from Hihiṛi-pipiṛi (Hiṛi). From this place they went to Sasaṅbeḍa, and thence to Khojkaman. At this last place they were destroyed by flood ; only a few of them remained. After the flood had subsided the Santals migrated in an eastward direction to Khanḍe (Afghanistan ?), and from Khanḍe northeastwards to Chae (Chinese Tartary ?), and then southeastwards to Sapta-Sing (the Panjab ?) ; and finally to the Santal Parganas where they now are. Where all these different places may be we are not in a position to say, but they show that the direction of the migration has always been *towards the east.* Traditions of course, have little historical value, except perhaps as a distorted version of an historical fact. We cannot take traditions as history, but they help in reconstructing history.

Similarities are also found in other domains. In the ornamentation of Transylvanian doors, among the Széklers (Magyars), we find exactly the same designs as we find in the rock temples of Ajanta and other places.[5] Huszka has already shown that one of the characteristically Magyar articles of clothing, the *szür* (a kind of skirt), is depicted on ancient Indian coins.[1] One of the most important of Magyar designs is the lotus flower. And as a connecting link we may mention that under the auspices of the Azerbaidzhan Academy of Sciences, Alisker Alekperov 'is preparing a report on the tribal marks of Caucasus, which are said to resemble Magyar religious symbols'.[2]

---

[1] Heine-Geldern, in *Pester Lloyd*, 27. VI. 1935, p. 2.

[2] F. Flor, 'Haustiere und Hirtenkulturen', *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, i (Vienna, 1930), pp. 1–238.

[3] Flor, 'Die Indogermanenfrage in der Völkerkunde', *Festschrift Herman Hirt*, i (Heidelberg, 1936), p. 92.

[4] L. O. Skrefsrud, *A Grammar of the Santhal Language* (Benares, 1873), p. v *sqq*.

[5] Cf. Huszka József, *A Székely ház* (Budapest, 1894), Fig. X.

Moreover Hevesy[3] mentions many other similarities between the beliefs and customs of the Muṇḍā and the FU peoples. Thus, he says, that ophiolatry is known among both of them ; there are stories about snake kings, and in the Körmöce district people believe that a white snake dwells in every house and watches over it as a guardian. The Voguls have pillars or posts which they revere as gods, and the worship itself is said to be developed from their ancestor worship and eschatological rites. The menhirs of the Muṇḍās owe their origin to the same (citing Heine-Geldern, in *Anthropos*, xxiii. 276). The sacrifice of a white horse, we are told, was known among the ancient Magyars, and this was also a 'national habit' of the Muṇḍās. According to Vogul mythology mankind is derived from a swan, and the Muṇḍās believe man to have been born out of a swan's egg.

In conclusion the author wishes to express his conviction that Muṇḍā languages belong to the same family as the FU. There are too many morphological similarities to be relegated to mere chance. Such being the case it is time for Hungarian and Finn scholars to take up the study of Muṇḍā languages in earnest, and for scholars in the field of Indian linguistics to take up Finno-Ugrian studies. To show that the present author is not the only one to accept Hevesy's conclusions it may be mentioned that Profs. Validî, Flor and Schrader all agree that Hevesy has proved the genetic relationship between Muṇḍā and FU beyond any reasonable doubt.[4] And Pater Schmidt too partly agrees when in his latest work he writes : '*Auf eine austroasiatische Grundlage der Mundasprachen haben zu einer gewissen Zeit und in einer gewissen Gegend ugrofinnische Sprachen einen Ein-*

---

[1] Huszka, *Tárgyi ethnographiánk östörténeti vonatkozásai* (Budapest, 1898), p. 27, cited by Hevesy, *Finnisch-Ugrisches*, p. 367.

[2] Henry Field and Eugene Prostov, 'Recent Archæological Investigations in the Soviet Union', *American Anthropologist*, new ser., xxxviii (Menasha, Wis., 1936), p. 272.

[3] Hevesy, *op. cit.*, pp. 369 *sqq.*

[4] A. Z. Validî, in *Türkische Post*, 27th February 1935, X, pp. 48-49 ; F. Flor, in *Festschrift Herman Hirt*, *i.* 92 ; F. O. Schrader, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1935, col. 637f.

fluss ausgeübt, der noch zu bestimmen sein wird, der aber ohne Zweifel ausserhalb Indiens wirksam war'.[1]

It is to be hoped that scholars and field workers in India will earnestly take up the study of Muṇḍā languages and ethnology, for our problem can be solved only when we have sufficient material.

---

[1] W. Schmidt, 'Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen', *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, vii (London, 1935), p. 734.

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

V

THE BHAKTI-SAṂDARBHA

By S. K. De

The object of this Saṃdarbha is to show that Bhakti to the Bhagavat is the only and chief import or subject-matter (*abhidheya*) of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, as necessarily it is of the *Ṣaṭ-saṃdarbha*; and the Saṃdarbha deals with the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of Bhakti and the modes and functions of this attitude.

It has already been said that the Jīvas can be broadly classified from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat into two categories, viz. : (i) those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness (*saṃskāra*) towards the Bhagavat, and for whom there is no need for instruction, e.g. a Bhakta like Prahlāda, and (ii) those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed, although it is liable to sprout in them like a seed on instruction (*tac-chravaṇa-mātreṇa bījāyamānam*). The Abhidheya, therefore, is conversion towards the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-sāṃmukhya*) by counteracting the imposed aversion (*tad-vaimukhya*). This is Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is devotional worship of the Bhagavat (*tad-upāsanā-lakṣaṇa*), and from it proceeds the true knowledge of the Bhagavat (*yata eva taj-jñānam āvirbhavati*). It has already been shown that this averseness towards the Bhagavat proceeds from the Māyā-śakti, by which the Jīva forgets its own selfhood and identifies itself with the body (*īśvara-vimukhasya tan-māyayāsmṛtiḥ, svarūpā-sphūrtir bhavati, tato viparyayo deho'smīti*). This external Māyā-śakti of the Lord can be counteracted only by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, viz., his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a dormant state in the Jīva, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti.[1]

---

[1] Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa discusses this question of the nature of Bhakti in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (p. 35) and arrives at the conclusion that it consists of the combined essence of the two aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, viz., the

The necessity of devotional worship lies in the fact that it is a natural function of the Jīva considered as a potency of the Bhagavat (*sva-citte svata eva siddhaḥ*) ; for the service of one who is dear brings happiness, and nothing is dearer than the Bhagavat. The Bhajana or worship is, therefore, necessary, because it brings the highest and permanent bliss which is inherent in the Jīva. It would, therefore, be insufficient to describe Bhakti as a means only ; for being the natural function of the Jīva (*jīvānāṃ svabhāvata ucitā*) it is its highest attribute (*para dharma*). The consummation of this Dharma consists in the supreme pleasure of the deity (*svanuṣṭhitasya dharmasya saṃsiddhir hari-toṣaṇam*). It is thus free from Pravṛtti or activity in worldly affairs, but it is also not mere Nivṛtti or abstention from phenomenal objects ; for Nivṛtti or Quietism can hardly be distinguished from Vaimukhya or averseness (*na nivṛtti-mātra-lakṣaṇo'pi, vaimukhyāviśeṣāt*). This is the *summum bonum* (*sa evaikāntikaṃ śreyaḥ*), and therefore surpasses other Dharmas, which are called *apara* and not *para.* Its characteristics are that (i) it is Ahaitukī or Akiñcanā, i.e., it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect (*phalāntarāṇām anusaṃdhāna-rahitā*), either in this world or in the next, than the pleasure of the Lord, and (ii) Apratihata, i.e. unimpeded, because it is beyond the sphere of other objects like pleasure or pain (*sukha-duḥkha-padārthāntarābhāvāt kenāpi vyavadhātum aśakyā*).

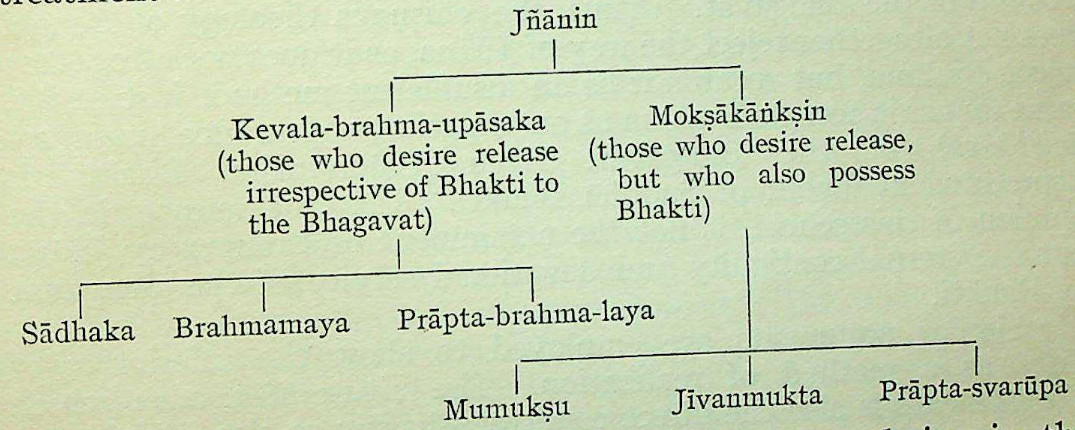
This thesis is further elaborated by showing the efficacy and superiority of Bhakti over every other mode of worship. The way of knowledge or Jñāna leads to a realization of the Brahma ; the Yoga with its practices is also helpful for that purpose ; the way of works or Karma, consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication of all fruits to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness towards the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of worldly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him ; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are therefore inferior to Kevalā or exclusive Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. True Mokṣa or Apavarga does not consist, as the Jñānin thinks, of the knowledge of Brahma, nor again in the conception of the Virāj or Viśvarūpa as realized by

---

Hlādinī and the Saṃvit : *atra punaś cintyate—bhagavad-vaśīkāra-hetubhūtā śaktiḥ kiṃsvarūpā iti, kiṃ prākṛta-sattvamaya-jñānānanda-rūpā, kiṃ vā bhagavat-svarūpa-jñānānanda-rūpā, atha vā jaiva-jñānānanda-rūpā, uta hlādinī-sāra-samaveta-saṃvit-sāra-rūpā iti ; nādyaḥ, bhagavato māyā-vaśyatvāśravaṇāt svataḥ pūrṇatvāc ca ; na dvitīyaḥ, atiśayāsiddheḥ ; nāpi tṛtīyaḥ, jaivayos tayoḥ kṣodiṣṭhatvāt ; kiṃ tu caturtha evāsau bhavet . . . . . tathā ca hlāda-saṃvidoḥ samvetayoḥ sāro bhaktir iti sidhyati.*

the Yogin ; it consists in a direct vision (*sākṣātkāra*) or attainment (*prāpti*) of the deity in his highest appearance as the Bhagavat, which is attainable by Bhakti alone. The one highest Reality, which is the Bhagavat, appears, no doubt, in threefold way, but Jñāna and Yoga can have a glimpse of one or other of the partial aspects ; to Bhakti alone is accessible the one highest Reality which appears in these various aspects (*tac ca tridhāvirbhāva-yuktaṃ tattvaṃ bhaktyaiva sākṣād api kriyate*).

This idea is further amplified by a consideration of the various classes of the Jñānin and Yogin. In this connexion it would be useful to refer here to the classification of the Jñānin given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya, xxiv), a classification which is implied by Jīva Gosvāmin also in his treatment :


Jñānin
Kevala-brahma-upāsaka (those who desire release irrespective of Bhakti to the Bhagavat)
Mokṣākāṅkṣin (those who desire release, but who also possess Bhakti)
Sādhaka
Brahmamaya
Prāpta-brahma-laya
Mumukṣu
Jīvanmukta
Prāpta-svarūpa

The release which all these classes of seekers desire is the realization of the knowledge of self and its identity or merging in Brahma as the absolute self ; and the classification only indicates the different aspects or stages of the release. The Kevala Upāsaka, who meditates upon Brahma independently of Bhakti, realizes Brahma in the *nirviśeṣa* state by his meditative knowledge ; and this consists of a state of absorption or merger of the Jiva in the impersonal and attributeless Brahma. But this state can be attained after a good deal of effort (*kṛcchra-sādhanatva*), and the attainment of Brahma, who represents only a lower manifestation of the most perfect Bhagavat, indicates only a lower stage of realization, which consists of absorption or extinction. This stage, however, does not last permanently and leads to fresh trouble. The other class of the Jñānin who desire release but also possess Bhakti stands on a different footing. Their Bhakti ultimately leads them to the close proximity of the Bhagavat, so that it is their pure Bhakti which prevails in the end and brings to them the highest realization. Thus, the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to the Śuddhā Bhakti, but it is not necessary to resort to the former when the latter alone is efficacious. If there is Bhakti, the Jñāna will come of itself, for by realizing the Bhagavat by Bhakti one necessarily realizes along with him his partial aspect of Brahma, who is realizable by Jñāna. Hence, Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavaj-jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna, but it also dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. Those who aspire after Jñāna, and not after Bhakti, are like those foolish people who run after the chaff instead of the real grain. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to mere Mukti or Mokṣa, and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat.[1] Thus, the Vaiṣṇava theology of Bengal does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahma, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahma as an imperfect appearance (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*) of the Bhagavat. Even Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti. The true release, in the opinion of this school, is not the attainment of Brahma by Jñāna but the eternal contiguity and devotional service of the Bhagavat by Bhakti.

Similar arguments are employed to show the inferiority of Yoga as a method of realization. The *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* which Yoga teaches is also the direct result of Bhakti ; so also is Vairāgya or non-attachment to worldly objects, which follows (*anugāmi*) Bhakti as a matter of course. Through the influence of the Māyā-śakti the individual self (Jīva) forgets its true nature and becomes distracted by the phenomenal world, with the result that it loses its tranquil state. The eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Yoga teach the suppression of these distractions of the thinking principle and divert it from the phenomenal ego, leading it ultimately to the state of Asaṃprajñāta-Samādhi, in which the individual self in its purity and freedom from the Māyā-śakti realizes, not its complete identity with Brahma, but its intrinsic nature as an atom of divine consciousness (*cit-kaṇā*). Thus, the Yoga leads to a higher stage of realization than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma to the realization of the more Saviśeṣa Paramātman, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the fully Saviśeṣa Bhagavat. Hence, the Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety, even if it is an inferior variety, of Bhakti. But the Śuddhā Bhakti, which conceives the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of emotional personal relationship (such as Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya or Mādhurya), is regarded as more efficacious. Moreover, from what is said above it follows that all the good results of the Yoga-Mārga accrue as a concomitant consequence of Bhakti.

---

[1] The etymology of the word Kaivalya is sometimes given, from this point of view, as *ka* (bliss) + $\sqrt{\textit{val}}$ (to revel), so that the word is made to mean not the knowledge of oneness (*kevala*), but a state of bliss consequent upon the release of the Jīva from the Māyā-śakti and its contiguity to the Bhagavat.

The reconciliation of Karma and Bhakti is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of Bhakti. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end; for on the attainment of Bhakti, the way of Karma is superfluous (*karmāpi bhakti-yoga-paryantam*, also *bhaktyārambha eva tu svarūpata eva karma-tyāgaḥ kartavyaḥ*). The Karma-Mārga lays down injunctions regarding the performance of ceremonial duties, but these appear to lead only to enjoyment in the world and attainment of the insignificant pleasures of Svarga. The observance of the Varṇāśrama-dharma, however, involves much effort and expenditure of money (*mahāvitta-mahāyāsa-sādhya*), and brings only fame or prosperity in this world or in Svarga; it does not seem to lead one to final Puruṣārtha or *summum bonum*. The real objective, however, of these Vedic injunctions is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer ultimately to forsake them (*vedo'-pyavāntara-phalaiḥ pralobhayan mokṣāyaiva karmāṇi vidhatte*). Hence, these ceremonial rites are called *parokṣa-kriyā*, and the Karma-vāda is known as Parokṣa-vāda. The final object of Karma is to lead to Naiṣkarmya; and it occurs when the motive of performance is not the desire of worldly or other limited effects but consists of entire dedication of these acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. This can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by performing one's duties without attachment (*anāsakti*) and desire of fruits (*phala-tyāgaḥ*). But even such dedication is useless unless it is accompanied by Bhakti, which alone sanctifies all acts. The release in this mode, however, comes slowly after a great deal of effort; and the state of Naiṣkarmya or Quietism which is accomplished is in reality another name for complete cessation of all acts. The mode of pure Bhakti, on the other hand, brings about the highest good much more quickly. Even if Bhakti effects a renunciation of ceremonial acts which become unnecessary on its attainment, it does not mean complete inactivity; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts, continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is accomplished. The acts implied in Bhakti are other than those described in the Karma-kāṇḍa as Nitya (compulsory), Naimittika (occasional) and Kāmya (voluntary), which are meant for the securing of some definite object; they consist of such acts as Śravaṇa (listening to the deity's praise), Kīrtana (uttering of the deity's name and praise) etc., by which the supreme deity is worshipped and which are meant only for the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-prīṇana*) and are therefore entirely disinterested (*ahaituka* or *akiñcana*). If Karma is not productive of Bhakti it is useless, just in the same way as Jñāna is useless if it does not lead to the Bhagavat; Karma is useful in so far as it is a step to the higher end of Bhagavad-bhakti. Those Vedic injunctions, therefore, which do not contain any reference to the Līlā of the Bhagavat are to be rejected (*madīya-līlā-śūnyāṃ vaidikīm api vācaṃ nābhyasyet*).

It follows from what is said above that Bhakti may be either Sakāmā (accompanied by the desire for fruits) or Niṣkāma-karma-sahitā (accompanied by acts free from such desire). The dedication of Karma (*karmārpaṇa*) implied in the second case may again be of two kinds, viz., mere abandonment or renunciation of acts to the Bhagavat (*tasmiṃstat-parityāga-rūpam*), and contributing to the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-prīṇana-rūpam*). The Nimitta or occasion of the dedication of Karma may be the desire for fruits (Kāmanā), or the cessation from acts consisting of desireless action (Naiṣkarmya), or pure Bhakti when such acts are meant solely for the pleasure of the deity. Niṣkāmatva or desirelessness by itself is not possible (*niṣkāmatvaṃ kevalaṃ na saṃbhavati*); hence Bhakti which is mixed with mundane acts (Karma-miśrā Bhakti) may be either accompanied by some specific desire for mundane fruits of action (Sakāmā) or it may be accompanied by the desire for emancipation (Kaivalya-kāmā). Of these, however, the latter is sometimes mixed with Karma and Jñāna and sometimes with Jñāna alone, the term Jñāna in this case, of course, meaning perception of complete identity of the Jīva and Brahma (*ekātmadarśana*). The Sakāmā may be Rājasī or prompted by a desire for activity, but it may also be Tāmasī when it is actuated by such baser passions as envy, pride, etc. All these differences of types of Bhakti depend upon the capacity or inclination of the worshipper. But Śuddhā or pure Bhakti, in which alone lies the divine pleasure (*bhaktau punaḥ prīṇanam eva*), is the best mode of attaining the highest good.

Thus having spoken of Jñāna and Yoga as the means of Sadyo-mukti and Krama-mukti respectively, and having shown that the way of Karma, which is dedicated to the Bhagavat, is even a greater means of Bhakti than these two which have a limited objective, Jīva Gosvāmin thinks that the supreme necessity of Bhakti follows as a corollary and does not require proof (*sadyo-mukti-krama-muktyu-*

pāyena jñāna-yogāvuktvā, tato'pi śreṣṭhatvaṃ bhaktiyoga-hetu-bhagavad-arpita-karmaṇa evoktvā sākṣād bhakti-yogasya kaimutyam evānītam). All these are means of avoiding Vaimukhya or averseness to the Bhagavat and producing Sāṃmukhya or proneness; but Jñāna and Yoga lead only to the Brahma and the Paramātman respectively, who are but partial aspects of the Bhagavat. The Karma directed to the Bhagavat, again, is only a door to all these. These different ways are prescribed to suit the capacity of different kinds of people (*puruṣa-yogyatā-bhedena*), and each has its use. But when Bhakti is attained, all these are redundant. The attitude of Bhakti is independent or *nirapekṣa*, and can arise spontaneously; but Jñāna, Yoga, Karma and Vairāgya depend for their efficacy upon Bhakti itself (*tat-sāpekṣa*), for none of them alone can lead to the final bliss (*Bhāgavata* ix, 14, 20). Hence, Bhakti occupies the highest place in the order of realization; as a means it supersedes and includes all the others; but it is not a means only, but an end in itself natural to the Jīva. It follows from all this that the Jñāna-miśrā, Yoga-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti may exist or may be expedient at a lower stage of realization, but pure or Śuddhā Bhakti is the best of all, because it purges the mind of all grossness, removes the fetters of the Māyā-śakti and makes it fit for the Sākṣātkāra or direct vision of the Bhagavat. People have spoken of the excellence of the ways of Jñāna, Yoga and Karma, but, according to the *Bhāgavata* (xi, 14, 9), they have done so because their intelligence are obscured by the influence of the Māyā-śakti.

As an aspect of Karma, the worship of deities other than the Bhagavat is forbidden (*karma-viśeṣa-rūpaṃ devatāntara-bhajanam api na kartavyam*). Even the Guṇāvatāras, namely, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are not worthy of the highest worship. The attitude of equal adoration to all deities (*abheda-dṛṣṭi*), spoken of in some scriptures, is for the Śama-bhakta (i.e. the Yogin) and the Jñānin, but it is not a help but a hinderance to the Bhakta Vaiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇavasya ..... na bhakti-lābhaḥ, pratyavāyaś ca*). Although the attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities and supernatural beings is deprecated, it is maintained that deities like Śiva or Brahmā can be worshipped in so far as they are themselves Vaiṣṇavas or worshippers of the Bhagavat, or in so far as they are particular locations (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the Bhagavat himself. In the Āgamas, for instance, the worship of other gods is permitted as the Bahiraṅgāvaraṇa Sevakas of the Lord, and this is acknowledged in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, vii, 119-20. But for those who regard them as separate and independent objects of worship there is the terrible curse of Bhṛgu Muni referred to in the *Bhāgavata*, iv, 2, 27-28. All worship, however, is futile without kindness to all beings (*bhūta-dayā*) and tolerance of other gods (*sama-dṛṣṭi*) ; but this attitude, as well as Ahiṃsā, is natural (*svabhāva eva*) to one who has Bhakti. In some cases, however, Hiṃsā or injury is permissible, e.g., in plucking flowers and leaves for purposes of worship.

In order to establish further his position regarding Bhakti, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to demonstrate that Bhakti is the central and only theme of the *Bhāgavata*, and that it is inculcated for all times, all places, all beings and all conditions. It is intended alike for those who are desirous of release and for those who have attained release. Even if some scriptures prescribe Jñāna-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti, it is not to emphasize the importance of Jñāna or Karma but to make those who follow the ways of Jñāna and Karma inclined towards pure Bhakti by having a foretaste of its bliss (*tat-tan-mārga-niṣṭhān bhakti-saṃbandhena kṛtārthayituṃ tān eva kāṃścid bhaktyāsvādena śuddhāyāṃ bhaktau pravartayituṃ ca*). The supreme efficacy of Bhakti is next shown by the illustration, drawn chiefly from the *Bhāgavata*, of its characteristics and the results that follow from it as a matter of course. These are : (i) *aprārabdha-pāpa-hāritva* and *prārabdha-pāpaghnatva* (power of counteracting sinful acts whether they have begun to produce effects or not), (ii) *tad-vāsanā-hāritva* (power of removing the instinct for sinful acts), (iii) *avidyā-hāritva* (power of removal of Avidyā or Nescience), (iv) *jñāna-vairāgyādi-sarva-hetutva* (causation of all merit like Jñāna and Vairāgya), (v) *nirguṇatva* (the state of being beyond the sphere of the three Guṇas, for Jñāna and Karma are Sa-guṇa and Bhakti alone is Nirguṇa), (vi) *parama-sukha-rūpatva* (its identity with the supreme bliss), (vii) *bhagavat-svarūpaśakti-bodhaka-svayaṃ prakāśatva* (its self-manifestation, producing the consciousness of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat), (viii) *bhagavad-viṣaya-rati-pradatva* (its bestowal of attachment towards the Bhagavat), and (ix) *bhakta-viṣayaka-bhagavat-prītyaika-hetutva* (its power of producing the exclusive pleasure of the Bhagavat towards the Bhakta). In this connexion the significance of divine grace is discussed. The question is considered as to how it is possible that the perfect being whose intrinsic attribute is self-sufficient bliss, who has no desire nor motive, and who is unaffected by Prakṛti, should feel kindness or grace towards phenomenal beings. In reply it is said that the intrinsic attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat is such that it gladdens both himself and others (*sva-parānandinī*), like the function of the lamp which reveals itself as well as other objects. As such, the question of motive or desire does not arise. The Hlādinī Śakti, eternally placed in those who are his own (*sva-vṛnde nikṣiptam*), causes spontaneous bliss both to himself and his Bhakta. Thus the cause of grace or divine self-surrender is the goodness of the Bhakti of the devotee himself, as an aspect of the infinite Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord.

The grace cannot in all cases operate directly ; for the Lord cannot, unlike the Jīva, feel the natural disturbance of kindness and sorrow which is the result of the Tamo-guṇa ; it therefore operates through the medium of saintly persons who are free from the effects of Prakṛti and are therefore direct receptacles of divine grace (*yā kṛpā tasya satsu vartate sā sat-saṅgenaiva sat-kṛpā-vāhanenaiva vā jīvāntare saṃkramate, na svatantrā*). It is true that the saints and sages are also not touched by the sorrows of the world, and kindness or pity is thus out of place in them ; but the memory of their previous sorrows, like those of a person awakened from dreams, makes them feel compassion for the miseries of other beings. The first cause of Bhakti, no doubt, is the grace of the Lord (*bhagavat-kṛpaiva tat-sāṃmukhye prāthamikaṃ kāraṇam*), but the association with saints and devotees is the most important medium through which this divine grace is communicated.

The saints and devotees are classified into two types, viz. : (i) those who follow the way of Jñāna and devote themselves to the Nirviśeṣa Brahma (*jñāna-mārge brahmānubhavinaḥ*), and (ii) those who follow the way of Bhakti and possess the love of the Bhagavat (*bhakti-mārge labdha-bhagavat-premāṇaḥ*). They are respectively called the Jñāni-siddha and the Bhakta-siddha ; but of these the latter are to be preferred. A realization of the deity is indeed the highest goal, but there are degrees of realization according to the degree of perception of the divine love ; and the Bhagavat-preman is the chief criterion which differentiates the types of devotees (*sākṣātkāra-mātrasyāpi yadyapi puruṣa-prayojanatvam, tathāpi tasminn api sākṣātkāre śrī-bhagavataḥ prīyatva-dharmānubhavas tāvāṁ-stāvān utkarṣaḥ . . . . . tataḥ prema-tāratamyenaiva bhakta-tāratamyaṃ mukhyam*). Of the various kinds of Bhakta-siddhas, again, those who by means of their devotion have been included in the class of the eternal associates of the Bhagavat cannot be expected, like the deity himself, to be in direct touch with phenomenal beings in the matter of conveying divine grace. But there are other Bhakta-siddhas, who are Bhāgavata saints and sages and who can act as a medium of the grace and generate Bhakti in the individual. There are various kinds of such saints, but Bhakti is roused from their contact with such quickness and in such special form as is proportionate to the degree of the power and the feeling of compassion of the particular saint or sage from whom the inspiration is derived (*teṣāṃ bahu-bhedeṣu satsu, teṣām eva prabhāva-tāratamyena kṛpā-tāratamyena bhakti-vāsanā-bheda-tāratamyena sat-saṅgāt kāla-śaighrya-svarūpa-vaiśiṣṭyābhyāṃ bhaktir udyate*). This leads us to the theory of the necessity of a spiritual guide or Guru, a theory which plays an important part in all types of Bhakti religion. The justification of this Guru-vāda lies in the fact that the spiritual guide is supposed to be one who has actually traversed the narrow and strait path and attained spiritual illumination, and that the contact and influence of such an experienced person should be of immense benefit to the beginner in the attainment of spiritual truth. From this association with saintly persons (Sādhu-saṅga) arises, first of all, Ruci or relish in the object of worship and in the ways of worship; and this produces Śraddhā or belief as a preliminary stage to Bhakti. It is therefore laid down that from such saintly people, either collectively or individually, one should listen to the exposition of spiritual truth by making one or all of them his Guru (*teṣvekato'nekato vā śrī-gurutvenāśritāc chravaṇam kriyate*). This is the Śravaṇa-guru, who may also be the Śikṣā-guru when he undertakes to train the mind of his disciple. Such Gurus may be many, but the Mantra-guru who imparts to the disciple the esoteric sacred formula for meditation cannot be more than one (*śrī-mantra-gurus tveka eva*). The very high position which the spiritual guide occupies in the Vaiṣṇava scheme of devotion is indicated by the injunction that the Guru should be looked upon as the divinity himself (*sva-gurau bhagavad-dṛṣṭiḥ kartavyā*).

The stages beginning from the awakening of the Ruci to the instruction of the spiritual guide are the preliminaries of Upāsanā or worship, and are therefore called the Upāsanā-pūrvāṅga. This is followed by different types or stages of Upāsanā graded according to the capacity of the worshipper. If the Guru is a Jñānin, the Upāsanā will be Nirviśeṣamaya, or worship of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma; for Jñāna follows from association with the Jñāni-siddha (*jñāni-saṅgāc ca jñānaṃ jñeyam*), just in the same way as Bhakti follows from association with the Bhakta-siddha. But the Upāsanā may also be Saviśeṣamaya and consist of the worship of a personal god. This may again be either Ahaṃ-graha-Upāsanā or Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā. The Ahaṃ-graha-Upāsanā consists of the meditation of one's identity with a personal god conceived as being possessed of particular Śakti (*ahaṃ-grahopāsanaṃ tac-chakti-viśiṣṭa-īśvara evāham iti cintanam*), and the result naturally is the appearance of the particular divine Śakti in one's self (*asya phalaṃ svasmiṃs tac-chaktyādyāvirbhāvaḥ*), leading the devotee ultimately to the Svārūpya and Sārṣṭya forms of Mukti. As both the objective and the result are limited, this form of worship constitutes a lower stage of realization than what follows from the Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā.

The word Bhakti is derived from the verbal root *bhaj*, which is said to signify complete servitude or Sevā. This state of servitude of the Lord, therefore, is taken as the essential characteristic (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhakti, the other characteristics already mentioned being only concomitant. This servitude or Sevā consists of entire submission in body, mind and words (*sā ca kāyika-vācika-mānasikātmikā trividhaivānugatir ucyate*). The Bhakti, according to its character and origin, is classified into three aspects or rather stages, viz.: (i) Āropa-siddhā or accomplished by outward imposition. It occurs when there is no spontaneous growth of Bhakti (*svato bhaktitvābhāve'pi*), but the feeling is raised to the state of Bhakti from the performance of acts dedicated to the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-arpaṇādinā bhaktitvaṃ prāptā karmādi-rūpā*). (ii) Saṅga-siddhā, or accomplished by association with saintly persons. In this case also there is no spontaneous rise of Bhakti, but the feeling which grows from Jñāna, Karma and ancillaries thereof (*jñāna-karma-tadaṅga-rūpā*) is regarded as included in the category, apparently because it is a stepping stone to pure Bhakti. (iii) Svarūpa-siddhā or accomplished by its own nature. It may arise even though the devotee is unaware of it (*ajñānādināpi tat-prādurbhāve*), but it is invariably favourable to the growth of Bhakti (*bhaktitvāvyabhicāriṇī*) and consists of a direct inclination towards it in the form of such devotional acts as listening to or taking of the divine name (*sākṣāt tad-anugatyātmā tadīya-śravaṇa-kīrtanādi-rūpā*). The illustration given of this attitude is the case of Prahlāda, who in his previous birth observed, without knowing, religious fasting on the Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī day; or a still better illustration is the legend of the hawk who, carried in the mouth of a dog, made a compulsory circumbulation of the temple of the Bhagavat. Each of these types of devotional attitude may again be Sakaitavā or Akaitavā, or with or without a contrivance. Of the two forms of Āropa-siddhā and Saṅga-siddhā, the feeling in each case is said to be Sakaitavā when it takes the attainment of the state of Bhakti only as a means. The Svarūpa-siddhā is Sakaitavā when, through some other motive, it becomes subsidiary to Karma and Jñāna. When there is no other motive but the pleasure of the Bhagavat, the feeling is Akaitavā, and this type of Bhakti has already been described above as Akiñcanā.

This true type of the devotional feeling, known as the Akaitavā or Akiñcanā, admits of two stages, which are respectively designated as Vaidhī and Rāgānugā. Of these, the Vaidhī Bhakti as the preliminary stage is taken up first for treatment, but as the subject has already been dealt with by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*,[1] we shall only refer to the peculiar features of Jīva Gosvāmin's exposition. The Vaidhī is so called because it arises from the injunction of the Śāstra (*śāstrokta-vidhinā pravartitā vaidhī*), while the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural course of emotion, arises spontaneously and is independent of all such injunction. The injunction may be of two kinds, viz., that which is the cause of inclination towards Bhakti, and that which causes the knowledge of what to do and what not to do for the steadying of that inclination (*sa ca vidhir dvividhaḥ, tatra prathamaḥ pravṛtti-hetuḥ, tad-anukrama-kartavyākartavyānāṃ jñāna-hetuś ca dvitīyaḥ*).

---

[1] See *IHQ.*, viii (1932), pp. 649–54.

The elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are enumerated as eleven, thus: (i) Śaraṇāpatti, or resorting to the Bhagavat as the only refuge (*ananya-gati*). It arises in two ways, viz., through the inborn conviction that there is nothing else which can afford permanent refuge (*āśrayāntarasyābhāva-kathanena*), or through forsaking other alternatives adopted unwisely (*nāti-prajñayā kathaṃcid-āśritasyānyasya tyajanena*). This mental state is analyzed, after the Vaiṣṇava Tantra, into fixing of the mind on things congenial to the idea (*anukūlasya saṃkalpaḥ*), forsaking of the uncongenial attitude (*prātikūlya-vivarjanam*), the belief that the deity will protect him (*rakṣisyatīti viśvāsaḥ*), choosing him as the protector (*goptṛtve varaṇam*), resignation of self (*ātma-nikṣepaḥ*), and humility as an object of compassion (*kārpaṇyam*). The next stage is (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide. The Guru is to be honoured above all beings and strictly obeyed, provided he satisfies all the scriptural requirements of a true guide. If the Guru is full of self-conceit (*avalipta*), has no real knowledge of duties (*kāryākāryam ajānan*), or himself deviates from the true Vaiṣṇava ways, he should be abandoned. This stage is followed by (iii) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the form, sport and name of the Bhagavat (*nāma-rūpa-līlāmaya-śabdānāṃ śrotra-sparśaḥ*), and not to a mere repetition of set formulas and prayers. Of all kinds of Śravaṇa, the act of listening to the *Bhāgavata* is the greatest (*tatrāpi śravaṇe śrī-bhāgavata-śravaṇam tu parama-śreṣṭham*). Closely allied to this is (iv) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially of the blessed name. This is said to be the most powerful means of effecting a devotional attitude; and not being subject to the restrictions of time, place or person, it is the only efficacious method which should be universally adopted in the present decadent Kali Age (*kalau tu praśastaṃ tat*). The chanting of Stotras in praise of the deity, which give expression to one's humility (*nija-dainya*) or one's wishes (*nijābhīṣṭa*) is included in the category of Kīrtana.

A still higher stage is reached in (v) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering, which is described as mental concentration (*mānasānusaṃdhānam*) and which consists of fixing one's thought on the name, the form or the sport of the deity. Five kinds of Smaraṇa are differentiated, viz., Smaraṇa-sāmānya or fixing one's mind, however slightly or indefinitely (*yat kiṃcid anusaṃdhānam*); Dhāraṇā, or withdrawing the mind from all sides and fixing it in a general way (*sarvataś cittam ākṛṣya sāmānyākāreṇa mano-dhāraṇam*); Dhyāna, or special concentration of the mind with reference to the name, form, etc. of the deity (*viśeṣato rūpādi-cintanam*); Dhruvānusmṛti, which is the same as above but in an uninterrupted flow like a stream of nectar (*amṛta-dhārāvad avicchinnaṃ tat*); and Samādhi, or the exclusive appearance of the object of thought in the mind (*dhyeya-mātra-sphuraṇam*), which, however, is different from the Asaṃprajñāta Brahma-samādhi. This leads to various external acts of devotion collectively included under the designation: (vi) Pādasevā, such as the act of seeing, touching or going round (*parikrama*) the image of the deity, following the procession of the image (*anuvrajana*), residence in the temple or in some sacred place, pilgrimage, bathing in the holy waters of a Tīrtha, etc. Living in holy places and pilgrimage are extolled as affording an opportunity of meeting saints and sages in these places. Further overt acts of devotion constitute the next stage, called (vii) Arcanā, which includes various rites of worship to be learnt from the instruction of the Mantra-Guru or from the Āgamas. It is true that the *Bhāgavata* does not, as the Pañcarātra scriptures do, insist upon the necessity of ceremonial worship (*yadyapi śrī-bhāgavata-mate pañcarātravad arcanā-mārgasyāvaśyakatvaṃ nāsti*), for recourse to one or other of the modes like Śaraṇāpatti mentioned above is, in its opinion, enough for attaining the highest good (*tad vināpi śaraṇāpattyādīnām ekatareṇāpi puruṣārtha-siddher abhihitatvāt*); but those who desire to follow this way of the Pañcarātras can do so in accordance with the Dīkṣā received from their Gurus. This way of ceremonial worship is intended especially for those who are wealthy householders (*ye tu sampattimanto gṛhasthās teṣāṃ tvarcanā-mārga eva mukhyaḥ*), for this is how their wealth can be best utilized. In this connexion the worship of inferior deities is deprecated. The Arcanā also comprehends such pious acts as putting on the Vaiṣṇava signs on one's body (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*), partaking of the remains of an offering to the deity (*nirmālya-dhāraṇa*) or drinking of the holy water obtained after washing the feet of the image (*caraṇāmṛta-pāna*), etc. which are regularly enjoined in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra. Closely connected with this is (viii) Vandanā, or act of homage, which is indeed an Aṅga or auxiliary of Arcanā, but which is separately mentioned in order to indicate that it may be independently employed like Smaraṇa, Kīrtana, etc. (*tac ca yadyapi arcanāṅgatvenāpi vartate, tathāpi kīrtana-smaraṇavat svātantryeṇāpītyabhipretya pṛthag vidhīyate*). It includes Namaskāra or salutation, which in Bengal

Vaiṣṇavism consists of prostration at full length like a log of wood (*daṇḍavat praṇāmaḥ*). The acts and ceremonies mentioned above gradually produce feelings of humility, fellowship or entire self-surrender which are now mentioned as Aṅgas of the Vaidhī Bhakti. The feeling of humility is indicated by (ix) Dāsya, which consists not only of actual service but also of the feeling that one is a servant of the Lord (*dāsyaṃmanyatvam*). Leaving alone the effort of worship, this very feeling of servitude, if fully realized, is enough for attaining the desired end ; hence Dāsya is separately mentioned as a way of Bhakti (*astu tāvad bhajana-prayāsaḥ, kevala-tādṛśatvābhimānenāpi siddhir bhavatītyabhipretyaivottaratra nirdeśaś ca tasya*). This feeling of servitude is said to underlie and uplift all devotional practices (*etad-dāsya-saṃbandhenaiva sarvam api bhajanaṃ mahattaraṃ bhavati*). A somewhat higher feeling is (x) Sakhya, or the sense of friendship or relationship (*bandhu-bhāva*), which, like Dāsya, follows from the very nature of the relation of the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The last stage is reached in (xi) Ātma-nivedana, or complete surrender of self which consists of the feeling that one's body, mind, the senses, and soul are all intended for the Bhagavat (*dehādi-śuddhātmā-paryantasya sarvatobhāvena tasminn evārpaṇam*). This feeling is marked also by the absence of all efforts for one's self (*ātmārtha-ceṣṭā-śūnyatvam*) and by the presence alone of efforts directed towards the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*tad-arthaika-ceṣṭā-mayatvam*). It thus consists of the dedication of self, both as a means and as an end, to the Bhagavat (*tan-nyastātma-sādhana-sādhyatvam*).

Sometimes one or other of these eleven elements, which are inter-related to one another, is extolled as exclusively excellent in the scriptures ; this is due not to any inherent mutual contradiction among these various ways, but to the fact that the one or the other is to be believed in or practised according to the capacity of the individual worshipper, just in the same way as medicine is to be administered according to the capacity of the patient.

As this aspect of Bhakti is guided by the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, it is conditional. It is based upon the fear of transgression ; and as fear enters as an element in guiding devotional practices, this method must be regarded as somewhat formal and mechanical. As a preliminary stage, however, it is indispensable for some individuals before they can pass on to the higher and more spontaneous Rāgānugā Bhakti, to the treatment of which now Jīva Gosvāmin turns his attention.

By Rāgānugā Bhakti is meant the feeling of devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti which is eternally displayed by the Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the

Śaktimat. The Rāgātmikā Bhakti, as its name implies, consists entirely of Rāga, which is defined as the natural excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards the object of desire or attachment (*viṣayiṇaḥ svābhāviko viṣaya-saṃsargecchātiśayaḥ premā rāgaḥ*). For instance, whether the self wishes it or not, the five senses cannot but come into contact with the particular objects of inclination and be attracted by them. Thus, the sense of sight is naturally drawn towards beauty, that of smell towards fragrance. In the same way the devotee cannot but be attracted towards the Bhagavat (*yathā cakṣurādīnāṃ saundaryam, tādṛśa evātra bhaktasya śrī-bhagavatyapi rāga ityucyate*). This spontaneous flow of devotion is called Rāgātmikā Bhakti. The Rāga may admit of various aspects according to the nature of the feeling and the relationship conceived between the subject and the object, for the Lord himself has said (*Bhāgavata*, iii, 25, 38) : *yeṣām ahaṃ priya ātmā sutaś ca sakhā guruḥ suhṛdo daivam iṣṭam* ('Of whom I am the beloved, the Soul, the Son, the Friend, the Elderly Ancestor, the Relative, and the Desirable Deity'). It is explained that the Lord appeared as the Priya to the Gopīs and his Mahīṣīs, as the Ātman to ascetics like Sanaka, as the Suta to Nanda and Yaśodā, as the Sakhi to Gopas like Sudāman, as the Guru to Pradyumna and others, as the Suhṛd to Subhadrā, and as the Iṣṭa Deva to people like Dāruka. In his Līlā he manifests himself in these diverse ways to his Parikaras who are dear to him ; and the feeling of the Parikaras towards him takes the various forms of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, which thus expresses itself as a deep and natural feeling of attachment. The Vaidhī Bhakti depends upon the injunctions of the Śāstras, and hence it is comparatively weak, being mechanical ; but the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural emotional ways of the Parikaras of the Bhagavat, is independent of all outward rule and is therefore spontaneous and strong.

It may be objected that if the Rāgānugā Bhakti is marked by freedom from scriptural injunctions, the statement about its merit as the highest Dharma is in conflict with the well known dictum of Jaimini (1, 1, 2 *codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*) which lays down that the Dharma is that which is enjoined by scriptural injunction. It is also said in the *Bhāgavata* that the Śruti and Smṛti, consisting of injunctions and prohibitions, are the directions of the Bhagavat himself, so that one who disregards them is guilty of violating divine commandments and cannot be regarded as a true Vaiṣṇava or a Bhakta. How is it then that fulfilment is said to follow in a way of worship which is indifferent to the Śāstric rules of conduct (*kathaṃ tarhi vidhi-nirapekṣayā tayā siddhiḥ*) ? This apparent anomaly is reconciled by the statement that Bhakti must be distinguished from other kinds of Dharma, which depend upon outward Śāstric rules,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

for the devotional attitude which springs spontaneously from the intrinsic potency of the divine names and attributes is independent of such injunctions (*śrī-bhagavan-nāma-guṇādiṣu vastu-śakteḥ siddhatvān na dharmavad bhakteś codanā-sāpekṣatvam*). It is known from experience that in many cases there has been attainment of such devotion even without any knowledge of scriptural rules (*ato jñānādikaṃ vināpi phala-lābho bahutra śruto'sti*). It is true that scriptural directions should not be disregarded, but directions are for those who have no natural inclination towards religious devotion (*codanā tu yasya svataḥ pravṛttir nāsti tad-viṣayaiva*) ; it is for such people that grades of injunctions are prescribed (*tathā kramavidhiś ca tad-viṣayaḥ*). They are not necessary for those who have a natural proneness (*na tu svayaṃ pravṛttimatyapi maryādānirmāṇam*) ; for such outward mechanical rules are obligatory only when the mind in the early stage of devotion is inwardly distracted and cannot attain the natural stage of composure which is essential for the Rāgānugā Bhakti. Hence, the chief object of the injunctions is to bring about this gradual concentration of the mind (*kramaśaś cittābhiniveśāya*) and prepare it for the higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti (*vartma-praveśāya*) in which the devotional spirit has a spontaneous and uninterrupted flow. It follows, therefore, that the scriptural injunctions are not to be ignored or violated ; on the contrary, they are strictly binding on those who are still far away from the state of the Rāgānugā Bhakti. But when that state of mind is once reached, either by the Vaidhī or by itself, i.e. when the object of the injunctions is fulfilled, there is no further necessity for compliance with them. At this higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti, if there is any violation of such injunctions, such violation does not constitute wilful transgression ; for it takes place spontaneously by the spirit of Bhakti and does not in any way affect the natural attitude of the devotee towards the Bhagavat.

That this mode of Rāgānugā Bhakti is the most efficacious is illustrated by the Purāṇic examples of Putanā and Śiśupāla. In the first case, by pretending Vātsalya or parental affection for Kṛṣṇa, Putanā does not actually realize but merely imitates one of the modes of the Rāgānugā devotion ; but, in spite of her insincerity and sinister motive, her mere imitativeness is said to have been amply rewarded by divine grace. In the second case, under the cover of a life-long and inveterate vindictiveness towards Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla's whole thought was indeed deeply concentrated on Kṛṣṇa, and this fervency of feeling, despite its ill-directed motive, could not but bring its own reward in the shape of Sāyujya-Mukti for Śiśupāla. On account of this adverse attitude, Śiśupāla could not attain the highest good, viz., Premā or love for Kṛṣṇa, and he was given the lowest place in the hierarchy of emancipated beings ; but this and the other example show that the Rāgānugā Bhakti, even if it is imitative, adverse or apathetic, is superior to the Vaidhī, even when the latter is directed in a congenial and sympathetic way.

It has been already said above that the Rāgānugā Bhakti is that devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the constant associates or Parikaras of the Bhagavat, which is thus an aspect of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmas. These Parikaras represent the different aspects of the Lord's own attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti, which in its infinite potency reflects itself differently in them in the form of different personal relationships conceived in emotional terms. The one and the same infinite Rasa or divine sentiment of bliss is differently expressed, and results in different devotional relationships between the Śaktimat and the aspects of his Śaktis. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationship (Rāgātmikā), the varieties of Rasa thus reflected in the divine Parikaras become the different types or stages of Rāgātmikā Bhakti. On the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, the Rāgānugā Bhakti of ordinary devotees is modelled as types or stages of the spontaneous devotional sentiment. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realization of this character ; it is enough if the enjoined religious duties are performed in an attitude of devotion. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments by directing them towards the Bhagavat. It is, no doubt, an inward and spontaneous realization, but it is still an elaborate realization or Sādhana ; like the Vaidhī, it is still Sādhana-Bhakti, but the Sādhana is independent of mechanical Śāstric formulas and depends entirely on one's own emotional capacity of devotion. It is, however, vicarious in the sense that the devotee, according to his individual capacity, imitates and realizes within himself the different aspects of the beatific sport of the deity with his Associates in terms of one or other of the varieties of the blissful sentiment. It does not consist of a direct establishment of personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, but the devotee prepares himself for such direct personal contact by this preliminary vicarious enjoyment of the devotional sentiments of the deity's own Parikaras, who typify the highest forms of devotional realization. This Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the divine Parikaras cannot indeed be reached in its perfection by phenomenal beings, but years of constant practice can prepare them for ultimately attaining this state.

These forms or gradations of emotional realization are classified, in terms of human sentiments, into five broad categories of Rasas or devotional sentiments, viz., Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya, the characteristics of which have already been indicated in connexion with Rūpa Gosvāmin's treatment of the Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra.[1] The idea of the stages of distinct personal relationship of the deity and his Parikaras is a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of entire identity, which cannot be posited in view of the theory of difference in non-difference accepted by the school. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such ideas of personal emotional relationship, is distinguished as inferior to the other four. The Śānta-Bhakti consists of Śama or a state of mental composure, in which the devotee, according to the description of the *Gītā* becomes *brahmabhūta*, attaining the consciousness of his complete identity with Brahma. This mode of realization, therefore, is not based upon the idea of personal relationship with the Bhagavat conceived as the perfect person, and would reduce the devotional sentiment into a sentiment of self-worship. No doubt, it involves an amount of Bhakti, but both in its method and objective it is mixed with Jñāna ; and such Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti has already been spoken of above as an inferior type of Bhakti. It is not entirely rejected as a mode, but it is followed only by those who are desirous of Mukti or complete merger in the impersonal Brahma. The pure Bhakti, on the other hand, is free from any such inferior objective, but it wants to continue its worship of the deity in some form of direct emotional relationship even in a state of emancipation from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti. The first stage of this unmixed Bhakti is Dāsya or the sentiment of servitude, which is higher than the somewhat colourless sentiment involved in Śānta-Bhakti, for it conceives the Bhagavat as the eternal master and the Parikara as his eternal servant. There are also two other stages of affectionate relationship, viz., Sakhya or Friendship and Vātsalya or Parental Sentiment, until the climax is reached in the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. This sentiment can also be imitated and vicariously realized by the devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage the Lordship of the deity is completely suppressed by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm which produces a strong mutual attraction between the deity and his Parikara.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not be viewed as mere sensual passion (*prākṛta kāma*). No doubt, there are verses in the *Bhāgavata* in which the display of conjugal love is described with reference to

---

[1] See *I.H.Q.*, 1932, pp. 666-8.

Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs ; but even if it is desire or Kāma, in the Gopīs it becomes pure love or Premā (*tādṛśīnāṃ kāmo hi premaika-rūpaḥ*) ; for in all these ecstatic sports the Gopīs never had the slightest desire for their own pleasure, but all their efforts were directed towards effecting the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. In the case of the Sairindhrī (the Kubjā), her desire for sporting with Kṛṣṇa is not deprecated in itself ; for whatever may have been the character of her desire, she did not long for inferior worldly objects (*prākṛtam eva viṣayam*) but for the Bhagavat himself (*sā tu bhagavantam eva kāmayate iti parama-sumanīṣiṇyeva*), and there is no doubt from her words about the intensity of her feeling. It is deprecated only in comparison with the feeling of the Gopīs, for her desire for sport was entirely for her own sensual pleasure, while that of the Gopīs was exclusively intended for Kṛṣṇa (*sairindhryās tu bhāvo riraṃsā-prāyatvena śrī-gopīnām iva kevala-tat-tātparyābhāvāt tad-apekṣa-yaiva nindyate, na tu svarūpataḥ*). In accordance with the *Vedānta-sūtra* ii, 1, 33 (*lokavat tu līlā-kaivalyam*), the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss (*līlā tvatra svabhāvata eva siddhā*). This sport must be understood to be non-phenomenal (*aprākṛta*), but it is similar in form to that of phenomenal beings (*lokavat*). In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that the Bhagavat should also display in his sport with his own Śaktis supersensuous pleasure of a similar character. The sex-instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the highest human instincts, which finds a transfigured counterpart or ideal in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. The Gopīs, as already shewn, are nothing but aspects of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa's highest attribute of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), and sport with them after the manner of phenomenal beings is only a natural expression of the divine self. Moreover, the sacred texts show that even ascetics and devotees like Uddhava, who were above worldly pleasure, praised and desired such pleasure of conjugal love as displayed by the Gopīs. The *Padma-purāṇa* records that even the Śrutis (the Vedas) craved for it, and were incarnated as Gopīs. The fact that not only women but also men, and men of saintly character, desire it shows that the feeling is free from all touch of mere sensuality (*na prākṛtaḥ kāmo'sau*).

In conclusion Jīva Gosvāmin states that other details about Bhakti-mārga are to be learnt from the Śāstras or from the examples of great devotees. But whatever devotional secret one obtains from the grace of the Bhagavat or from his Guru should be cherished as a precious possession and should not be divulged to any one.

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE KHANDHA-DOCTRINE

(*concluded*)

By C. A. F. Rhys Davids

In this second part [1] of my examination of the Khandha-contexts in the Piṭakas, I am setting beside the analysis of such contexts in the Khandha-Saṃyutta all the remaining contexts that I have found in the Sutta-Piṭaka and some in the other two Piṭakas. With the remarkably rare references to the khandhas in the Dīgha-Nikāya I have dealt incidentally in my first part; also with the total omission of reference to them in the Sutta-Nipāta.

References to the khandhas, either by name, or also as five in number, or to them without reference to name or number occur, in these materials, in the varying frequency indicated in the following table :—

VINAYA-PIṬAKA.

Mahāvagga, I, 6, 19 ; and 38 f., viz. in the First and Second Utterances.

SUTTA-PIṬAKA.

Dīgha-Nikāya (see Part I of this article).
Majjhima-Nikāya : 17 references.
Saṃyutta-Nikāya, excluding Khandha-Saṃyutta : 19 references.
Anguttara-Nikāya, 15 references.
Khuddaka-Nikāya :
  Khuddakapāṭha, 1 reference (not under head 5, but under head 4).
  Dhammapada, 1 reference : *khandhānam udayabbayaṃ*.
  Udāna, no reference.
  Iti-vuttaka, 1 reference.
  Sutta-Nipāta, no reference.
  Peta- and Vimāna-vatthu, no reference.
  There-therī-gāthā, 6 references.

The other six books of this Nikāya, together with the seven of the Third Piṭaka I put aside for the purpose of this table. They are admittedly later compilations, and it is with the earliest appearances of the khandhas that this study is concerned.

---

[1] For part I, see *Indian Culture*, Jan. 1937.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Let me here say I have, for these statistics, relied mainly on indexes. None knows better than I how far indexes, even those compiled by the best-intentioned indexmakers, are incomplete. Hence I am cautious in drawing conclusions from frequency of reference or the reverse. For instance, from the paucity of allusions in 7 of the 8 books of anthologies above. That paucity is fairly well balanced by the frequency apparent in the last-named, so that it were no fit argument to say, that allusions to a category of psychological analysis, such as is that of the 5 khandhas, are not likely to find mention in poetry. It should here be remembered, that Pali verses are not always to be credited to the poetic muse ; they were largely due to mnemonic need. And further : there came to be coined a metrical tag embracing the main heads of that analytical vogue which so overmastered the adolescent Buddhist Sangha. It ran

khandh'âyatana-dhātu ca

'the factors, spheres and elements', as one might translate it, and several of those 15 references consist in this. Another tag, a prose one, in the monastic vocabulary, was *khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ*, which is also metrical : 'the rise and passing of the groups'. This also occurs repeatedly in verse. The only conclusion I can draw from the silence about khandhas in four of the anthologies above, and the one reference only in three of the others is, that, had the curriculum of monk-teaching, when those seven were mainly compiled, put strongly forward the khandha-analysis as substitute for the soul or spirit, reference to this would have occurred, and oftener.

I have said 'mainly' compiled and with point. Every anthology will have had its own history. And into that individual story the future historian of the Pali Canon will have to go. Let him or her here note, that the references in the Theragāthā to the khandhas are not made by any contributor of whom we can say with confidence, that he was a contemporary of the Founder, with this one exception : Soṇa-Kūṭikaṇṇa (Vin. Mhv. V, 13). And in his verses, the khandhas are only mentioned in an obvious gloss at the end, when Soṇa has done his compilation, an appendix which is added to other gāthās (ver. 368-9). Thus :

> Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
> The Wake, did Soṇa, framing goodly speech,
> Utter the very Dhamma, man o' the Very Wake.
> Well doth he know the factors five, making the Road to come to be.
> Having attained the utter peace, unblemished will he make an end.

There is no mention of khandhas in the verses of Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Kassapa, Revata, Kappina, Puṇṇa, or any others of the Old Brigade. I judge this is contributory evidence of some weight, however much Sāriputta's name, in the Suttas, has got mixed up with khandha-talk.

There is another quasi-silence about the ' five ', which I am loth to pass by, however explicitly I have guarded myself from deductions from it. It is that silence of the Dīgha-Nikāya. There is plenty of patchwork in this venerable compilation, as we know. I would remind readers, how the whole of the First, the Sīla, Section is silent about that remarkable taking over of a forgotten Brahman's tele-volitional ethics till the end of the last chapter, when it comes in as a patchwork. There was call and scope for khandha-reference in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta, in all conscience (p. 76) ; or in the Poṭṭhapāda Suttanta ; still more perhaps in the Nidāna-Suttanta, the Sakkapañha, the Pāyāsi, and most of all, in the Sampasādaniya and Pāsādika Suttantas, wherein all the points in sound religious teaching are rehearsed. I am not here wondering why the ' five ' were not introduced into the Points, once Thirty, then Thirtyseven, called later *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*. Neither were the Four Truths inserted into these. Those ' dhammas ' were *processes* in ethical, in religious training. The Truths, the Khandhas were, as was supposed, just statements of fact. But these Suttantas, especially the Sampasādaniya set forth what the Founder was held to have taught. And the omission there of the Khandhas is really not without significance.

Why then does the Second Collection (Majjhima) harp where the First (Dīgha) is all but silent ? The answer lies buried in the lost centres, seats of ' bhāṇakas ', where each Collection was developed from remembered Sayings :—just texts of discourse, or episodes or, it may be, complete if short talks,—into finished literary compositions, oral and then written. I do not attach weight to the tradition, quoted in the Dīgha Commentary, of the Dīgha being handed over to Ānanda's care, the Majjhima to the school of Sāriputta (the Saṃyutta to Kassapa, the Anguttara to Anuruddha). It is a bald statement, perhaps good for nothing. Yet I do not forget Ānanda's ignoring of the khandhas when the perplexed Channa appealed to him. (See part I of this article). We can, in default of evidence, only surmise, that the Majjhima centre was more under proto-Sānkhyan influence, more engaged in mental analysis than the Dīgha centre. Or it may have been that, whereas the Dīgha tradition was one in which Brahmans had held Gotama in high respect (cf. Suttantas 3–8, etc.), the Majjhima centre may have been one where the rift between Brahmans and Sakya over ritual and sacrifice grew more quickly to include central matters of Immanence, of the Ātman. So marked in such things is the difference between the two Collections, that it is at times hard to believe them to have sprung from a common source. The difference in length does not account for the silence of the one, for the Dīgha is over three quarters the length of the Majjhima.

The disparity in proportion of reference in the two other Collections is even more remarkable, since to the 19 of the Saṃyutta in my Table we must add 158 references, i.e. one for each Sutta of the Khandha Saṃyutta. We get thus, in two Collections, the total lengths of which are about $\frac{14}{15}$, a proportion-in-reference of $\frac{177}{15}$. Now it is possible, that the amassing Suttas on 'kindred' subjects (I refer to my husband's choice and mine of the title 'Kindred Sayings') may have entailed much sweeping in from different centres, accomplished either when on tour, or by special tours, or not till the great Patna revisional Congress. Hence it may not be true to see in a Saṃyutta-bhāṇaka centre a special preoccupation with the khandha doctrine. On the other hand it must never be forgotten, that the 'Fives' Section in the Anguttara *omits all mention of khandhas*—an overlooked fact pointed out by myself. And this looks suspiciously as if no such doctrine was in existence when that Section was compiled.

I am not saying that five khandhas find no mention in this Fifth Section. I find one and only one—and that comes last in a fairly obvious appendix to a Sutta. This is No. 30, 'Nāgita'. The Founder is shown resenting being fussed over, and his expression of it begins and is rounded off in the same terms 'let such an one enjoy . . flattery'. Then comes an appendix of five points, the khandhas being possibly put in to lend dignity to a talk that certainly lacks graciousness, to say nothing more :—(We may thus go a step further than the schoolboy's definition of an appendix :—'a portion of a book of which no one has yet discovered the use'). 'Whoever abides seeing the rise and passing of the fivefold group of attachment (*upādānakkhandha*) . . .'

Nor are the subjects classed as 'fives' only of the nature of processes—to repeat what I was saying above. The student may quickly see the great diversity so classed in the table I made of them all in the Anguttara Index Volume (pp. 174–92) 26 years ago.

I have for some time judged that, in the Fourth Collection, we have not the latest, but the earliest attempt made to collect and classify the growing thesaurus of Sayings, and that hence, if the Anguttara omits—and it does omit—categories, formulas, which are now placed as central to Buddhist teaching, it is because, during the making of that attempt, these had not yet been made. That the khandhas find incidental mention in the Anguttaras some 15 times does not affect this conclusion. The hand of the later editor is too palpable throughout, not to betray whence khandhas and other tenets may have come to be inserted.

Let us now look into other of these khandha-contexts, if haply (1) we may get any light as to whether they were originally integral to the discourse, or whether they were later insertions and additions; secondly, (2) whether, as probably the latter, they form a misfit in the text, such as we found in the Khandha-Saṃyutta. Next, (3) whether the contexts suggest an earliest usage for which a more detailed statement of 'mind' was felt to be needed. Lastly, (4) a word on khandhas in the Third Piṭaka.

Of the khandha contexts in the Sutta-Piṭaka, the majority evidently treat the subject as a well-recognized tenet in orthodox teaching. The pentad, whether it be referred to as such, or under each of the five heads, is either woven up into the discourse, or is used with other tenets in summing up, or is used as opening, or forms the one theme, or is cited in terms of what I have called a tag, a cliché, or is mentioned in passing. Specimens of each of these usages may be seen in (1) the Snake Sutta, S. IV, 173; (2) the Mahāhatthipadopama, M. No. XXVIII); (3) the Minor Miscellany, M. No. 44 and Rāhula Sutta, M. No. LXII; (4) the Sutta 'Pattaṃ', S. I, 112: (5) the First Utterance, and wherever the description there given of *dukkha* is repeated: *sankhittena pañcupādānakkahandhā dukkhā*; (6) Vajirā's and Selā's verses (Therīgāthā, and S. i, 135.) Let it not for a moment be supposed, that the task of undermining the place at present occupied by the khandha-tenet is an easy one. It would not sit as firmly as it does in books on Buddhism, were the majority of contexts other than such as are in this sixfold list.

I will now ask readers to consider certain, if fewer contexts, where the tenet does not sit so firmly. It will be seen, that their instability shows interesting variants to those I gave from the Khandha-Saṃyutta.

Let me first cite where a later (?) appendix seems apparent. I find such contexts in

Saṃyutta i, 246 and 250;
,, iii, 186.
,, v, 60.

Anguttara, ii, 45,
Theragāthā. I, 120 & 440.
,, I, 90 (approximately).

Reading these contexts can alone bring assent or dissent.

I come to one or two 'misfits' in khandha-contexts.

I do not stress the partly different names for the 'five' in S., I, 112.

Rupaṃ, vedayitaṃ, saññaṃ, viññāṇaṃ yañca sankhataṃ,

nor the difference in order, because we have here what may have been only metrical exigency. Nor do I attach significance to the attempt made here and there in the long Saṃyutta on Causation (Nidāna), to weave in the five in this or that version of a talk on cause (e.g., S. II, 28, 30).

But I do see an *appended* reference to the four mental khandhas, where originally *only the body* was referred to in the following :—

There is a much repeated description of material form, given for instance in M. No. LXII, again in A. i, 284 ; ii, 171, 202, etc.),—'whatever *rūpa* there is, past, present, future, within, without, gross, subtle, high, low, far, near, it is not mine, I am not it, it is not for me the self.' The Founder is shown saying this as he goes before his son on an alms-round. Rāhula is then made to say : 'Just *rūpa*, sir ?' The answer is 'Not just *rūpa*, but also feeling, perception, complexes, awareness'.

So far so good. Here is no reason for alleging insertion or misfit. The son may have only wished to make sure (what he surely must, as his father's pupil, have known), that neither were any ways of mind to be considered as the self, they, no less than body, being but the limited instruments of the self. But wherever *elsewhere* this description of *rūpa* is cited, both in the Majjhima (three times) and in Saṃyutta and Anguttara, the description is *explicitly applied to each mental khandha*. And this drives me to conclude, that this older description of 'matter' or body, worded of the man when contemplating his bodily frame, came to be extended to the fourfold aspect of mind, when this division of mind came into vogue, a description which, for anything immaterial, *is in part a misfit*. We have only to look among the Suttas for descriptions of *manas*, *citta*, *viññāṇa* to see how quite otherwise each is described. I have submitted this context to a few of my wisest friends, and their verdict is unanimous, that we have here a strong case for later insertion of the four mental khandhas.

One other misfit I find in an interesting position, namely, *in the 'Fours'* of the Anguttara. (I repeat, the 'five' are not a titular item in the Fives). In the Sutta Sokhummāni, 'subtle things' (IV, II, 16), we read of a man having power to penetrate subtlety of *rūpa*, of *saññā*, of *vedanā*, and of the *sankhāra's*. The verses follow :—

Knowing the subtlety of form and knowing
How feelings come to be, and whence arises
Perception, how it ends, knowing the activities
As other and as ill, but not as self :
(These things) if he do see aright, the monk . . .

Here we have the all-important reservation made of the (unnamed) fifth khandha, *viññāṇa*, as implicitly meaning still, not the mere mind-way it came to mean, but as the very man, the self, here 'the monk'. It was the man conceived as persistingly aware, in both this world and hereafter, that was expressed by *viññāṇa*, both in the Upaniṣads and in Piṭakan 'left-ins', and which we see so fiercely attacked by the growing monastic ideals in the Majjhima (No. 38), and there reduced to the mere resultant of a preceding sensation.

The Sutta is for my subject of historical interest, since it shows a perhaps brief stage in the outlook on body and mind prior to the emergence of these as fivefold. We have the outlook as fourfold with the retention of the man as not yet a mere fifth item. There is no sign that the Sutta is a later insertion. But we can feel fairly sure, that had that outlook become fivefold when the titles of the Fourth and Fifth Nipātas were selected, the Sokhummāni would have been held back for inclusion in the Fifth, and the Fifth would have had the Five among its titles.

Before leaving the subject of misfits, I will mention a negative one, so to speak ; I mean, where the 'five' would almost certainly have found mention, had they already come into the 'church' curriculum. In the Majjhima are two catechetical Suttas, (Nos. 43 and 44), called the Major and Minor Miscellanies. We see two very eminent fellow-workers of the Founder agreeing to play teacher and pupil, to draft an oral *vade mecum* for the use of learners. The trend of the talk is psychological ; *viññāṇa* and *vedanā* and *paññā* being discussed. But there is never a word about any fivefold division of body and mind ! With the second Sutta, alleged to have been between the eminent nun Dhammadinnā and her ex-husband, the catechism *starts* with the khandhas ; and for us the query rises : Was this beginning interpolated to make good the omission in the former ? No reply short of a psychic one is here to be hoped for, and I pass, with this Sutta beside me, to add a word on what may possibly have been, at their introduction, the chief use to which the 'five' were put.

Here and repeatedly we find them used to expand the term *sakkāya-diṭṭhi*, 'the view of the (man as being) a group'. This is a label for a formula which is actually an expansion of the caution given in the 'Second Utterance' of Gotama, spoken to his first few adherents.[1] But in its aim it *virtually inverts that caution.* The *argument* in the Utterance belongs to the current teaching of Immanence. 'You' are by nature divine, but having here to work with limited instruments, body and mind, you limit your Divine nature, *if* you see that nature in either instrument. Against this dangerous tendency of the day, Kauṣītaki also warned his students, as I have often pointed out.[2] But the *formula*, albeit it does not say in so many words there is no 'you' over and above the 'five', bodily and mental, virtually admits this. The wrong 'view' is to 'see' the man as any one of the five, or as having it,[3] or as being in it, or as seeing it in the man. And this pluralistic conclusion of man-as-many, not as one, became and has remained the main doctrine of Hīnayāna Buddhism to this day. I wrote once, replying to the letter of a young Ceylon monk, you make the man out to be merely the body and mind he uses. The rejoinder was: What in heaven's name is he if not these two?

Now this pluralism, although it is a disgrace—as James Ward pointed out—to what extent it is found in the religion and the psychology of to-day, was a very new and growing tendency in the India of the late centuries of the last era, and it asserted itself at the Council of Patna, when the Sangha won for itself the by-name of 'Analysers' (*vibhajjavādins*). And so we have the pathetic historical tragedy before us, of a great teacher's *caveat*, warning men not to confuse the man with his limited instruments, twisted into an insistence on the truth of this very confusion! In his day it will have seemed to the Founder Gotama impossible that man could come to deny his own reality; the one danger lay in confusing that unique reality with what he used for self-expression. At the opposite pole to his teaching we have, after a thousand years, Buddhaghosa affirming, that there is no such unique reality in man or in anything else whatever.

There are, I well know, many who, if they read that phrase: 'at the opposite pole to his teaching', will protest I go too far. Will they, perhaps for the first time consider the talk, as between Gotama and Saccaka the Licchavi, in Majjhima, No. 35? Gotama, made to speak in terms of the five khandhas, elicits from Saccaka, that he (Saccaka) holds this opinion: 'I, master Gotama, say thus: For me body is the self, feeling is the self, perception, complexes, awareness, is the self'. To him thereupon Gotama: 'Would a king of Kosala, of Magadha, have punitive power over offenders among his subjects?' Saccaka: 'Ay, and republics too'. (That is, if we remember that for India the only 'judge' was the political chief, these chiefs would not have that power were they just subjects). To him Gotama: 'Can you then, as self (i.e. as being innately Divine) order body to do as you wish?' Saccaka sits silenced. The question is repeated concerning the other four khandhas. Saccaka then retracts and admits it is not proper to identify the self with what is so far from divine—i.e. transient, ill, changeable—as is each of the five.

---

[1] Vin. Mahāv. I, 6.

[2] *Kauṣ. Up.* 3, 8.

[3] As a tree has its shadow. Comy.

Now the analogy with the judge it is that is here overlooked. The king is judge because he is not any of his subjects. By analogy, the self is not his tools, body, mind. But it does not follow that, because the king is not John Smith, *therefore there is no king*'!

So we have on the one hand Gotama affirming that the relation of the man or self to his body and mind is as much a reality as is that of judge to delinquent, and on the other Buddhaghosa and Buddhists, nay, and writers on Buddhism merging the reality of the man or self in his delinquent body and mind. I call this being at opposite poles.

But was there not very likely an intermediate stage in the growing canker? It may be that, when these Suttas were taking shape, the slaying of the man was not yet completed, that it was only his Divinity that was taught as in the word *ātman*, (*attan*) which was denied of him. I still hold this is probable, a sliding rock arrested halfway down the mountain-side. Probable partly because of the attributes of Deity brought into a much repeated formula in which the 'five' are usually called in. Thus: since we cannot say of body, etc. that it is permanent (blissful), therefore it cannot be ātman, i.e. Deity, (or Holy Spirit). There may yet be a 'self', but, as was to be much harped upon, he can only 'be got at' (*upalabbhati*) through the khandhas, or the many dhammas.

With the period of the gradual compilation of the Third Piṭaka, and its inclusion in the Canon,[1] the coffin, as I have said, of the five khandhas was taking shape. It was namely becoming orthodox to teach the man as 'being', not so much a fivefold aggregate, as a much more numerous group of *dhamma's*. We see this already in the crude introspection of the Dhammasangaṇi, where this and that 'thought' (*citta*), or fleeting moment of consciousness, is analysed into some fifty *dhammā* and more. The khandhas are *then* brought in, with other categories, as being, as we might say, so many aspects of the given *citta*. The later division: *citta* and *cetasikā*, as a given (state of) mind and its contents, already peeps out in the work (1022*f*), an analysis which was to achieve a long paramountcy in the standard Manual.[1] In it a dummy man-of-mind came to make good the unsatisfying pluralism of the khandha's and dhamma's. Here he was at least as a unity (genus) to a plurality.

---

[1] *Bud. Psychol. Ethics*, 2d. ed., p. xi.

In the fourth book, *Designations of Man*,[2] we only find the ' five ' given in the introductory exposition of the six sorts of ' designation '. They are not in the remainder of the work,—another posthumous revenge of the ' dead man ' or self. In the fifth book, that of the Debates, khandha-reference is little more than an aid to mere argument in words, not things.

I do not claim to have said here all that could be said on the history of the ' five ', and certainly not the ' last word ' about them. I claim only to have said enough to make future writers about early Buddhism more guarded than were their predecessors in concluding, that this unhappy ill-knit group ever belonged to the original gospel of the Man Gotama.

---

[1] Tr. as *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S., ed.

[2] *Puggala-Paññatti*, P.T.S., Trans. by B. C. Law.

A SUMERO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT MOHENJO-DARO

By C. L. FÁBRI

While publishing here my discovery of a Sumero-Babylonian inscription, found on a vessel at Mohenjo-daro, I wish to say at the very outset that this discovery, though undoubtedly of great interest and value for antiquarian research, cannot be, by any means, construed to be what is popularly called 'sensational'. The inscription is very short and does not solve (though it helps to a small degree in the solution of) the problem of the still undeciphered script of prehistoric India. On the other hand, it can be claimed that it is, undoubtedly, the *first* Sumero-Babylonian inscription discovered anywhere in Indian soil [1]; and, what is still much more important, the shape of the Sumero-Babylonian characters *allows us to date this inscription with much more accuracy than it was possible so far to date any one object found at any Indus Valley site.* It will be seen, that this date, corroborating the evidence accumulated by Mr. GADD and others, is definitely somewhat younger than the one originally suggested by the first pioneers of Mohenjo-daro excavations. No one ever suggested, not even Sir John MARSHALL and Dr. MACKAY, that those dates were certain and accurate ; and Dr. MACKAY himself, without a knowledge of this Sumero-Babylonian inscription, came lately to the conclusion that the dates suggested in *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* were somewhat high. The difference is not much, but every fresh evidence points to the necessity of bringing the date of the Indus Civilization down to 2500–2700 B.C. at most. No one, of course, can guess or say how far back that civilization reaches ; all we can say at present is the probable date of the materials *now in hand.* As will be seen in my exposition below, I myself believe in a great antiquity preceding Mohenjo-daro. That, however, is guesswork and mere belief ; and here we are concerned with facts in hand.

Although much has been written on the subject of the Indus Script and on the interrelation of prehistoric city-civilizations of western and middle Asia,[1] I do not wish to refer here but to two publications of the utmost importance for this study. The first is Mr. GADD's lecture: *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur*, published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII (1932), 22 pages, three plates. The other is Dr. H. FRANKFORT's article: *The Indus Civilization and the Near East*, published in the Kern Institute's *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year* 1932, pp. 1–12, plate I. My friend Dr. FRANKFORT in this article, the excellence and importance of which I cannot enough impress upon my readers, makes a single mistake which I feel bound to correct here with the exclamation *errare humanum est*. Dr. FRANKFORT says that Mr. GADD's above-mentioned article deals with Indian seals found in the excavations at Ur *alone*, and that not one of these objects was properly datable. Both statements require correction, and are due, no doubt, to the fact that Dr. FRANKFORT was unable to have the relevant article in hand when writing his paper. Mr. GADD's article deals, notwithstanding the wrong title of his paper, with seals found at various places in Mesopotamia; and four at least of the seals are very well datable and dated (none of them older by any means than 2800 B.C.), whilst there is a considerable amount of justification to date another two or three as belonging to the same period. The importance of these facts is so great that I could not pass it without referring the reader back to Mr. GADD's original paper. Nevertheless, I am glad to admit that Dr. FRANKFORT's own evidence is of even greater weight. He found a considerable number of undoubtedly Indus Valley objects during his excavations of Tell Asmar in houses the date of which is proved by a really imposing wealth of evidence. These houses date, without a shadow of doubt, from the time of the Dynasty of Akkad, which is about 2500 B.C. (The date given to Sargon by LANGDON, *i.e.* 2872 B.C., has been brought down by the same scholar in the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* to 2752; but even this date is considered to be too high by other authorities, and the general tendency now is to accept FRANKFORT's 'about 2500' as nearest to truth). I cannot sufficiently strongly recommend to readers to read Dr. FRANKFORT's article, if they have not yet done so. It will be evident to all intelligent readers that the learned Dutch scholar's conclusions are thoroughly convincing.

---

[1] The lamented late R. B. HIRA LAL published in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd ed., 1932) a Babylonian seal (pp. x-xi, plate), from about 2000 B.C. As he distinctly states, the seal was found in the Nagpur Museum and no one knows where it was found. It may have been deposited there by an Officer returned from Mesopotamia.

It thus appears that a fair number of objects made in the cities of prehistoric India about 2500–2700 B.C. have reached by one way or the other the contemporaries of Mesopotamia. Whether it was by trade or conquest, mere intercourse or racial relationship, by sea route or by land roads : we do not know and it is no good guessing at it. All we know is that Indian objects have reached Mesopotamia, and that, consequently, we can expect to find Mesopotamian objects in India.

---

[1] Cp. *e.g.* my article: *Latest Attempts to read the Indus Script. Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51–56.

There is, therefore, no miracle about finding a Sumero-Babylonian inscription at Mohenjo-daro. It was just what all of us expected. Nevertheless, it is very satisfactory, indeed, to find the first proof on this side, and, what is more satisfactory, to find that this inscription again corroborates the dates arrived at by other students.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY.

The Director General of Archæology in India, Mr. J. F. BLACKISTON, has sent me to Mohenjo-daro in order to accomplish there a task during which I had to handle every single object (there are 37,000 objects) found by the excavators, sometimes as many as four or five times. I believe that these eight months spent in the close study of such a magnificent material have enabled me to get better acquainted with the objects than previous scholars who had many other tasks on their hands. It is, consequently, not surprising at all that I succeeded in discovering among the many thousands of pottery vessels a large number of inscribed pots and jars. So far about a dozen incized inscriptions have been published by the writers of the first monograph on Mohenjo-daro and by Dr. MACKAY whose second volume, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, now in the Press, I had the privilege of seeing in proofs. The number of inscribed (incized) pottery I have been fortunate enough to find, is forty-two. Besides, five pots with seal-impressions have been published by Sir John MARSHALL in the first monograph, and another two are mentioned in Dr. MACKAY's forthcoming volume. Instead of these seven inscribed (impressed) pots I have found twenty-four pots with seal-impressions. Altogether, thus, I collected 66 inscriptions, incized or impressed, on pottery.

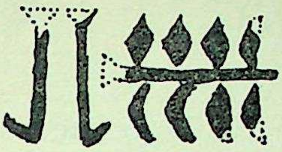
I found this material interesting enough for a close study, and, with the intention of publishing the entire series, I collected first of all the pots with seal-impressions and started copying in a black-and-white pen-drawing the actual texts. It was then that pottery jar Hr 909 came into my hand (see Plate I, *a*). As soon as I looked at it, my first thought was, This is not in the Indus script. One instant later I realized that it cannot be anything but a Sumero-Babylonian text. Five minutes of search in MERCER's *Sumero-Babylonian Sign List* gave me the clue. I made three tentative translations, and submitted my whole material to Dr. Franz M. Th. BÖHL, the world-famous Assyriologist of Leyden University, Holland. I am glad to say that this learned specialist entirely endorsed my identifications and translations ; and the following results are partly based on his very valued expert opinion. I wish, therefore, to thank him for his kind co-operation in this matter, without which my identifications would be considered much less reliable. However much interested I am in the culture of Western Asia, my studies were, for these last eight years, more concerned with the art and pure archæology of those countries than with linguistics and palæography. And although I feel glad that this time I did hit on the right identification and translations, yet I would not dare to publish my discovery without the consent and approval of an expert who has spent all his life in the specialized study of Sumerian and Assyrian texts. As I have pointed out to Professor BÖHL, it is not difficult, even with a scant knowledge of Assyrian script, to find the corresponding signs in the Sign List ; but what is far more difficult, is to find the correct translation. There are signs in the Sumero-Babylonian script (this *ad usum delphini*) which may be interpreted in four and five ways, meaning utterly different words or syllables ; many signs can be interpreted both as an ideogram (meaning an entire word) or as a syllable sign. The longer and the more complete the text, the easier the identification ; the shorter the text, the more difficult to know whether a sign is an ideogram or a syllable sign. As will be seen, in our case both explanations are equally possible, and Professor BÖHL, though inclined to accept one explanation as more likely, gives the same three possible translations as suggested by me.

THE INSCRIPTION.

The inscription is impressed on the shoulder of the jar and is clearly visible in parts, though, unfortunately, the lower portion (which, in the right direction, is really the upper edge) is very faint. The impression is reversed, *i.e.* upside down. There are about a dozen other seal-impressions in this reversed way (in the Indus Valley script), which proves that the potter was illiterate and didn't know how to impress the seal. I am, therefore, publishing the slightly enlarged photograph of the inscription (Plate I, *b*) reversed, as it should be read.

It will be immediately seen by all who are well acquainted with the Indus Valley script that the characters are entirely unknown. *Neither the whole, nor the first or the second half of the inscription can possibly be identified with any sign in the Indus script*, whether we look at it upside-down or reversed.

The full form, when completed, would appear to be like this :

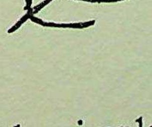


The strokes, it will be seen, are half-way, or perhaps three-quarters way, to become wedge-shaped, or cuneiform. Yet it cannot be said that they are already thoroughly cuneiform ; a script, which in its full development was exclusively used round the year 2500 B.C. The oldest monuments of Sumerian go back to the fourth millennium, perhaps to about 4500 B.C., and are purely ideographs ; round the year 3000 they already start the development which ultimately leads to cuneiform shapes ; but the corresponding signs in question can easily be shown to have a distinctly ideographic character round 2800, especially the sign for 'barley' and 'reed' mentioned in more detail below ; so that *it is quite safe to say that this shape of characters cannot be older than 2800 by any means, and that it is much more likely that it belongs to a period not far removed from 2500 B.C.* Perhaps we are very near the truth when we date it as *circa 2600 B.C.*

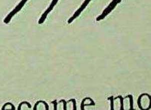
THE SUMERO-BABYLONIAN EQUIVALENTS.

There are three different signs in the Sumero-Babylonian syllabary with which we can compare our Mohenjo-daro inscription. Starting with the older explanations, we have first the ideogrammatic forms '72 *qa* (or, *sila*) *še*' and the other ideogram '*gi*'. Finally, if explained as a numeral, which is the most likely, it may mean '200'. All three identifications are equally possible.

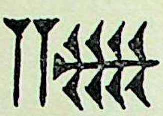
(1) The oldest sign for *še*, meaning 'barley' is nothing but a simple picture-sign representing the cereal :



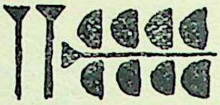
or,



In later times the simple strokes become more and more wedge-shaped, so that ultimately the shape of this sign is as follows, adding the two perpendicular strokes, which we shall explain presently :



or,



The second form actually occurs with half-circles, in much later times, at the time of Hammurabi. The horizontal stroke is sometimes left away.

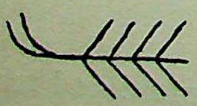
As to the two perpendicular strokes, each stroke means at this period 36 *qa* (or *sila*). The *qa* or *sila* is a capacity measure corresponding to 0·4 litre, so that each stroke means 14·4 litres, and the whole text can be translated as '*28·8 litres of barley*', or, '*72 sila of barley*'.

The absolute identity of the Sumero-Babylonian signs reproduced above with the Mohenjo-daro inscription must strike everyone as past possible doubts. Yet the *translation* as given here, leaves a certain amount of doubt. The vessel in question is far too small to contain 28·8 litres of barley. There is, of course, a sign, used up to the time of the First Babylonian dynasty where one stroke meant *one qa* only, and this would be a very suitable amount to fill the capacity of the vessel before us. I find the reference to this sign on p. 227 of MERCER's *Sign List*, and if I gave above the explanation '36 *qa*', I did so in deference to Professor BÖHL who suggested that capacity measure. The fact is that the perpendicular stroke, according to the *List*, meant at different periods 36 *qa*, 60 *gur*, 60 *qa* and 1 *qa*, and I feel unable to find a satisfactory solution. Evidently, the explanation as *one qa* would be the most acceptable one. In this case, the translation would run :

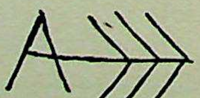
'*2 qa of barley*' (i.e., 0·8 litre of barley).

Finally, the possibility must not be excluded that a potter, illiterate and unable to distinguish between various seals, has impressed the wrong seal upon a vessel. This, however, is mere conjecture.

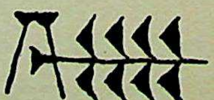
(2) The second ideogrammatic explanation identifies our Mohenjo-daro sign with the Sumerian word *gi*, meaning 'reed'. The following is the development of this sign from the oldest picture-sign to the time of Urukagina (*c.* 2600 B.C.) :



Jemdet Naṣr.



Eannatum.



Urukagina
c. 2600 B.C.

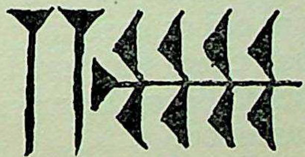
The horizontal stroke may cross both perpendicular ones, or only one, or none. The identity of the last, cuneiform sign with our seal-impression is again evident.

Yet, one must ask, what can we do with the translation ' reed '? Evidently, such an inscription is most unlikely, if not impossible, on a pottery jar.

THE EXPLANATION AS A NUMERAL SIGN.

Both explanations, similar though they are in their shapes, are not very satisfactory. Professor BÖHL actually rejects the first one too, although he admits the absolute identity of the Mohenjo-daro signs with those mentioned by me above. As I said, the first explanation would, however, be quite possible if the numeral signs would not mean 36 but only 1 *qa* each. However, the most obvious identification is with the Sumero-Babylonian numeral sign for 200. As Professor BÖHL writes : ' . . . die Deutung als *Ziffer 200* (ist) sicher möglich ! Und das ist mein erster Gedanke gewesen, als ich Ihre Kopie sah '. (' The explanation as the *numeral 200* is certainly possible ! And this was my very first thought when I saw your copy ').

The two horizontal strokes mean in this combined sexagesimal-decimal system twice 60 ; and, as Professor BÖHL says, it does not matter that the strokes have a small hook-like ending at the bottom. Each of the half-circles which later developed into wedge-shaped forms, above and below the horizontal stroke, mean 10, altogether, thus, 80 ; this added to twice 60 makes 200. The shape of 200 in later times is as follows :



With, or without horizontal stroke, this sign, thus means ' 2×60 and 80, *i.e.* 200 '.

' This solution ', writes Professor BÖHL, ' appears to me to be the most probable one : thus, Pot Nr 200, or 200, as a somehow important number in the decimal system which, if I remember well, is the customary one at Mohenjo-daro '.

NUMERALS IN OTHER POTTERY INSCRIPTIONS.

There is a very weighty argument to support this identification. It is a curious fact that out of the 66 pottery inscriptions discovered by me *there is hardly an inscription which does not contain a numeral*, and, moreover, *about one third of these inscriptions consists of nothing but numerals*! The rest usually contain a numeral with one or a few pictographs only. It is, consequently, perfectly clear that *in the Indus Valley there was a custom of writing on pots numbers or inscriptions in which numerals played a very important part.* And, consequently, it is evident, that both the explanations given above for this Sumerian inscription as '36 (or 2) *qa* of barley' and '200', are, indeed, quite probable, and they conform with the other 66 inscriptions in the Indus Valley script which either mean just a numeral, or a numeral with a word or two following it.

This is an important and logical conclusion, and of great value in the deciphering of the pottery inscriptions in the Indus Script which I have attacked already with some success. I hope to publish my results in that direction very soon.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDUS CITIES.

As already mentioned above, the identification of this inscription with the corresponding Sumero-Babylonian signs is not difficult at all; it is only its translation that offers some margin of variations in opinion. I hope that I have also made it clear that the shape of our inscription can under no circumstances be older than 2800 B.C., but that it is much more likely to be nearer 2600 B.C. It can be said, without any exaggeration, that *this is the only well dated object so far excavated in the Indus cities*, and that no other object is known where outside evidence is as strong as in this case. This object alone would suffice, thus, to prove that Mohenjo-daro, as so far exacavated, is not as old as the first pioneers guessed. Indeed, it can be safely said that there has not been found any object in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhu-daro that can possibly be older than 2800.

I have already mentioned Mr. GADD's article. It may as well be stated here that all the Indus Valley seals the find-place of which in Iraq can be ascertained, have been found in layers which are, under no circumstances, older than 2800; indeed, the most striking and most convincing lot of Indus objects discovered by Dr. FRANKFORT at Tell Asmar were found in a house the date of which is perfectly well ascertained to be round 2500 B.C.

One of the reasons why Sir John MARSHALL's first tentative dates are now found to be slightly high is that the learned author based his comparisons with Mesopotamia on the dates suggested by Dr. (now Sir) Leonard WOOLLEY. These dates were as tentative ones as the Mohenjo-daro dates. The entire chronology of Western Asian prehistory was just then, between 1920 and 1932, in the melting pot. Sir Leonard WOOLLEY's excavations at Ur, the vast amount of work done at Kish and many other places in Mesopotamia, brought to light almost every month, if not every week, new data, names of new kings, lists of dynasties, hundreds of texts with historical references and altogether such a huge mass of material that not even the greatest expert could find his way in this maze of stuff. The best example is the *Cambridge Ancient History*. In the first edition, published in 1923, there was a complete (tentative) chronology; but a few years later, in the second edition, a sheet has been attached explaining that almost all the dates previous to 2200 B.C. have been entirely revised and corrected by Professor LANGDON. There was formerly what Dr. CONTENAU, the great French scholar, called '*la chronologie courte*' and '*la chronologie longue*'. When he writes, in 1927, he already says: 'La chronologie longue est à peu près abandonnée aujourdhui.' (The long chronology is almost given up nowadays). The difficulties become greater the farther we go back in history. Up to the year 2200 the dates are really reliable. Up to 2500-2600 the margin of error is small, and will diminish, as research proceeds, to negligible quantities. But when we reach to the hoary ages round 3000 and even older, the dynastic lists begin to get so complicated that it is most difficult to find one's way among them. Here it may occur that the period of a king, which was probably six or seven years, is given as 360 or 420 years. Kings, who reigned according to some lists as long as a thousand years or more, are common. In later periods, between 2700 and 2000, the names of all the kings and their approximate ruling periods are well ascertained; but in older times there are dynastic lists that overlap; and one of the main causes of former errors was that dynasties were first understood to have ruled one *after* the other, whilst later it appeared that they were ruling at the same period in different city-states.

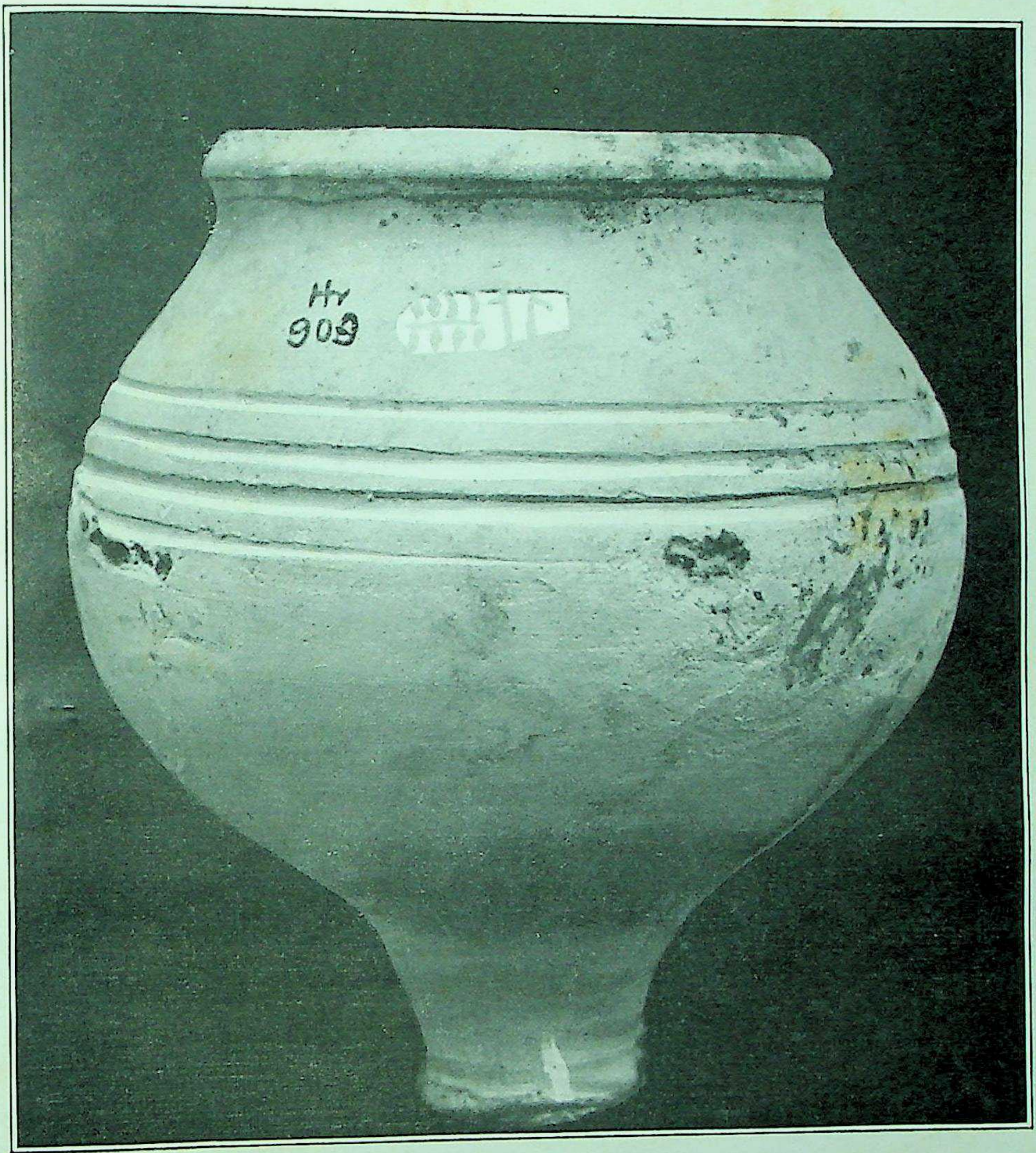
I mentioned all this at some length in order to show to some of my Indian colleagues who may not be aware of the latest developments in Western Asian prehistory, how great the difficulties were that confronted those who tried to give an approximate chronology to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. They were dependent upon dates which were vague and uncertain themselves. Far from blaming them I thoroughly understand that *at that time no one could have given a better chronology* than what the learned authors of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* arrived at. I am also exceedingly glad to say that, entirely independently from my conclusions, Dr. MACKAY arrived lately to exactly the same results. When I last had the privilege of talking with him, after his excavations at Chanhu-daro, he also insisted on it that there is no single object found in the 'Indus Culture' which one could date as older than 2800. Indeed, according to Dr. MACKAY, the date of Mohenjo-daro lies between 2500 and 2700 at most; but probably it may come down to 2300 in the upper layers of Chanhu-daro.

I am aware of the fact that some of my respected Indian colleagues, spurred by the very noble motive of nationalist pride, have claimed that 'India is the cradle of civilization'. I wish to say, that however respectful the motives are, they are apt to lead away from strictly scientific principles. There is, for one thing, no such thing as the 'cradle' of civilization, and there never will be found such a thing. Man's cradle rocked, so to say, between 500,000 B.C., when he climbed down the tree and started living in caves, and 10,000 B.C., when he was able to make handy stone implements. Thousands of years elapsed before Mohenjo-daro, and those who would like to find the cradle of mankind, better would go to the first Zoological Garden and visit the cages of the noble gorilla or the awe-inspiring orang-utang.

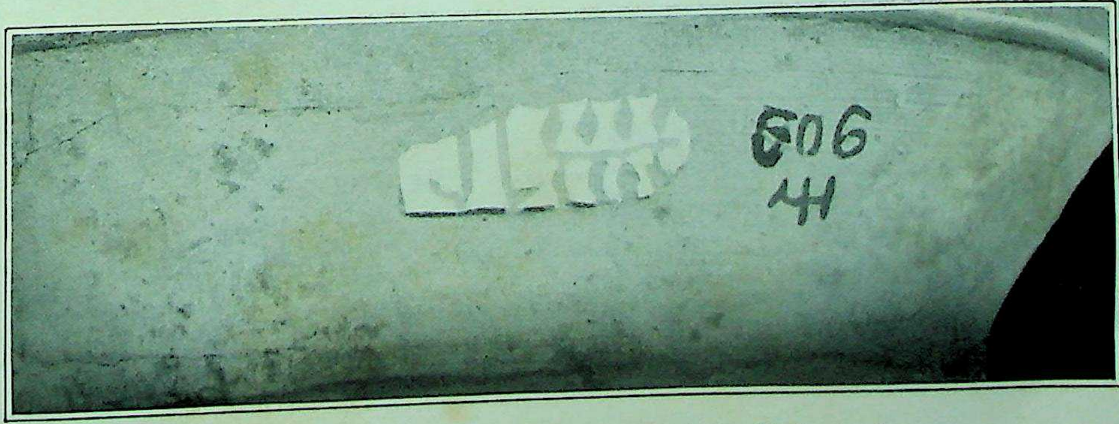
So far as *urban* civilization is concerned, the cities of Iraq are by far older than anything so far found in India. In Egypt and in China as well as in Iraq, there was a very highly developed civilization round 4000 B.C., that is, some 1,500 years earlier than Mohenjo-daro.

Yet, perhaps, ultimately my Indian friends will not be found to be far removed from truth. For, after all, who knows what lies in the earth? Mohenjo-daro has not been dug up, but just scratched. There is work there for another twenty-five years for anyone who can produce the money. Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR has found scores of ancient sites in Sindh, and Sir Aurel STEIN again found scores of ancient sites in Baluchistan. No one has excavated these, and no one can say how many much older layers there may lie under that soil. It is a fact that the remains *so far excavated* are not older than 2700; but it is also a fact that the civilization reflected in these finds is a really high, well-developed civilization which presupposes a development of many thousands of years. And it is an individual, independent civilization. Although there are numerous points of contact showing intercourse between India and Mesopotamia and the ancient civilization of Crete, yet there are also at least as many divergences as there are similarities. This prehistoric Indian civilization could not have had its origin in any of those countries, the earlier civilizations of which, going back to about 4000 B.C., we know pretty well. Consequently, this Indian civilization may have had its origin in India itself.

The answer is not found in the reading-room or the study, at the light of a friendly lamp. The answer will be found in no speculation or guess-work, but in the field. Excavation alone and excavation alone can bring further information. Conjectures are pleasant plays of man's imagination. But archæology is physical digging first of all. Books can lie, and they often do. Dynastic lists can lie, and they often do. The only thing that cannot lie are objects. A barbarous object is the work of a barbarous mind, and an object of exquisite beauty is the mirror of a mind full of exquisite beauty. A civilization like that of Mohenjo-daro, cannot spring suddenly out of nothing. It has a history of thousands of years behind it, but, unfortunately, all this is hidden under the soil.



(*a*) Mohenjo-daro Vessel with Sumerian Inscription



(*b*) Reversed Inscription Slightly Enlarged

(*Photographs by C. L. Fábri*)

USE AND ABUSE OF ALAṀKĀRA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By V. RAGHAVAN

Poetry is not mere thought. 'While great poetry must necessarily embody it, very genuine poetry, at times, may do no more than give to the merest airy nothings a local habitation and a name.' 'Poetry does not reveal truth in logic but in light.'[1] Mere thoughts and emotions are proper subjects for the science of psychology, etc. Facts, by themselves are unattractive; sometimes reality appals us; but poets teach us as they charm:

शास्त्रेषु दुर्ग्रहोऽप्यर्थः स्वदते कविसूक्तिषु ।
हृद्यं करगतं रत्नं दारुणं फणिमूर्धनि ॥

—Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣita, Sabhārañjanaśataka.

Darśana has to wait for Varṇana.[2] It is wrong to regard poetry as merely truth or noble emotion. Who can deny the validity of the statement—

गोरपत्यं बलीवर्दः तृणान्यत्ति मुखेन सः ?

Yet, is it poetry? Are there not hunger and suffering in the poor Brahmins' plea to the king—

भोजनं देहि राजेन्द्र घृतसूपसमन्वितम् ।

Yet, the king refused to help them and the story goes on to say that the king gave them presents only on seeing the other half, filled, the story says, by Kālidāsa, with the extravagant plumes of figurative language.

माहिषं च शरच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाधवलं दधि ॥

True, as Leigh Hunt says, there are simplest truths often so beautiful and impressive that one of the greatest proofs of the poet's genius consists in leaving them to stand alone, illustrated by nothing but the light of their own tears or smiles, their own wonder, might or playfulness. But, as he himself points out elsewhere, 'in poetry, feeling and *imagination* are necessary to the perception and *presentation* even of matters of fact'. The so-called figure of natural description, the Svabhāvokti, is a plain statement only in a comparative degree. The Veda can claim 'Svataḥ Prāmāṇya', but there is nothing like 'Svataḥkāvyatva'. Plain fact is always embellished in some manner and given some catching power. Who can refuse to recognise the difference between a proposition like 'गतोऽस्तमर्कः' and this Svabhāvokti of Kālidāsa:

---

[1] Quotations of this nature occurring in this paper are chiefly from five works, Raymond, 'Poetry as a Representative Art', Lamborn, 'The Essentials of Criticism', Bain, 'Rhetoric and Composition' and Tagore 'Creative Unity' and 'Personality'.

[2] तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।
नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥—Bhaṭṭa Tota.

'निष्कंपवृक्षं निभृतद्विरेफं मूकाण्डजं शान्तमृगप्रचारम् ।'—K.S., III.

Even the natural description of a poet has its strikingness; Bāṇa says that Jāti must be Agrāmya, नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या (Harṣacarita). Bald statements are thus excluded. Bhāmaha also excludes ordinariness in expression in his description of poetry:

अग्राम्यशब्दमर्थं च सालङ्कारं सदाश्रयम् ।
अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यं अर्थ्यं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।

So poetry requires not only fact but a beautiful form also; it has not only to be useful, but primarily attractive. That all poetic expression involves some kind of expressional deviation of beauty,[1] some out-of-the-way-ness, is well brought out by the following verse of Nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣita.

यानेव शब्दान्वयमालपामः यानेव चार्थान्वयमुल्लिखामः ।
तैरेव विन्यासविशेषभव्यैः संमोहयन्ते कवयो जगन्ति ॥

—Śivalīlārṇava, Canto I.

This expressional deviation, this striking disposition of words and ideas, is Alaṁkāra; this constitutes the beautiful poetic form. It will be easier to dissociate love from its physical aspect than to keep the concept of poetry aloof from its form.

If we try to arrive at a clear definition of poetry with an objective differentia, certainly the definition will revolve round the concept of Alaṁkāra, the word Alaṁkāra being taken here in the widest sense of that term in which Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana understood it. Alaṁkāra is the beautiful in poetry, the beautiful form,—सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः

---

[1] Cf. Bain: 'A figure of speech is a deviation from the plain and ordinary mode of speaking, for the sake of greater effect: it is an unusual form of speech'. Rhetoric and Composition, I.

(Vāmana). Examining the field of poetic expression, Bhāmaha found Alaṁkāra omnipresent in it. When we reach the stage of Appayya dīkṣita, who has given as many as one hundred and twenty-five Alaṁkāras, we see that the whole range of poetry is 'Vyāpta' with Alaṁkāra in general, is 'Avinābhūta' with Alaṁkāra. And to this numberlessness of Alaṁkāra, Ānanda refers to :

'वाच्यालङ्कारवर्गश्च रूपकादिर्यावानुक्तः वक्ष्यते च कैश्चित्, अलङ्काराणामनन्तत्वात्। (Locana adds here, प्रतिभानन्त्यादिति), Dhva. Ā., p. 88. Mahimabhaṭṭa says : 'अलङ्काराणां च अभिधात्मत्वं उपगतं, तेषां भङ्गिभणितिरूपत्वात्।' V.V., I, p. 3, T.S.S. 'भङ्गिभणितिभेदानामेव अलङ्कारत्वोपगमात्।' *Ibid.*, II, p. 87. 'चारुत्वं हि वैचित्र्यापरपर्यायं प्रकाशमानमलंकारः।' 'चारुत्वमलंकारः।'. Commentary on the V.V., p. 4, T.S.S. : 'तथा च शब्दार्थयोर्विच्छित्तिरलंङ्कारः।' *Ibid.*, p. 44. Namisādhu also says 'ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारास्तावन्तोऽलङ्काराः।' Vyā. on Rudraṭa, p. 149. Ānanda has this further remark—'तत् (रस) प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः।' p. 87. If Alaṁkāra is understood in this large sense as emphasising the need for a beautiful form in poetry, it is not very improper for the subject of poetics to be called Alaṁkāraśāstra.[1]

Thus, Alaṁkāra, properly understood and properly employed, can hardly be a subject for wholesale condemnation. This is said not only in view of the large sense in which we have tried to explain it above. Taking the figures as such, the best definition we can give of them is that, in a great poet, they form the inevitable incarnations in which ideas embody themselves. Says Ānanda :

'अलङ्कारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेः अहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति। × × × युक्तं चैतत्। यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेव आक्षेप्तव्याः, तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैः, तत्प्रतिपादिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः।' Dhva. Ā., p. 87. Such figures can hardly be considered 'Bahiraṅga' in Kāvya, and comparable only to the 'Kaṭaka' and 'Keyūra', the removable ornament. Therefore Ānanda continues: 'तस्मान्न तेषां बहिरङ्गत्वं रसाभिव्यक्तौ।' p. 87. They should properly be compared to the Alaṁkāras of damsels which Bharata speaks of under Sāmānyābhinaya, Bhāva, Hāva, etc. and not to the Kaṭaka and Keyūra. (N.Ś., XXII, K.M. edn.)[2]

---

[1] *Vide* J.O.R., Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 129-130, my Note on the names of the Alaṁkāraśāstra.

[2] There is the 'Alaṁkāra' in Music also, with which profitable comparison can be made here but for the fact of the obscurity of the concept in early music

Ānanda says in Udyota II that, though Alaṁkāras are only the Śarīra, the outer body, they can be made the Śarīrin, the soul, sometimes, i.e., when Alaṁkāras are not expressed but suggested; when simile, contrast, etc. are richly imbedded in an utterance and in the clash of words in an expression, Alaṁkāras shoot out.

शरीरीकरणं येषां वाच्यत्वेन व्यवस्थितम् ।
तेऽलंकाराः परां छायां यान्ति ध्वन्यङ्गतां गताः ॥ [1]—II, 29, p. 117.

Here Abhinava says: As a matter of fact, Alaṁkāras are external ornaments on the body but can sometimes be like the Kuṅkuma smeared for beauty on the body, when they are organic and structural, when they are रसाक्षिप्त, अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्य and सुश्लिष्ट. Far, far away is the hope to make this Alaṁkāra the very soul. But even this is possible in a way, says Ānanda: just as in the mere play of children, there is some temporary greatness for the child which plays the rôle of the king, so also, when this Alaṁkāra is suggested, it attains great beauty and partakes of the nature of the soul.

'एतदुक्तं भवति— सुकविः विदग्धपुरन्ध्रीवत् भूषणं यद्यपि श्लिष्टं योजयति, त[illegible]पि शरीरतापत्तिरेवास्य कष्टसंपाद्या, कुंकुमपीतिकाया इव । आत्मतायास्तु का संभ[illegible]ना । एवंभूता चेयं व्यंग्यता, यदप्रधानभूतापि वाच्यमात्रालंकारेभ्यः उत्कर्षमलंकाराणां वितरति । बालक्रीडायामपि राजत्वमिवेत्यमुमर्थं मनसि कृत्वाह— तत्रेति ।'—Locana, pp. 117-118.

It must be noted here that Abhinava compares the Suśliṣṭa Alaṁkāra to Kuṁkumālaṁkaraṇa, and raises it above the level of the altogether external jewel worn, the Kaṭaka. Bhoja realised the insufficiency of the comparison with Kaṭaka. Alaṁkāra as ornament of a woman also was understood by Bhoja in a large sense. Bhoja classified Alaṁkāras into those of Śabda, Bāhya, those of Artha, Ābhyantara and those of both Śabda and Artha, Bāhyābhyantara. The first, the most external, the verbal figure of Śabdālaṁkāra, Bhoja compared to dressing, garlanding and wearing Kaṭaka, etc. The third, he compared to bath, treating the hair to fragrant smoke, smearing the body with Kuṁkuma, Candana, etc. Beginning from outside, these are more intimate with the body. The second, the purely Ābhyantara Ālaṁkāras, the Arthālaṁkāras, Bhoja compared to cleaning and dressing the teeth, manicuring, dressing the

---

literature and the changes in meaning the concept underwent in its later history. (N.Ś., K.M. edn., XXIX, 22–31.)

[1] On the greater beauty of the implied or suggested figure as compared to the expressed figure, see further Ānanda, III, 37, p. 207 and Mahimā, V.V., p. 73.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

hair itself, etc. These last are most intimate ; nothing not forming part at all of the body is here superimposed.[1]

'अलङ्काराश्च त्रिधा,—बाह्याः, आभ्यन्तराः, बाह्याभ्यन्तराश्च। तेषु बाह्याः—वस्त्र-माल्य-विभूषणादयः। आभ्यन्तराः— दन्तपरिकर्म-नखच्छेद-अलककल्पनादयः। बाह्याभ्यन्तराः—स्नान-धूप-(विलेपनादयः) etc.'—Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Albeit the importance of form, one should not misunderstand rhetoric as poetry. It is possible to sacrifice poetry at the altar of figure. There is such a thing as Aucitya, appropriateness, harmony and proportion, which is the ultimate beauty in poetry. The final ground of reference for this Aucitya, the thing with reference to which we shall speak of other things as being appropriate, is the soul of poetry, Rasa. The body becomes a carcass when there is no soul there, when life is absent from it. Of what use are ornaments on a carcass ? Nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣita says :—

अन्योन्यसंसर्गविशेषरम्याप्यलंकृतिः प्रत्युत शोचनीया।
निर्व्यंग्यसारे कविसूक्तिबन्धे निष्क्रान्तजीवे वपुषीव दत्ता॥
—Śivalīlārṇava, I, 36.

Kṣemendra, the systematiser of Aucitya, says : 'Enough with Alaṁkāras ; of what use are the Guṇas if there is no life there ? Ornaments are ornaments ; excellences are excellences ; but Aucitya is the life of the Rasa-ensouled Kāvya :

'काव्यस्यालमलंकारैः किं मिथ्यागणितैर्गुणैः।
यस्य जीवितमौचित्यं विचिन्त्यापि न दृश्यते॥
अलङ्कारास्त्वलंकाराः गुणा एव गुणास्सदा।
औचित्यं रससिद्धस्य स्थिरं काव्यस्य जीवितम्॥'
—Au. v. c., 4 and 5.

See also the Vṛtti on these.

Here Kṣemendra has only amplified Abhinava and Ānanda who say :

'तथा हि अचेतनं शवशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति, अलंकार्यस्याभावात्। यतिशरीरं कटकादियुक्तं हास्यावहं भवति अलंकार्यस्य अनौचित्यात्।'—Locana, p. 75.

'अनौचित्यादृते नान्यत् रसभङ्गस्य कारणम्।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा॥'—Dhva. Ā., p. 145.

---

[1] Cf. Abhinava: 'येषामलंकाराणां वाच्यत्वेन शरीरीकरणं शरीरभूतात् प्रस्तुतादर्थात् अर्थान्तरभूततया अशरीराणां कटकादिस्थानीयानां शरीरस्थानापादनं × × × ×।'
—Locana, p. 117.

What is this Aucitya ? It is the clear statement of the proper place and function of Alaṁkāra, as of other elements.

'उचितं प्राहुराचार्याः सदृशं किल यस्य यत् ।
× × × ×
उचितस्थानविन्यासादलंकृतिरलंकृतिः ।

अलंकृतिः उचितस्थानविन्यासादलंकर्तुं क्षमा भवति । अन्यथा तु अलंकृतिव्यपदेशमेव न लभते । × × × × यदाह—

कण्ठे मेखलया नितम्बफलके तारेण हारेण वा
× × × ×
× × नायान्ति के हास्यतां
औचित्येन विना रुचिं प्रतनुते नालंकृतिर्नो गुणाः ॥'[1]—Au. v. c.

Thus Alaṁkāras have their meaning only if they keep to their places :

'ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृंगारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।
रूपकादिरलंकारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम् ॥'—Dhva. Ā., II, 18.

Just as a pearl-garland can beautify only a full bosom, and otherwise cannot be a beautifying factor, only an Alaṁkāra appropriate to Artha and through it, to Rasa, can be of any beauty.

'अर्थौचित्यवता सूक्तिरलङ्कारेण शोभते ।
पीनस्तनस्थितेनेव हारेण हरिणेक्षणा ॥'—Au. v. c.

Kṣemendra proceeds to show how some poets have observed this rule of Aucitya for Alaṁkāra and how some have not. He points out the conceptual flaws in the latter, going against the main subject and sentiment. The Pratyudāharaṇas are cases of abuses in so far as the authors of those verses have written those figures with an effort, merely because they desired to add figures. When the great poet is concentrating on Rasa, when he is a 'रससमाहितचेताः', the sense of harmony and appropriateness attends on him, innate in him like instinct; there is hardly any room for impropriety. But when concentration is on figure, error creeps in. We shall consider two examples :—The broken minister of the Nandas, stealing into the enemy's city over which he had once ruled like a king, looking like a serpent stilled by incantation (भोगीव मन्त्रौषधिरुद्धवीर्यः) and consumed by his own inner fire, sees a dilapidated garden and describes it :

---

[1] *Vide* Journal of the Madras University, Vol. VI, No. 1 and Vol. VII, No. 1. My paper on Aucitya.

औचित्यमेकमेकत्र गुणानां राशिरेकतः ।
विषायते गुणग्रामः औचित्यपरिवर्जितः ॥

—Quoted by Municandrācārya in his Vṛtti on the Dharmabinduprakaraṇa, Āgamodaya Series Edn., p. 11a.

विपर्यस्तं सौधं कुलमिव महारंभरचनम्
सरः शुष्कं साधोर्हृदयमिव नाशेन सुहृदाम् ।
फलैर्हीना वृक्षा विगुणनृपयोगादिव नयाः
तृणैश्छन्ना भूमिर्मतिरिव कुनीतैरविदुषः ॥

—Mudrārākṣasa, VI, 11.

The plight of the garden resembles his own pitiable state and with great appropriateness in the conceiving of the similes, Viśākhadatta has drawn a mere description nearer to the context, harnessed it for Rasa and heightened the effect of the situation.[1] On the contrary, we shall now cite a verse from the Bhoja Campū where the poet has created a figure not only not in harmony with the main idea and the context but also so inappropriate as to make, as Kṣemendra says, the hearts of the Sahṛdayas shrink.

वाणीविलासमपरत्र कृतोपलंभं
अंभोजभूरसहमान इवाविरासीत् ।

There is Hetu-Utprekṣā here: the poet imagines that Brahmā presented himself before the Ādikavi, as if jealous of the appearance of (his spouse) Vāṇī (speech or poesy) in another person. As a matter of fact, it is to bless and give Vālmīki his favour to sing the whole Rāmāyaṇa that the god descended.

One can make Alaṁkāra render the help its name means if he introduces it in such a manner as it will be conducive to the realisation of the chief object, namely Bhāva and Rasa; that is, Alaṁkāra must be Rasabhāvapara. That which is adorned by an Alaṁkāra is the Rasa. Even as the ordinary ornament, the jewels, putting them on or laying them down, suggest to us the mental state of the person, so also does figure suggest the Bhāva.

---

[1] A similar instance of appropriateness of figurative description is Bāṇa's description of the red evening and the approach of the night in which the king goes to help Bhairavācārya's Sādhana in the Śmaśāna.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

'रसभावादितात्पर्यमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनं ।
अलंकृतीनां सर्वासामलंकारत्वसाधनम् ॥'—Dhva., II, 6.

'उपमया यद्यपि वाच्योऽर्थोऽलंक्रियते, तथापि तस्य तदेवालंकरणं, यद् व्यंग्यार्थाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्याधानमिति । वस्तुतो ध्वन्यात्मैव अलंकार्यः । कटककेयूरादिभिरपि हि शरीरसमवायिभिः आत्मैव तत्तच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषौचित्यसूचनात्मतया अलङ्क्रियते ।'—Locana, 74–5.

Thus whatever, remaining in a functionary place, aids to embellish and add to the main theme's beauty is Alaṁkāra. Rasa also can thus be employed as a decorative, as an Alaṁkāra, to adorn a Vastu (idea) or Rasa.[1]

Raymond [2] expresses a similar opinion on Alaṁkāra: 'The one truth underlying all the rules laid down for the employment of figures is that nothing is gained by any use of those which does not add to the effect of the thought to which they give expression. Language is to express our thoughts to others and in ordinary conversation, we use both plain and figurative language but when a man wants to give another the description of a scene he has seen, he does not catalogue one and all of the details of that sight, but brings only his own idea of the landscape by adding to such of the details as have struck him many more ideas and emotions that have been aroused in him.' Thus he transports his mental image to the hearer and if the representation is comparatively plain, we have Svabhāvokti. 'On the other hand, if he realises that it is hard for the hearer to understand him fully, he gains his end by repeating the statement, or by adding illustrative images to the mere enumeration of facts.' [Compare Rudraṭa, VIII, 1.

सम्यक् प्रतिपादयितुं स्वरूपतो वस्तु तत्समानमिति ।
वस्त्वन्तरमभिदध्यात् वक्ता यस्मिंस्तदौपम्यम् ॥]

'Thus the poet puts extra force into his language and in order to do so, inasmuch as the force of language consists in its representative character, he will augment the representation by multiplying his comparisons: his language becomes figurative.'

From the verse of Rudraṭa quoted above, we see that a complex situation or an anxiety for clearer or more effective expression necessitates figures. Similarly a thought that is too simple, too ordinary or too small to impress or get admiration by itself, needs figurative embellishment. We shall consider this view of Ānandavardhana with his rules for the employment of these figures in such secondary and ordinary moods and thoughts. Even as he grants high flights in supreme moments, he grants even the bare Śabdacitra ample provision in Rasābhāsa. Heroic deeds, unselfish love, sacrifice—things great in themselves appeal to us even when directly expressed with minimum figure. But ordinary things must have purple patches.

---

[1] Rasavad alaṁkāra. Locana, pp. 72, 73, 74.
[2] Poetry as a Representative Art.

All these facts about decoration by figure in poetry are realised by Ānanda who has formulated rules for the proper employment of Alaṁkāra. Western writers also have laid similar conditions regarding ornament. Pater says: 'And above all, there will be no uncharacteristic or tarnished or vulgar decoration, permissible ornament being for the most part structural or necessary'.[1] He continues: 'The artist, says Schiller, may be known by rather what he omits and in literature too, the true artist may be best recognised by his tact of omission. For, to the grave reader, words too are grave; and the ornamental word, the figure, the accessory form or colour or reference is rarely content to die to thought precisely at the right moment, but will inevitably be stirring a long "brain-wave" behind it of perhaps quite alien associations'. 'As the very word ornament indicates what is in itself non-essential, so the "one beauty" of all literary style is of its very essence and independent of all removable decoration; that it may exist in its fullest lustre in a composition utterly unadorned, with hardly a single suggestion of visibly beautiful things.' 'The ornaments are "diversions"—a narcotic spell on the pedestrian intelligence. We cannot attend to that figure—that flower there—just then—surplusage! For, in truth, all art consists in the removal of surplusage.'

Such strictures had to be passed by Ānanda also; for when he was thinking out the essence of poetry, Sanskrit poetry had deteriorated into an artificial stage. A gregarious tribe—Gaḍḍarikās as Abhinava says—was following a beaten path and was hardly proof to errors of taste. Not poetry, but the imitation thereof, was being assiduously produced. (न तन्मुख्यं काव्यं, काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ.[2] Dhva. Ā., p. 220.) To guide such poets, not gifted with Śakti enough to possess an innate sense of Aucitya, Ānanda lays down his rules for the employment of Alaṁkāra. As has already been pointed out, Alaṁkāra is subordinate to Rasa; it has to aid the realisation of Rasa. It shall suit the Bhāva and be such as comes off to the poet along with the tide of the Rasa. It shall not monopolise the

---

[1] Style by W. Pater.

[2] As if translating Ānanda, Tolstoy calls bad Art 'Imitations of Art'. 'What is Art?', Ch. XI.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

poet's energy nor shall it be so prominent or continued as to monopolise the reader's mind. Says Ānanda :

> 'रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।
> अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलंकारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥'[1]
>
> —Dhva. Ā., II, 17.

(i) Alaṁkāra shall be intended to suggest Rasa.
(ii) It shall be born along with the poet's delineation of Rasa.
(iii) It shall be naturally and easily introduceable.
(iv) The poet shall not stop to take a fresh and extra effort to effect it.

Such a figure is allowed as proper in Dhvani. This is the 'permissible' 'structural' figure that Pater speaks of. Such Alaṁkāra is born almost of itself ; such is the poet's genius : when the figure is actually found there, it is a wonder. (निष्पत्तावाश्चर्यभूतः—Ānanda, p. 83. प्रतिभानुग्रहवशात् स्वयमेव संपत्तौ निष्पादनानपेक्षायामित्यर्थः—Abhinava, p. 83, Locana.) This Alaṁkāra properly functions to heighten Rasa. For instance, in the verse : 'कपोले पत्राली करतलनिरोधेन मृदिता, etc.'[2] the Śaṭha Nāyaka who entreats the Khaṇḍita Nāyikā describes her anger as another lover who is dearer to her than himself, though he may fall at her feet even. In the last line here, there are Śleṣa, Rūpaka and Vyatireka Alaṁkāras, which, far from hindering the realisation of the Rasa of Īrṣyāvipralambha, intensify it.

Though a perusal of an Alaṁkāra text-book gives the impression that the Alaṁkāras are artificial, elaborate and intellectual exercises requiring great effort in turning them out precisely,—things that must rather be avoided than handled with all their 'chidras', they are not really so difficult of effecting for a masterpoet. With him, as emotion increases, expression swells and figures foam forth.

> 'अलंकारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेः अहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति । यथा कादम्बर्यां कादम्बरीदर्शनावसरे ।'[3]
>
> —Dhva. Ā., pp. 86-87.

---

[1] Bhoja also speaks of this Rasākṣipta and Apṛthagyatnanirvartya Alaṁkāra in his S.K.Ā. (Ch. V) and Śṛ. Pra. (Ch. XI).

[2] See Dhva. Ā., p. 86.

[3] Cf. 'The more emotions grow upon a man, the more his speech ; if he makes any effort to express his emotion, abounds in figures—exclamation, interrogation, anacoluthon, apostrophe, hyperbole (yes, certainly hyperbole !), simile, metaphor.

We have many instances in the Rāmāyaṇa where we clearly see this connection between emotion and figure, though not as a rule. There is at least a strong tendency to wax figurative in forceful modes. The description of lamenting Ayodhya on Bharata's return from the forest and Sītā's abuse of Rāvaṇa on seeing him out of his guise are two striking examples. There is, further, a tendency in the Rāmāyaṇa to employ figures profusely in descriptions. The opening canto of the Sundarakāṇḍa contains a figure in almost every verse, surcharged as the canto is with Adbhutarasa. To quote only one instance, we shall pick out this description of the broken Viśvāmitra from the Bālakāṇḍa :

'दृष्ट्वा विनाशितान्पुत्रान् बलं च सुमहायशाः ।
सव्रीडश्चिन्तयाविष्टः विश्वामित्रोऽभवत्तदा ॥
समुद्र इव निर्वेगः भग्नदंष्ट्र इवोरगः ।
उपरक्त इवादित्यः सद्यो निष्प्रभतां गतः ॥
हतपुत्रबलो दीनः लूनपक्ष इव द्विजः ।
हतदर्पो हतोत्साहः निर्वेदं समपद्यत ॥'

—Rā. Bā., 55. 8–10.[1]

But there are also places in the epic of high strung emotion where figures are not employed at all and the sublimity or pathos of the situation (e.g. Rāma weeping on the loss of Sītā in the closing cantos of the Āraṇyakāṇḍa) is left to itself to appeal to us with its own grandeur and beauty.

In Kālidāsa, we have many instances of figures rushing to the poet's pen in moments of overflowing Rasa. Every line is a figure in Purūravas' description of Urvaśī who has captivated his heart, as he sees her slowly recovering from stupor :

'आविर्भूते शशिनि तमसा मुच्यमानेव रात्रिः
नैशस्यार्चिर्हुतभुज इव च्छिन्नभूयिष्ठधूमा ।
मोहेनान्तर्वरतनुरियं दृश्यते मुक्तकल्पा
गङ्गा रोधःपतनकलुषा गृह्णतीव प्रसादम् ॥'—V.U., I.

His language is what we sometimes euphemistically describe as 'picturesque'. Feelings swamp ideas and language is used to express not the reality of things but the state of one's emotions.' J. S. Brown, 'World of Imagery'. Quoted by K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar in his Imagery of the Rāmāyana, J.O.R., Madras, Vol. III, pt. 4.

[1] Kumbhakonam Edn.

And in the Mudrārākṣasa, we have a similar situation with abundant figures. In the glee of his success, Cāṇakya exclaims as he hears that Rākṣasa has come :

'केनोत्तुङ्गशिखाकलापकपिलो बद्धः पटान्ते शिखी
पाशैः केन सदागतेरगतिता सद्यस्समासादिता ।
केनानेकपदानवासितसटः सिंहोऽर्पितः पञ्जरे
भीमः केन च नैकनक्रमकरो दोर्भ्यां प्रतीर्णोऽर्णवः ॥'

—M.R., VII, 6.

But to write such figures, the poet must be lost in Rasa and must have infinite Pratibhā. Those that do not naturally get these figures in such an appropriate manner can employ figures effectively if they do so with discrimination.

ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृंगारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।
रूपकादिरलंकारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम् ॥

—Dhva. Ā., p. 88, II, 18.

What is this Samīkṣā ?

विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कथञ्चन ।
काले च ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणैषिता ॥
निर्व्यूढावपि चाङ्गत्वे यत्नेन प्रत्यवेक्षणम् ।
रूपकादिरलंकारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम् ॥

—Dhva. Ā., p. 88, II, 19-20.

(i) Alaṁkāras must be ancillary, Aṅgabhūta.

(ii) They must never become main, Pradhāna or Aṅgin.

(iii) The main theme shall always be kept in view and the figure in consequence must be taken and thrown away in accordance with the requirements of the main idea.

(iv) They must not be too much elaborated or overworked.

(v) Even if they are worked out, a good poet must take care to give them, on the whole, the position of Aṅga only. (i) In the verse from the Śākuntala[1] 'चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीम्, etc.', the description of the natural acts of the bee, भ्रमरस्वभावोक्ति is introduced as Aṅga to intensify the chief Rasa of Śṛṅgāra. (ii) There are instances in which we see poets drifting along in the world of imagery itself without returning to the point on hand. The poet

---

[1] See Dhva. Ā., pp. 89–94 for the illustration and discussion of these canons.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

begins a figure and does it in such a detailed manner that it outgrows its proper limit.

'नाङ्गित्वेनेति, प्राधान्येन कदाचिद्; रसादितात्पर्येण विवक्षितोऽपि ह्यलंकारः कश्चिदङ्गित्वेन विवक्षितो दृश्यते।'—Dhva. Ā., p. 89.

'यत्प्रकृतस्य पोषणीयस्य स्वरूपतिरस्कारकोऽप्यङ्गभूतोऽलंकारः संपद्यते। ततश्च क्वचिदनौचित्यमागच्छतीति × ×।'—Locana, p. 90.

The illustration for this given by Ānanda is the verse 'चक्राभिघात etc.', where the main idea intended to be adorned by the figure is lost in the elaborate reaches of the Prayāyokta, which has overgrown and hid the main idea. (iii) Opportune introduction is illustrated by the verse 'उद्दामोत्कलिकां etc.' where Śleṣa finds timely introduction; as Abhinava says, this description paves the way for the coming Īrṣyāvipralambha. (iv) In the verse 'रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैः etc.', for the sake of the main Rasa, Vipralambha, and for the sake of another Alaṁkāra, namely, Vyatireka which is to heighten the Vipralambha, the figure of Śleṣa worked out in the first three lines is abandoned in the last line. This illustrates 'kāle tyāga'. (v) There are instances where Alaṁkāras are merely touched upon and left there; lesser artists sit to work them out. In the verse

'कोपात्कोमललोलबाहुलतिकापाशेन बद्ध्वा दृढं
नीत्वा वासनिकेतनं etc.'

the Rūpaka of Bāhupāśalatikā and Bandha is not worked out in any artificial and tiresome manner. If the poet had worked it out, Abhinava says, it would have been very improper—परं अनौचित्यं स्यात्. This verse illustrates 'नातिनिर्वहणैषिता.' (vi) Such a genius like Kālidāsa can work out a figure in full and can see that the main Rasa is not only not hindered by it, but is actually intensified by it. *E.g.* श्यामास्वंगं, Megha. The Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra of the theme is again brought to the forefront in the last line to be nourished by the Utprekṣā.

When used thus with appropriateness, Alaṁkāras go to enrich the ideas of the poet and add charm to the diction. Of these Alaṁkāras, we shall here speak in particular about a few select ones. Figures can be classified into three main classes: (i) those based on Similarity, Upamā and all other figures involving Upamā; (ii) those based on Difference, Virodha, and (iii) those based on other mental activities like association, contiguity, etc. In the third class can be brought all the figures other than those based on

Aupamya and Virodha. Of these, figures involving similarity are the most abundant in poetry. 'The intellectual power called similarity or feeling of agreement is our chief instrument of invention.' Applied literally in the sciences, it leads to unity through induction. In metaphysics, साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यपरीक्षा is mentioned as means to Niśśreyasa by Kaṇāda.

The greatness of Upamā is thus put by Appayya dīkṣita in his Citramīmāmsā :

तदिदं चित्रं विश्वं ब्रह्मज्ञानादिवोपमाज्ञानात् ।
ज्ञातं भवतीत्यादौ निरूप्यते निखिलभेदसहिता सा ॥
उपमैका शैलूषी संप्राप्ता चित्रभूमिकाभेदान् ।
रञ्जयति काव्यरङ्गे नृत्यन्ती तद्विदां चेतः ॥

Great artists are said to express an idea ; great poets are explained as inculcating a lesson to the times through their work. It is impossible to conceive of such idea and lesson except through the principle of imagery ; the great poem being something like a big, deep-laid Anyāpadeśa. In philosophical teachings, simile plays a very large part. Simile, Metaphor, Allegory, Parable—these are often employed to inculcate the profound truths of the incomprehensible. As Rudraṭa points out in his verse, सम्यक् प्रतिपादयितुं etc., the Simile is for clearer understanding. But poetic imagery, like the variety of life, involves similarity in difference. 'साधर्म्यमुपमा भेदे ।' 'The things compared in a figure though differing in kind possess an amount of similarity, rendering the one illustrative of the other.' Though ultimately, Simile, like any other figure, must heighten the Rasa, there are, comparatively speaking, two kinds of this figure, the intellectual and the emotional. The former appeals to our intellect and is designed for that and the latter is used to heighten the sentiment. The intellectual simile must have maximum catching power ; it must be very striking and at the same time, the point of similarity must be relevant ; it must not be accompanied by any further details that may distract or mislead.

अविषह्यातपो यावत्सूर्यो नातिविराजते ।
अमार्गेणागतां लक्ष्मीं प्राप्येवान्वयवर्जितः ॥

—Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇya, 8, 8.

एते हि समुपासीना विहगा जलचारिणः ।
नावगाहन्ति सलिलं अप्रगल्भा इवाहवम् ॥

—Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇya, 16, 22.

These beautiful instances from the Rāmāyaṇa have the required novelty and strikingness. As S. J. Brown [1] says, the pleasure we derive from a comparison—to which we stick, however much we may call it odious—is in the sudden bringing together of two notions which were a moment before unconnected and remote from one another. This element of agreeable surprise falls under intellectual appeal. The following are two more instances :

निद्रा क्वाप्यवमानितेव दयिता सन्त्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥
परमातेव निस्स्नेहाः परकार्याणीव शीतलाः (?) ।
सन्नावो भच्छिता राजन् शुद्धाः कुलवधूरिव ॥

'The matters compared here are so different ; we are startled by the ingenuity displayed in bringing them together and the effect is an agreeable fillip of the mind.' In this respect, the danger of abuse lies in the lack of caution in the poet, in obscurity and far-fetchedness and the dwindling down of the similarity to a single and mere matter of fact point. There was a Christmas sales' advertisement in a card with a dog whose tail had been cut ; the dog was looking at its shortened tail and underneath was printed '*It will not be long now* before Christmas, as the dog said about its tail !' Such instances are effective means for comedy and humour and typical instances can be gathered from Dickens's Sam Weller in his Pickwick Papers.

Coming to the other kind of Upamā : Later poets, wherever they might have been, however little their knowledge of things or imagination might have been, had a Kaviśikṣā to supply them with as many moons and lotuses as they wanted. Though one had not seen the Himālayas, he devoted a canto to its description with all the stock-in-trade and trite figures, mistaken informations filling verse after verse. The absurdity is seen clearly in the capricious geography of India which Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa teaches us in his Vemabhūpāla carita. In Upamā, the necessity for novelty is overlooked and the anxiety to abide by the qualification 'Sammata' has been the cause of monotony. Anybody could write out a hundred verses any day on the sunrise, with the red sun, the lotus and the bee and the waning moon, their one single feature of looking like lovers being done to exhaustion. Appayya dīkṣita defines Upamā thus :

उपमानोपमेयत्वयोग्ययोरर्थयोर्द्वयोः ।
हृद्यं साधर्म्यमुपमेत्युच्यते काव्यवेदिभिः ॥

---

[1] 'World of Imagery'. Quoted by K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar in his contributions on 'Imagery of Rāmāyaṇa', J.O.R., Madras, Vol. III, pt. 4.

Others also have pointed out the defects in the form and content of Simile. Even as it is not poetic figure to be comparing things by their Padārthatva, it is not poetic figure if it is too trite or too often repeated. Emotional intensity and intellectual delights are derived only from such figures as are 'Āścaryabhūta'; and when there is not enough 'Viadagdhya' in the poet's Vāk, the repetition is intolerable. As a matter of fact, many Alaṁkāras have lost their force and charm by the one reason of repetition. We do not simply say, even in talks, one is named so, but only 'नाम्ना भूषित'; so much so, there is almost no effect produced when a poet says मुखांबुज, मुकुरकपोल, etc.

The inferior poets had ample Vyutpatti, unlit by imagination. As they were great scholars, we can rarely find a technical flaw in their figures as figures. But the place where they abused is the same. It is their scholarship that bound them to the rule. When they get an imagery on their mind, they settle down to turn it into one of the Upamāgarbhālaṁkāras of the texts; they choose one that they have not used up to that time; in their construction, they adopt the same manner of expression of that figure as given in the text-book and when there is no 'Liṅgavacana sāmya' for the Upamā, they artificially work out by redistributions, with the great control over lexicon and grammar they had, the conforming form of the figure. Things that are in pairs are often brought into singular number as occasion needs and to coincide with a feminine stem, 'Padadvaya' will become 'Padadvayī'. Even Kālidāsa strains to achieve this formal correspondence. He takes the bees in a group in feminine gender to bear comparison with a lady, a single and feminine Upameya.

तं प्राप्य सर्वावयवानवद्यं व्यावर्ततान्योपगमात्कुमारी ।
न हि प्रफुल्लं सहकारमेत्य वृक्षान्तरं कांक्षति षट्पदाली ॥[1]

—R.V., VI, 69.

Let us turn to the Rāmāyaṇa where this weight of Liṅgavacana sāmya does not hang on the poet:

अहं तु हृतदारश्च राज्याच्च महतश्च्युतः ।
नदीकूलमिव क्लिन्नमवसीदामि लक्ष्मण ॥

—Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā, 28, 58.

---

[1] See also महीभृतः पुत्रवतोऽपि दृष्टिः तस्मिन्नपत्ये न जगाम तृप्तिम् ।
अनन्तपुष्पस्य मधोर्हि चूते द्विरेफमाला सविशेषसङ्गा ॥

—Kumāra Sambhava, I.

पश्य रूपाणि सौमित्रे वनानां पुष्पशालिनाम् ।
सृजतां पुष्पवर्षाणि तोयं तोयमुचामिव ॥—Kiṣ., I, 10.
नलिनानि प्रकाशन्ते जले तरुणसूर्यवत् ॥ ,, ,, 61.

A latter-day poet would have certainly stopped to abide by an Ālaṁkārika dictum and by some 'Piṣṭapeṣana' and 'Kliṣṭa Kalpana' spoil the simple beauty of the idea presented by Vālmiki. Daṇḍin says that there are cases where neither Liṅga-disagreement nor Vacana-disagreement can spoil the beauty of an Upamā; the Sahṛdaya's sense is the judge; if it is not disturbed, all is right with the figure:

न लिंगवचने भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।
उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ॥
स्त्रीव गच्छति षण्डोऽयं वक्त्येषा स्त्री पुमानिव ।
प्राणा इव प्रियोऽयं मे विद्या धनमिवार्जिता ॥
—Daṇḍin, K.Ā., II, 51–3.

The following verse also is beautiful, despite liṅga-vacana-vyatyāsa:

परमातेव निस्स्नेहाः परकार्याणीव शीतलाः(?) ।
सक्तवो भक्षिता राजन् शुद्धाः कुलवधूरिव ॥

Coming to the manner of expressing the similarity: Daṇḍin and others have given some words expressing similarity, Sādṛśyavācaka śabdas. But ingenuity and eccentricity have invented other expressions to convey similarity. Śriharṣa employs these words of comparison—स्पृशति तत्कदनं कदलीतरुः । Nai., IV, 8. We have other new and original words to suggest similarity—सब्रह्मचारी, सतीर्थ्यं, वैतण्डिक, सयूथ्य, प्रतिद्वन्द्व, कलहायमान, etc.[1] These words are in themselves condensed metaphors and it is only after long Rūḍhi that they mean simply 'similarity'. Till then the reader has to pass through another metaphor to understand the main imagery. While it must be accepted that it is highly diverting to have ever such novel words of comparison, one cannot blind oneself to the growing Aprasiddhi, involvedness and obscurity.

---

[1] The Lalitāstavaratna of Durvāsas and the Mūkapañcaśatī use such expressions profusely but one does not dislike them in these two masterly hymns. See also Āryastavarāja of a Tanjore Jagannātha (Vāṇī Vilas edn.) produced in imitation of Durvāsas' Lalitāstavaratna.

Considering the way in which figures are expressed: Even very appropriate images are abused by strained expression, resorted to with special effort, for the sake of variety as well as metrical needs. If the poet gets a simile and gives it natural expression which is in harmony with Rasa, there is really effect and beauty in its employment. Poetry is after all not an argument to be somehow read and understood; it is something like a Mañjarī, as Bāṇa says. It has to leap to our heart on even the mere hearing of it. Even as ideas, their expression also has to be beautiful.

अथवा मृदुवस्तु हिंसितुं मृदुनैवारभते प्रजान्तकः ।
हिमसेकविपत्तिरत्र मे नलिनी पूर्वनिदर्शनं मता ॥

—R.V., VIII, 45.

The second half here containing the figure is expressed in a way that it is fit only to be in Tarka book. Like certain words, only certain constructions are poetic. Such expressions of Kālidāsa himself—'अतिष्ठदेकोनशतक्रतुत्वे' (R.V., III) and 'तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीतरश्मित्वमिन्दोर्द्वयमिदमयथार्थं दृश्यते मद्विधेषु (Śāk.) are not happy at all. Śrīharṣa is a past-master in such wooden expressions and his Kāvya contains many sentences not more poetic than his 'क्रीडत्तावाङ्मुखत्वैः' Nai., II, 105.

Next in importance to the simile are Rūpaka and Atiśayokti. 'Simile is used when there is a moderate degree of excitation. When this is great, the mind naturally flies to the metaphor as a more concentrated form of expression, representing many thoughts in a few words.' When the emotion is still greater, we resort to Atiśayokti and even Atyukti. 'These metaphors play an important part in the economy of language, the coining of metaphors being a means to our stock of names.' Poets create the language of a people. 'The element of representation, creation on the basis of similarity, is an essential principle of all art and it is a factor in the construction of language itself.' Thus is language a book of faded metaphors.

'Just as in the preponderance of the didactic and explanatory tendency, considerations of thought overbalance those of form, those of form overbalance those of thought in the preponderance of the ornate tendency in which there is failure because of an excess of representation. It is simply natural for one who has obtained facility in illustrating his ideas to overdo the matter at times and to carry his art so far as to illustrate that which has been sufficiently illustrated or is itself illustrative.' As Ānanda and Abhinava say, 'Atinirvāha' is bad. It is not proper to work out in the following manner Rūpakas fully and often, especially in a situation like this full of Karuṇarasa :

'अवगाढः सुदुष्पारं शोकसागरमब्रवीत् ।
रामशोकमहाभोगः सीताविरहपारगः ॥
श्वसितोर्मिमहावर्तो बाष्पफेनजलाविलः ।
बाहुविक्षेपमीनौघः विक्रन्दितमहास्वनः ॥
प्रकीर्णकेशशैवालः कैकेयीबडवामुखः ।
ममाश्रुवेगप्रभवः कुब्जावाक्यमहाग्रहः ॥
वरवेलो नृशंसाया रामप्रव्राजनायतः ।
यस्मिन्बत निमग्नोऽहं कौसल्ये राघवं विना ।
दुस्तरो जीवता देवि ममायं शोकसागरः ॥'

—Rām., Ayo., 59.

This is all the more inappropriate since it is not Kavivākya but a Pātravākya, words of the dying Daśaratha. Keith quotes one such instance from the Rāmāyaṇa and calls it 'pointless wit' and 'strained taste'.[1] A similar artificial verse is found in Sugrīva's lament over the fallen body of his elder brother :

सौदर्यघातापरगात्रवालः सन्तापहस्ताक्षिशिरोविषाणः ।
एनोमयो मामभिहन्ति हस्ती दृप्तो नदीकूलमिव प्रवृद्धः ॥

—Kiṣ., 24. 17.

The passion for figures makes a poet introduce them in such irrelevant places. Aśvathāma, in deep grief at his father's death, is made to utter such a complicated expression of his sentiment :

तत्त्वरते मे तावत् तातपरिभवानलदह्यमानमिदं चेतः प्रतीकारजलावगाय ।

And in Act I, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa makes Bhīma say :

युष्मच्छासनलंघनांभसि मया मग्नेन नाम स्थितम् ।

Poetry, being intended for the delight of the imagination, must be effective only through hint and suggestion ; and when one makes it a bit of grammar or logic, it ceases to be poetry. It is really surprising how there can be any beauty of figure in such an unpoetic expression as Parisaṁkhyā which can never be a spontaneous utterance. The following Parisaṁkhyā is a description of the rain season in the Rāmāyaṇa :

---

[1] The author of the Imagery of Rāmāyaṇa (J.O.R., Madras, referred to above) characterises such instances as 'Symmetry-figures', those worked out for symmetry alone. The giving of a name to them does not take away their artificiality.

वहन्ति वर्षन्ति नदन्ति भान्ति ध्यायन्ति नृत्यन्ति समाश्वसन्ति ।
नद्यो घना मत्तगजा वनान्ताः प्रियाविहीनाः शिखिनः प्लवंगाः ॥

—Kiṣ., 18. 27.

It is proper that Kuntaka should reject this 'Alaṁkāra'.

From mere Rūpaka, the poet's first move in the world of the image itself produces the Pariṇāmālaṁkāra, which is Rūpaka with Prakṛtopayogitva. This figure has been abused very much. The poet moves on only in the world of imagery, carried away by suggestions of further images from the details of the first imagery. He does not beautify or illustrate the main idea which he has now forgotten.

दोर्दण्डदर्पस्तपनो यदीयस्तमो निरस्यन्नपि लोकवृत्ति ।
प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिमण्डलस्य निमीलयामास मुखांबुजानि ॥

—Sahṛdayānanda, I.

The first figure Rūpaka suggests a Pariṇāma and that is further taken up to a Virodha and the last metaphor here—मुखांबुजानि—is wholly inappropriate as applied to the faces of enemies.

Such verses often become ununderstandable like puzzles, three or four ideas intervening between the understanding and the Rasa. Mahimā says:

'त्रिभिरन्तरिता यथा × × × × × × × तदिदमुपायपरं परोपरोहनिस्सहा न रसास्वादान्तिकमुपगन्तुमलमिति प्रहेलिकाप्रायं काव्यमेतत् × × × ।'

—V.V., I.T.S.S., pp. 17-18.

The same is the case with Paryāyokta,[1] Preyān, and Rasavadalaṁkāras. The king or God is to be praised; Prīti for them is the main Rasa of the subject, but a minor Rasa is employed to adorn the main one. A far-fetched idea suggesting some great quality of the king or God (which quality is left to hide itself in one small word) is elaborated and the whole verse is burdened with a new picture which is a world by itself. The verse बल्लालक्षोणिपाल त्वदरिनगरे सञ्चरन्ती किराती, etc. quoted by Appayya dīkṣita in his Citramīmāṁsā as an illustration of Uttarottarapallavitabhrānti aptly shows how poets stray away from the main idea. This tendency is the main feature of the vast mass of court eulogies like the Pratāparudrīya (the Alaṁkāra work), Prāṇābharaṇa, Rājendrakarṇapūra, etc. When Kālidāsa writes thus:

क्रियाप्रबन्धेष्वयमध्वराणां अजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्रः ।
शच्याश्चिरं पाण्डुकपोललंबान् मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ॥

---

[1] *Vide* above, criticism of चक्राभिघात, etc.

we have the main idea of the king doing sacrifices incessantly given adequate expression, but if we take a verse from the Pratāparudrīya praising the king, we can see the poet rolling in the world of images themselves with little reference to the king's qualities. Sometimes it seems that court-poetry will praise and pun and work conceits upon Gaṅgā, Kṣīrodadhi, and Candra themselves to the exclusion of what they are taken to represent, viz. the king's white fame.[1]

Coming to Utprekṣā, we already saw one instance of a bad Utprekṣā of king Bhoja from the Rāmāyaṇa Campū, वाणीविलासमपरञ्च etc., where the poet has gone contrary to the main theme. This figure especially shall always be closely connected with the main theme and Rasa.

गुरोर्नियोगाद्वनितां वनान्ते साध्वीं सुमित्रातनयो विहास्यन् ।
अवार्यतेवोत्थितवीचिहस्तैः जह्नोर्दुहित्रा स्थितया पुरस्तात् ।
—R.V., XIV, 51.

Here is an appropriate Utprekṣā, one in perfect consonance with the sentiment; Kālidāsa has heightened the effect by it. But ingenuity and eccentricity formed the endowments of many poets who made conceits far-fetched and irrelevant. Not to mention pleasure, even intellectual satisfaction is not produced by the many Utprekṣās in Śrīharṣa. The Rasa is obscured to a single word. As with hyperbole, so with conceits. The departure from truth must not be shocking. Bain says: 'Tiresome to us at least is the straining of this figure in Eastern Poetry'. He says this of hyperbole and it is true also of conceit. It is mistaken taste and scholarship that revels in these far-fetched figures.

लोकातीत इवात्यर्थमध्यारोप्य विवक्षितः ।
योऽर्थस्तेनातितुष्यन्ति विदग्धा नेतरे जनाः ॥
—Daṇḍin, K.Ā., I.

Another figure with which Sanskrit Punditship is cheaply associated is Śleṣa. As Keith points out, the lexicons and the Nānārthavargas did a very bad service in this connection. It became impossible for a latter-day scholar to write except in double entendre and if we take a work like Vedāntadeśika's Subhāṣitanīvī, we cannot find there a single verse which has not got two meanings. Sometimes we are able to set up similarity between both the ideas and sometimes we are left to satisfy ourselves with the mere pleasure of originality and admire the author's command over the language. Often the puns revolve round silly and trivial attributes. There are also cases of discord of varying nature between the two ideas: the idea on hand, the Prākaraṇika, is Adhika, the other, Nyūna; the former noble, the latter, base. The author of the Sahṛdayānanda makes a pun upon such a trifle of an attribute as owl *having wings.* It was the boast of authors that they could pun at every step; it was the banner of their talents. Subandhu beats his own Paṭaha thus:

---

[1] I think, I will be stepping out of the bounds of modesty if I mention here that I have attempted a Parody of this literature in a dramatic piece called Pratāparudrīya-viḍambana.

प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रपञ्चविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिं प्रबन्धम् ।
सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसादः चक्रे सुबन्धुः सुजनैकबन्धुः ॥

So much so that it became not only a possibility or accomplished fact but a practice of great fancy 'to perpetrate' double, triple, and quadruple poems.

But what exactly is the place of this figure? Has it any charm to impart to the diction? It helps all Alaṁkāras, except Svabhāvokti:

श्लेषः पुष्णाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् ।—Daṇḍin.

Abhinava also points out that it helps Upamāgarbha figures. Used with restraint, it can be charming and effective. The two meanings must be well known; the figure must have come off easily. Bāṇa says: श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः । Harṣacarita. The following are two instances of simple and beautiful Śleṣa, used with an eye to increase the effect of the situation:

बाष्पेण पिहितं दीनं रामस्सौमित्रिणा सह ।
चकर्षेव गुणैर्बद्ध्वा जनं पुरनिवासिनम् ॥

—Rām., Ayo., 41. 12.

शरत्कालं प्रतीक्षिष्ये स्थितोऽस्मि वचने तव ।
सुग्रीवस्य नदीनां च प्रसादमनुपालयन् ॥

—Rām., Kiṣ., 27. 42.

Kālidāsa, who rarely resorts to this figure, gives a similar simple Śleṣa in his R.V., III:

न संयतस्तस्य बभूव रक्षितुः विसर्जयेद्यं सुतजन्महर्षितः ।
ऋणाभिधानात्स्वयमेव केवलं तदा पितॄणां मुमुचे स बन्धनात् ॥

In Bāṇa, we meet with both uses and abuses of this figure. As in his life, so in his writings, Bāṇa was exhubarant and was responsible for excess. He often forgot proportion and in Utprekṣā, he became endless sometimes as in that long and tiring description of the king's elephant, Darpaśāta, in Ucchvāsa II of the Harṣacarita. He dealt in pointless Śleṣas like वैनतेय इव गुरुपक्षपाती. He was a master of Śabdabhaṅgaśleṣa, in which the words have to be differently split for the two meanings. This Bhaṅgaśleṣa is denounced by Keith and others; those who have complete acquaintance and are familiar with all the nooks and corners of a language can understand a Bhaṅgaśleṣa very easily. Victor Hugo says that in the whole world there is one nation that can speak and enjoy a pun, viz. the French. And L. Bloomfield says that the French is a language for punning, *par excellence*, since it has little word-boundaries. This remark applies to Sanskrit Bhaṅgaśleṣa equally. Śleṣa in general is very effective in gnomic utterances where they help to nail the maxim into our head; they are equally catching in Cāṭus or eulogies. In Cāṭus, the Bhaṅgaśleṣa also is freely employed and in the following Cāṭu, Bhaṅgaśleṣa is certainly very striking:

भवान् हि भगवानेव गतो भेदः परस्परम् ।
महत्या गदया युक्तः सत्यभामाविराजितः ॥

When overdone or when handled by lesser artists, the Padabhaṅgaśleṣa can become one of the obstacles to understanding and realization of Rasa. Ānandavardhana classes it along with the Duṣkaras, the Yamaka, the Bandhas, etc. which have to be avoided in the delineation of Rasas like Śṛṅgāra, Vipralambha, and Karuṇa.

'—यमकप्रकाराणां निबन्धनं दुष्करशब्दभंगश्लेषादीनां शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वमिति ।'

—Dhva. Ā., p. 85.

As compared with this Śabdaśleṣa of Bhaṅga, Arthaśleṣa is less of an impediment to Rasa; used discriminately, it can help Rasa even. Says Abhinava:

'शब्दभंगश्लेषेति । अर्थश्लेषो न दोषाय, यथा रक्तस्त्वमित्यादि । शब्दभंगोऽपि क्लिष्ट एव दुष्टः, न तु अशोक-सशोकादौ ।'—Locana, p. 85.

The next prominent figure which had found a place in the Rāmāyaṇa and had become monotonous in later poets is the Samāsokti. Poets see the world shaped in beauty. To them there is music in the spheres. Words in the feminine gender fascinates them.

'तथा हि 'तटी तारं ताम्यति' इत्यत्र तटशब्दस्य पुंस्त्वनपुंसकत्वे अनादृत्य स्त्रीत्वमेव आदृतं सहृदयैः 'स्त्रीनामापि मधुरं' इति कृत्वा ।'—Locana, p. 160.

सति लिंगान्तरे यत्र स्त्रीलिंगं च प्रयुज्यते ।
शोभानिष्पत्तये यस्मिन् नामैव स्त्रीति पेशलम् ॥

—Vakroktijīvita, 93.

This employment of Samādhiguṇa ‘ with which poets, as with magic, give life and motion (emotion ?) to every inanimate part of nature ’ is praised by Daṇḍin as ‘ Kāvya sarvasva ’.

तदेतत् काव्यसर्वस्वं समाधिर्नाम यो गुणः ।
कविसार्थस्समग्रोऽपि तमेनमनुगच्छति ॥—K.Ā., I.

Samādhiguṇa produces the Samāsokti figure. Vālmīki has two beautiful verses of this class, in the former of which elements of Samāsokti go to beautify the main figure of Upamā.

सेवमाने दृढं सूर्ये दिशमन्तकसेविताम् ।
विहीनतिलकेव स्त्री नोत्तरा दिक् प्रकाशते ॥—Āraṇya, 16. 8.

चञ्चच्चन्द्रकरस्पर्शसमुन्मीलिततारका ।
अहो रागवती सन्ध्या जहाति स्वयमंबरम् ॥
—Kiṣkindhā, 30. 46.

There are some very fine verses of this type in Canto XI of the Śiśupālavadha where Māgha gives us a description of dawn. But soon, poets with neither originality nor restraint began to repeat images ; the same three or four objects of sun, moon, the Padminī, the Kairaviṇī, the Prācī and the Pratīcī diks were exploited for many verses together, the points of attraction dwindling to trifles, and with variety almost non-existent. Gradually this figure became intellectual and no wonder, it begot the new subvariety called Śāstrasamāsokti.

In Sanskrit Literature, there are some strange metaphors at which some English critics evince surprise. As for instance, we never have simple Asi (sword) but have only—असिलता. Among our own critics, Kṣemendra has said (in his Aucityavicāracarcā) that such a delightful object as moon ought not to be conceived as Citācakra. Things repellent and terrible by themselves must never be conceived in images of charm and love. But while describing the death of enemies, their sufferings, etc., the poet does employ such imagery, sometimes in callousness and sometimes in the light vein. The falling warriors are said to embrace Earth ; and Kālidāsa describes Tāṭakā passing away into Death's abode as going to her lover.

Śāstrasamāsokti has given rise to sheer pedantry. In an age of poetry when poets were scholars with Vyutpatti in all the Darśanas and branches of learning, nothing could satisfy the writer or reader but high-flown rapprochement with Śāstraic ideas. Viśākhadatta's claim for dramatic genius will hardly become less if he had not written साध्ये निश्चितमन्वयेन घटितं बिभ्रत्सपक्षे स्थितिं, etc. The Naiṣadhakāra's own Diṇḍima is on this point—ग्रन्थग्रन्थिरिह क्वचित्क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया. All the Darśanas and the subtleties thereof find a place in his poem. See the Tarka here : ' अनुमितोऽपि स बाष्पनिरीक्षणात् व्यभिचचार न तापकरोऽनलः ' IV. Naiṣadha. Surely, poetry must do Upadeśa ; the sublime thoughts, the deep philosophies—all these the poet must give expression to ; but this Śāstrasamāsokti is hardly that.

The last Alaṁkāra that we shall consider here specially is that variety of Aprastutapraśaṁsā or Anyokti called Anyāpadeśa. If poetry is a criticism of life, Anyāpadeśa is poetry above all other types. In it, the poet points out the flaws and failings of men, praises their nobility, bitingly remarks about men's meanness, and makes fun of and satirizes every aspect of human character. Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa's century of Anyāpadeśa has some very fine verses. Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita's Anyāpadeśa is unequalled in this branch. In the anthologies, there are some brilliant Anyāpadeśa verses. But all the other Anyāpadeśa centuries are trash. A few objects like the sea, the sun, the moon, the lotus, the Kokila and the mango in contrast with the crow and the Margosa, the winter and the frogs—these trite things in some stale ideas were exploited for a hundred and more verses. The poet did not pick out any particular, subtle, or prominent defect of humanity to criticize, or good quality to praise. Not feeling anything to write a verse with life, these poets dashed off verse after verse, retailing one triviality after another. Anyāpadeśa is a type of literature that can never be written at a sitting, by Āśukavi's, but must be written on occasions, must be made to accumulate into a collection in the course of the varied life of a poet, full with experience. If Bhallaṭa wrote the verse on the ignoble Dust, which by the kicking up of the fickle wind got on the very tops of mountains—ये जात्या लघवः सदैव गणनां याता न ये कुत्रचित्, etc., we know Bhallaṭa felt the poignant grief ; we know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that in the reign of the mean and wicked Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 882–902), great men like poet Bhallaṭa had to earn their livelihood by doing all sorts of services, that poets were not given gifts and that peons drew fabulous salaries, holding high authority.[1]

But small minds—मन्दाः कवियशःप्रार्थिनः—never thought themselves ' kṛtārtha ' if they had not finished off in their literary career

---

[1] Kalhaṇa, R.T., V, 204, etc.

त्यागभीरुतया तस्मिन् गुणिसंगपराङ्मुखे ।
आसेवन्तावरा वृत्तीः कवयो भल्लटादयः ॥
निर्वेतनास्सुकवयो, भारिको लवटस्त्वभूत् ।
प्रसादात्तस्य दीनारसहस्रद्वयवेतनः ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

a century of Anyāpadeśa and immediately they made a 'Parikarabandha' and began exploiting the sun and the moon, the मल्लीवल्ली, etc.

We have thus far considered figures of sense. Poetry, as it is required to be sensuous, must be pleasing to the ear also. The form of the form itself must be beautiful, must have a music and flow. The poet must look to harmony, balance, and climax in his sentences. Metre itself owes its origin to this requirement as also to the emotional outburst. Keith grants that the Sanskrit poets have 'certainly a better ear than themselves (foreigners) to the music of the words',—the sounds' appropriateness to suggest the meaning and sentiment. What a verse did Bhavabhūti write!

State Museum Library Lucknow
7030

वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ।
लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को हि विज्ञातुमर्हति ॥

It is really a marvel of sound effect that Bāṇa produces with utmost ease :

'अपराह्णप्रचारप्रचलिते चामरिणि चामीकरतटताडनरणितरदने रदति सुरस्रवन्तीरोधांसि स्वैरमैरावते ।'

'क्रमेण अधोऽधो धावमानधवलपयोधरां'

'ग्राहग्रावग्रामस्खलनमुखरितस्रोतसं'—Harṣacarita, I.

'विरलीभवति वरटानां वेशन्तशायिनीनां मञ्जुनि मञ्जीरशिञ्जितजडे जल्पिते ।'

—*Ibid.*, III.

One cannot pick out in Bāṇa ; the reader with keen sensibility hears the metallic sound of Irāvata striking its tusk on a golden pavement, sees the rolling clouds, sees the current stumbling and rushing out of each of the three blocking words, Grāva, Grāha, Grāma and in the stillness of our mind, we find the long-drawn silvery voice of female swans in the ponds on the outskirts of the city slowly dying. Colour, smell, and sound, we are able to directly realize in Kālidāsa's verse :

दीर्घीकुर्वन्पटुमदकलं कूजितं सारसानां
प्रत्यूषेषु स्फुटितकमलामोदमैत्रीकषायः ।
यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति सुरतग्लानिमंगानुकूलः
शिप्रावातः प्रियतम इव प्रार्थनाचाटुकारः ॥

—Megha., I.

When Kālidāsa said of Āja, 'तल्पमुज्झांचकार', we see how Āja briskly rose up from his bed, unlike the slothful and sleepy ; and the sternness of Nandin's command to the Gaṇas not to give way to Cāpala, rings in our own ears when we read—

तच्छासनात्काननमेव सर्वं चित्रार्पितारम्भमिवावतस्थे ।—K.S., III.

Bhavabhūti was as great a master with the words; surely the delicate and charming effects are easy of achievement for him when they are needed; but he discovered the sound effects required for the Raudra and Bībhatsa Rasas; what he created, others still live upon. In the Śmaśānāṅka of the Mālatīmādhava, he makes one's flesh creep, hairs stand on end, and feet step back in fright. The owl, the jackal, the water of the river rushing through skeletons,—eeriness gathers round when we read

गुञ्जत्कुञ्जकुटीरकौशिकघटाघूत्कारसंवेल्लित-
क्रन्दत्फेरवचण्डधात्कृतिभृतप्राग्भारभीमैस्तटैः ।
अन्तःकीर्णकरङ्ककर्परतरत्संरोधिकूलंकष-
स्रोतोनिर्गमघोरघर्घररवा पारे श्मशानं सरित् ॥—M.M.

Take that verse again in his Mahāvīracarita which brings on Tāṭakā, the demoness—

अन्त्रप्रोतबृहत्कपालनलकक्रूरक्वणत्कंकण, etc.[1]

The concepts of Rīti and Vṛtti in poetics owe their formulation to a study of these sound-effects. These also count for Rasa. It is said that the first gait of the actor on the stage interprets him and his character to the audience; that first impression stands to the last. So also the first effect a verse on its mere reading or hearing produces, holds the mind to the end. For the Rasa to be suggested, even the jingle in the sounds or the clash of words is welcome and appropriate means.

A further carrying out of these ideas gives rise to the Śabdālaṁkāra of Anuprāsa of different varieties. But Yamakas, as Daṇḍin says, are not good—तत्तु नैकान्तमधुरम् . They have least to do with Rasa. Ānandavardhana lays down the following rules for the use of Anuprāsa and Yamaka:

‘ शृङ्गारस्याङ्गिनो यत्नादेकरूपानुबन्धनात् ।
सर्वेष्वेव प्रभेदेषु नानुप्रासः प्रकाशकः ॥
ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृंगारे यमकादिनिबन्धनम् ।
शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वं विप्रलंभे विशेषतः ॥’

—Dhva. Ā., p. 85; Kā., 15-16.

---

[1] *Vide* my paper on Aucitya previously referred to. Dhva. Ā., III.

In such Rasas as Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa, the elaborate and artificial figures of sound have no place. Vālmīki has shown that, in a mere description, rhymes find a proper place. The famous description of the moonlight night in the Sundarakāṇḍa 'स तत्र मध्यंगतमंशुमन्तं, etc.' is an example. There is a particular tendency in the Rāmāyaṇa which is seen even in the Ṛgveda, to juxtapose similar sound groups, an effect which Kālidāsa and Aśvagoṣa adopted from the master. Vālmīki writes—'पद्मां पादवतां वरः', 'दक्षिणो दक्षिणां दिशम्', 'रावणो लोकरावणः' etc. These do not do violence to the sense and at the same time add to the charm of the diction. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa especially delights in such innocent assonances :

तस्मै सभ्याः सभार्याय गोप्त्रे गुप्ततमेन्द्रियाः ।
अर्हणामर्हते चक्रुः मुनयो नयचक्षुषे ॥—R.V., I.

इत्थं द्विजेन द्विजराजकान्तिः आवेदितो वेदविदां वरेण ।
एनो निवृत्तेन्द्रियवृत्तिरेनं जगाद भूयो जगदेकनाथः ॥—R.V., V.

See ततो मृगेन्द्रस्य मृगेन्द्रगामी (R.V., II), etc.
Cf. Śrīharṣa, Naiṣadha, VI, 1.

दूत्याय दैत्यारिपतेः प्रवृत्तः द्विषां निषेद्धा निषधप्रधानः ।
स भीमभूमीपतिराजधानीं लक्ष्मीचकाराथ रथस्यदस्य ॥

Yamaka differs in that it needs special effort and drags the poet away from his Samādhi in Rasa. Not only that : However much, like a latter-day adept at this Yamaka-craft, a poet may get it easily, it is bad and improper in so far as it distracts and stops our minds from proceeding beyond itself, our minds which must reach the 'Rasa' obscured in the inner courtyard. (See Dhva. Ā., p. 85). In the ninth canto of the Raghuvamśa however, the theme is only a description of summer and the hunt of the king. In such places, Ānanda allows option in using the Yamaka. But there are descriptions both by Vālmiki and Kālidāsa which do not employ sound-figures and link every descriptive detail with the context. For example, the Vasanta-description opening the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa and the Śarad-description in Canto IV of the Raghuvamśa. The canonists permit the Yamaka- and Duṣkara-mad poets to satisfy themselves in situations of Rasābhāsa. The Bandhas of various types, Ekākṣara, Niroṣṭhya—these have nothing to do with poetry. It is regrettable that after Bhāravi and Māgha, these became part of the definition of Mahākāvya.

A bad ideal for prose was deduced by the latter-day poets from Bāna and from such remarks as गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति, ओजस्समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् etc. Without endless compounds and jingle of sounds, no prose was possible after a time. So much so that as time passed, certain word groups were effected, one word in which would not occur without the other. मल्ली would not come out without वल्ली and the sound of नूपुर will always be introduced as 'मञ्ज मञ्जीरशिञ्जा'. All the rivers looked 'त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गरङ्ग'. In ideas and words, a stock diction had grown and poesy became a mechanical craft. In his book on Poetic Diction, Thomas Quayle says of the 18th century poetry in England: 'And the same lack of direct observation and individual expression is obvious whenever the classicists have to mention birds or animals. * * * * * * * * * * And it has been well remarked that if we are to judge from their verse, most of the poets of the first quarter of the eighteenth century knew no bird except the gold finch or nightingale and even these probably only by hearsay. For the same generalised diction is usually called upon and birds are merely a "feathered", "tuneful", "plumy" or "warbling" choir * * *'. How true these remarks are of our Sanskrit poets who produced Mahākāvyas at the shortest notice, who could describe the Himālayas and the Ganges and the ocean without seeing them and at whose command there were Kośas and stock expressions and stock ideas, white fame of the king like the autumnal moonlight, the blazing sun of his prowess, the Vasanta, the Malaya māruta, the भृंगीसंगीत and so on. To this race of poets apply these lines of Keats:

> Beauty was awake!
> Why were ye not awake? But ye were dead
> To things ye knew not of,—were closely wed
> To musty laws lined out with wretched rule
> And compass vile; so that ye taught a school
> Of dolts to smooth, inlay, and clip, and fit,
> Till, like the certain wands of Jacob's wit,
> Their verses tallied. Easy was the task:
> A thousand *handicraftsmen* wore the mask
> Of Poesy.

—Sleep and Poetry.

To conclude, poetry is neither pure emotion and thought nor mere manner. A beautiful idea must appropriately incarnate itself in a beautiful expression. This defines Alaṁkāra and its place and function. The function of Alaṁkāra is to heighten the effect; it is to aid the poet to say more pointedly. Whether the poet exalts or does the opposite, Alaṁkāra is to help him. Says Mahimabhaṭṭa :

विनोत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां स्वदन्तेऽर्था न जातुचित् ।
तदर्थमेव कवयोऽलंकारान्पर्युपासते ॥

—V.V., T.S.S., p. 53.

As such, these Alaṁkāras should flow out of Rasa. Even as emotion is depicted, these must come off, without the poet consciously striving after them. They must be ‘irremovable’, structural, organic ; Rasākṣipta, Apṛthag yatna nirvartya. These words of Mahimabhaṭṭa are pertinent here :

‘किञ्च सौन्दर्यातिरेकनिष्पत्तयेऽर्थस्य काव्यक्रियारंभः कवेः, न तु अलंकारनिष्पत्तये, तेषां नान्तरीयकतयैव तत्सिद्धेः, भङ्गिभणितिभेदानामेव अलंकारत्वोपगमात् । × ×

न चालंकारनिष्पत्त्यै रसबन्धोद्यतः कविः ।
यतते ते हि तत्सिद्धिनान्तरीयकसिद्धयः ॥’[1]

—V.V., II, T.S.S., p. 87.

Figures are thus legitimate, though a proper use of them is a gift which only the greater among the poets are endowed with. Be it a Śabda-alaṁkāra or an Artha-alaṁkāra, be it a sound-effect or a striking turn of the idea, it is not ‘Bahiranga’ for Rasa, so long as it is useful for Rasa. Effective expression, the embodiment of the poet's idea, is Alaṁkāra. It is not as if it were in some separate place, like jewels in a box, to be taken and added. As has been explained in the opening part of this paper, it is the several ways of expressing ideas that are to convey the Rasa that are called Alaṁkāras.

‘—युक्तं चैतत् । यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेव आक्षेप्तव्याः, तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैः, तत्प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलंकाराः । तस्मान्न तेषां बहिरंगत्वं रसाभिव्यक्तौ ।’

—Ānanda, p. 87.

‘रसस्याङ्गं विभावाद्याः साक्षान्निष्पादकत्वतः ।
तद्वैचित्र्योक्तिवपुषोऽलंकारास्तु तदाश्रयाः ॥’—Mahimā., p. 87.

From Rasa to the musical sound which aids its realisation, poetry is one unity, one complex experience.

The purposiveness of Alaṁkāra is inevitable like the purposiveness of poetry. But this does not mean that one should judge

---

[1] *Vide* also the Āntara Ślokas 76-77 on p. 87, V.V. There are very valuable ideas on Alaṁkāra-aucitya in Vimarśa Two of the Vyaktiviveka.

Alaṁkāra and poetry from a purely utilitarian point of view. There is simply beautiful poetry, which is nothing but the poet's desire to express taken shape. 'These very decorations carry the emotional motive of the poet which says "I find joy in my creations; it is good".'[1] 'When in some pure moments of ecstasy we realise this in the world around us, we see the world not as merely existing but as decorated in its forms, sounds, colours, and lines, we feel in our hearts that there is one who through all things proclaims "I have joy in my creation".'[1] Nature is the creation of God's Līlā, Poetry, of the poet's Līlā.

---

[1] Tagore.

MOHENJO DARO

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

By H. HERAS, S.J.

In this article, which could be illustrated with many references to ancient Saṁskṛta literature, only information derived from the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa will be used.

The ancient Dravidian tribes and perhaps also their contemporaries the Kolarians were *totemic*. An animal, a flower, or any other natural object was the *totem* of the tribe, by which they were known and after which they were styled. When the tribe considerably grew, subdivisions were made and each division, without omitting the original name, took a new sign by which they were called. Again very often two tribes or two portions of the country were officially united and the flag of the union had another sign or device on it. This multiplication of symbols, which finally lost the original *totemic* meaning, at times makes their identification extremely puzzling.

The name of India at the time of the glory of Mohenjo Daro was Sid,[1] which means 'stream', 'to flow', in Dravidian languages. At a later period the nasal *n* was added to it and finally the *u* was suffixed, becoming *Sindu* which was the form that the word had at the time of the Aryan invasions.

The inscriptions speak of four great divisions called countries into which Sid was parcelled, viz., Mīnāḍ,[2] or the country of Fishes ; Paravanāḍ [3] or the country of Birds ; Maraṅkotināḍ [4] or the country of the Woodpecker ; and *Ēḻnāḍ* [5] or the Seven Countries. There were most likely other divisions, the names of which will in course of time appear when new inscriptions are unearthed. We shall speak of them in the same order.

---

[1] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 294, 396 and 59.

[2] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532. This and other similar footnotes are references to photographs kindly supplied by the Director General, Archæological Survey of India.

[3] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 12877 and 12688.

[4] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 3500, 12182 and 3631 ; M.D., 1928-29, No. 7268 ; Marshall, M.D., No. 306.

[5] Marshall, M.D., No. 231 ; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 4155, 4815 and 4663 ; M.D., 1928-29, Nos. 4663, 5215 and 5227.

Mīnāḍ.

This seems to be the largest and most important of all these four countries. It was the country of the *Mīnas*,[1] later on called the *Matsyas* in Saṁskṛta literature, some of whose remnants, bearing the same name, are still found in several states of Rajputana. The limits of this country cannot be defined, yet the fact that part of the country was in Northern India and another part in the South will help to understand its geographical and political importance.

The *Mīnas* were strong[2] and enterprising people; accordingly they are styled 'great'[3] and 'prosperous'[4] in the inscriptions. Besides war, which will be mentioned later, their occupations were fishing and trade. The former was done in the rivers and undoubtedly also in the sea: their boats[5] and fishing nets[6] are spoken of. The king had imposed a fish tax upon fishermen.[7] Trade is also referred to.[8] Mīnas are mentioned who were the owners of shops.[9] The only commercial transactions seem to have been barter,[10] which was specially brisk in spring and in the beginning of summer.[11] Difficulties as regards this trade sometimes arose, for we find that a judge had once at least to give his decision about the barter of the Mīnas.[12] Some Mīnas were the owners of land.[13] There were besides some Mīnas who seem to have dedicated their life to intellectual pursuits, for some Mīnas living in the solitude of caves are called learned.[14] Caves do not seem to have been the ordinary dwelling of the Mīnas. Indeed, they had comfortable and well built houses.[15] Their original *totem* seems to have been the unicorn which is the most common animal in the seals discovered up to now, but the symbol on their flag were the Two Fishes.[16] 'The justice of the Mīnas' seems to have been proverbial.[17]

The country of the Mīnas is called fertile[18] and metaphorically shining.[19] One of their products was toddy, which by the bye was not very strong.[1] The coconut plantations were many and great. One of the reasons of this fertility was the river Sid that crossed from North to South[2]; 'the stream of the Mīnas' is mentioned in the inscriptions.[3] Besides, a regular system of canals brought the water of the river to the distant fields. These waterways are very often referred to.[4] The Mīnas were in what is now Western Sind on the right bank of the Indus and along its lower course. When the Āryas invaded India they were still there. Two cities of this country are specially mentioned.[5] They seem to be Naṇḍūr and Uḍayūr.

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532; M.D., 1928-29, No. 5432.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, Pl. X, p. 698.

[3] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 402 and 177.

[4] Marshall, H., No. 38; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 3379, 3557, 3589, 5559 and 10400; H., Neg. 3012, No. 6; H., Neg. 3861, Nos. 1, 2 and 5; M.D., 1929-30, Dk, 8406; M.D., 1928-29, No. 4967.

[5] Marshall, H., No. 3931.

[6] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 470.

[7] *Ibid.*, H., No. 33.

[8] *R.A.*, Vol. XXII, p. 99.

[9] Marshall, M.D., No. 79.

[10] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 66.

[11] *A.S.I. Report*, 1923-24, Pl. XIX, No. 18 (M.D.).

[12] Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVII, No. 12 (Hr. 4337).

[13] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. 8028.

[14] Marshall, M.D., No. 21.

[15] As may be seen in Mohenjo Daro itself.

[16] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10893.

[17] *Ibid.*, No. 5514.

[18] *Ibid.*, No. 3987.

[19] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532.

Naṇḍūr is the name of the city which has been so successfully excavated in the mounds of the Larkhana District known to the modern Sindhis as Mohenjo Daro.[6] Naṇḍūr means, 'the city of the Crab'. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Naṇḍūr are sometimes called 'the Crabs'.[7] They had good harvests in the surrounding fields of the city.[8] One of their ponds is said to have dried up.[9] The city was apparently the residence of the king of Mīnāḍ who received the title of 'the Farmer of the Crab'.[10] One of the Queens of the Mīnas owned a coconut plantation.[11] In the neighbourhood of Naṇḍūr there was a cave shaded with a number of trees where corpses were being buried.[12]

The other city of importance was Uḍayūr, 'the leading City', which originally had belonged to the tribe of the Bilavas. The Bilavas were archers and hunters by profession. (Their descendants are the Bhils and perhaps the Veddas of Ceylon.) But they were also tilling the soil and were good cultivators: their harvests were always very successful.[13] A section of this tribe were called *Velvel Bilavas*,[14] i.e. 'Bilavas of the two acacias'. They had a number of cities and towns in their territory, which seems to have been on the eastern bank of the Indus. Their houses were built in the best style having four logs as supports of the roof.[15] Some of their cities are: *Ūrilūr*,[16] 'a city which is not a city', *Eikeiūr*, 'a city built by hunters', *Mūnmale*, 'the three mountains' (place) and *Mūnūr*, the

---

[1] Marshall, M.D., No. 148.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 396.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 323.

[4] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8248.

[5] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 7925 ; 1930-31, Dk, No. 11868.

[6] This identification will be proved at length in my work, *The Proto-Indian Script and Civilization*.

[7] Marshall, M.D., No. 17 ; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk. No. 7925.

[8] Marshall, M.D., No. 33.

[9] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 17.

[10] Marshall, M.D., No. 17 and *passim*.

[11] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12118.

[12] *Ibid.*, No. 4603.

[13] Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 4 ; Marshall, H., No. 165 ; M.D., No. 69.

[14] Marshall, H., No. 99.

[15] Photo, H., Neg. 3881, No. 8.

[16] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5654.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

original of the late Saṁskṛta rendering Tripura. This seems to have been the main city of the Bilavas,[1] but the palisade round it was not finished for a long time.[2] Five tridents were worshipped there.[3] The cult of this symbol of the Supreme Being was apparently very popular in Mūnūr.[4] Mūnūr seems to have had at least three villages under its jurisdiction,[5] which explains the name of the city. It is often called 'the one Mūnūr'.[6] The inhabitants of this city had fields and grazing grounds belonging to the community.[7] For some time there were great divisions and factions among the people of Mūnūr in connection with the harvest of the community lands. These factions were promoted by three Kalakilas,[8] members of another tribe that will be mentioned later. Some Bilavas were not living in cities, but in caves.[9] They worshipped the *liṅga* or phallus.[10]

Perhaps the Mīnas of Naṇḍūr, who despised the Bilavas,[11] seized the opportunity of these divisions in the city of Mūnūr to attack the city of Uḍayūr, which apparently was a very important one.[12] It was defended by twelve servants of the temple.[13] The city was conquered in the beginning of spring, to the great glory of the Fish of the Mīnas, rightly commemorated in the inscription.[14] Ūrilūr was also apparently taken.[15] Since that day Uḍayūr was a part of Mīnaḍ which thus was growing eastwards.

Shortly afterwards a friendly political union between the Mīnas and the Bilavas was brought about. Two Bilavas apparently were sent to the capital of the Mīnas to settle this union.[16] The symbol selected for the flag of this union was the two fishes of the Mīnas.[17] Since both the Mīnas and the Bilavas[18] had many canals in their lands, the union was styled Kalka akūr, i.e. 'the canalized united countries'.[19] This union was finally settled at the suggestion of the *Eruvus*, another section of the Bilavas.[1] These seem to have been people who were busy in the gold mines of Northern India. Since they were digging underground burrows like the ants, they were called Eruvus (later Erumbus), 'ants'.[2] Two rivers watered their country.[3] While busy in the Northern mountains they perhaps heard of the rising of the people of the Rocky River (*Kalar*) who marched on the Bilava territory playing a number of war horns.[4] (Where this Rocky River was we cannot say. Perhaps it was the river of Kābul which in the neighbourhood of Jalālābād passes between fantastic rocky walls.) The Eruvus informed the Mīnas and the Bilavas of the approaching enemy and this common danger precipitated the Bilava-Mīna union.[5] Since that day we find the Eruvus living in Naṇḍūr (they were called Naṇḍ Eruvus) and even in Vēlur (Vēl Eruvus)[6] about which city we shall speak later. In point of fact even some Mīnas applied themselves to the lucrative task of digging gold, for we find a section of the Mīnas called Eruvu Mīnas.[7] This approximation between the Mīnas and the Eruvus made the former very enthusiastic about the latter. They call them 'great Eruvus'.[8]

---

[1] Mazumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Pl. XVIII, No. 38.

[2] Marshall, M.D., No. 302.

[3] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5791.

[4] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12486; Marshall, H., No. 3; Gadd, *Ur*, Pl. I, No. 2.

[5] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10889; H., Neg. 4160, No. 5.

[6] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12763.*

[7] Mazumdar, *op. et. loc. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Marshall, M.D., No. 70.

[10] Marshall, H., No. 99; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4157.

[11] Marshall, M.D., No. 87; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10863.

[12] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6127.

[13] *Ibid.*, No. 6861.

[14] Hunter, H., No. 109.

[15] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5671; M.D., 1930-31, No. 5729.

[16] Marshall, H., No. 54.

[17] Photo, H., Neg. 3053, No. 12; M.D., 1928-29, No. 7039.

[18] Marshall, M.D., No. 65.

[19] *Ibid.*, No. 362.

There was another tribe which for some time had not been in friendly relations with the Bilavas. They were the *Eṭkālis*, 'the spiders', who were undoubtedly weavers. They considered themselves superior to the Bilavas.[9] They probably were the people living in the rainy mountain pass, where there was at least one village[10]; they had captured a trident of the Bilavas which was venerated in a forest of the Mīna-Bilava union.[11] The Eṭkālis were good fighters. Their archers threw a stick or rod in a special way which seems to have been proverbial.[12] Yet at a later period Bilavas and Eṭkālis are found united,[13] and the flag of their union bore the figure of the moon.[14] This union between the Eṭkālis and the Bilavas, was later on made to include the Mīnas. Thus the Mīnas, the Bilavas and the Eṭkālis became united.[15] An inscription refers to the two flags of the two fishes, which was the symbol of the

---

[1] Photo, H., Neg. 3008, No. 1.

[2] They are mentioned by Herodot, *Hist.*, b. III, No. 102; Strabo, *Geogr.*, b. XV, No. 37; Plinii, *Hist. Nat.*, b. XI, Ch. 31.

[3] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10269.

[4] Marshall, M.D., No. 474.

[5] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10323.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Marshall, M.D., No. 544.

[8] *D.C.C.O.*, I, Pl. 25, No. 15; *Del. en Perse*, II, p. 129.

[9] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 11196.

[10] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 421 and 258.

[11] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3285. The predatory instincts of this mountain pass people remind one of the same practices of the people of the Khyber pass. Is this the pass mentioned in the inscriptions?

[12] Photo, H., Neg. 4395, No. 3.

[13] Marshall, M.D., No. 60.

[14] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6599.

[15] Marshall, H., No. 240.

Mīna king.[1] The seal which bears this inscription has likewise the figure of an animal with three heads: of a unicorn, of a bull and of an ibex, which were the original *totems* of these three tribes: the unicorn of the Mīnas, the bull of the Bilavas and the ibex on the Etkālis. Yet the symbol represented on the flag of this three-tribe union is mentioned in their proto-Dravidian language thus: *taṅkadirēḷalar*, i.e., *the flower of the sun of reduced ray of light.*[2] Now since the sun of the reduced ray of light is the moon, this flower was the moon flower, viz. the lotus flower which closes its petals to the moon rays.[3]

There was still another tribe deeply despised by the Mīnas, the tribe of the Kāvals.[4] They were robbers. Since the houses guarded by them were not robbed by the other members of the tribe, they were called *Kāval,* which means, 'guard'. And as their thefts were committed in the dark of night, their name became synonymous with 'dark'. Their descendants are still in the U.P. and in Gujarat. There was a section of the Kāvals styled Lakil Kāvals,[5] 'thieving Kāvals' (*lak,* to lift, to steal, etc.). The Kāvals lived partly in high mountains[6] and partly in the plains. The latter had developed a perfect system of irrigation through canals,[7] and carried on trade.[8] They had ponds. A dispute about one of them is indirectly referred to. The headman of the place had to pass judgement on it.[9]

The Kāvals were very early united with another tribe, the Kalakilas, 'united leaves',[10] who are often mentioned in Purāṇic literature as Kilakilas or Kilakalas.[11] Some of them were merchants.[12] Their *totem* was a fish,[13] but the flag of their union with the Kāvals had a *liṅga* as their symbol.[14] They became so intimately united that their two different names became synonymous for political purposes.[15] The *liṅga* or phallus was originally worshipped amongst these two tribes only.[16] They also worshipped three suns[17] (perhaps the rising sun, the setting sun and the sun in the zenith). On account of this the Mīnas said of them that they had three Supreme Beings.[1] This difference in religious beliefs seems to point to a different racial origin. Perhaps these two tribes were Kolarian.

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10893; 1929-30, Dk, No. 8184.

[2] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 8121.

[3] Cf. *Tanipadattrirattu, Opillamani Pulavar,* No. 17 (Madras, 1923).

[4] Marshall, M.D., No. 373; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12963.

[5] Photo, H., Neg. 3010, No. 5.

[6] Marshall, M.D., No. 163.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 11.

[8] *Ibid.*, H., No. 243.

[9] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5667.

[10] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 271 and 381; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7321.

[11] Cf. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 163.

[12] Marshall, M.D., No. 464; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3335.

[13] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 3696.

[14] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5707.

[15] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10923.

[16] Marshall, H., No. 118; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4364.

[17] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 3383.

Of the two tribes the Kāvals seem to have been more advanced. Besides twelve villages,[2] a number of their cities are known, Maramūr,[3] Talnālūr,[4] Nalamūr,[5]—a rich agricultural city,[6] situated in the neighbourhood of some mountains,[7]—Tīrpūr,[8] Dananūr,[9] Orūr [10] and Uḍaynālūr. The last two cities were very near each other.[11] Uḍaynālūr was once attacked by the enemies of the Kāvals,[12] the Mīnas, helped by their friends, the Bilavas. The city was destroyed and remained in ruins for six years.[13] The *liṅga* worshipped there apparently was captured by the conquerors.[14] This victory took place in the month of the Jar.[15] Thus it was afterwards repeated as a proverb 'that the night (death) of Uḍaynālūr was the eye (brightness, light) of the two united countries' of the Mīnas and the Bilavas.[16] As an effect of this war, Orūr became a portion of Mīnāḍ, 'in the year of the hoisting of the flag of the horn-fish'.[17] The Kāvals were forced to acknowledge the Mīna superiority [18] and the Kāval-Kalakila union became tributaries to the Mīnas.[19] The arrival of this tribute at the Mīna capital was commemorated with festivals that lasted eight days.[20] One of the clauses of the treaty of peace was that the Mīna king would also be called 'the farmer of the Crab of the (Kāval-) Kalakila union'.[21] He was also called Mīna of the Kalakilas.[22] The symbol of this new union were the Fishes of the Mīnas.[23] Consequently the latter were styled 'the Kalakilas of the Mīnas'.[24] In point of fact, some Kalakilas were engaged by the Mīnas to look after their farms. On the other hand some Mīnas settled among the Kāvals,[25] from whom they learnt the *liṅga* worship. Perhaps on account of this they were styled

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12963.

[2] Marshall, M.D., No. 478.

[3] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 467.

[4] *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 151, 203 and 330.

[5] *Ibid.*, H., No. 161 (or 261) and 329 §.

[6] Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 15 ; Photo, H., Neg. 3877, No. 14.

[7] Marshall, M.D., No. 420.

[8] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7462.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, No. 5641.

[11] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. Dk, 8350.

[12] Marshall, H., No. 144.

[13] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 11359.

[14] Photo, H., Neg. 3088, No. 5 ; Photo, H., Neg. 4159, No. 4.

[15] Photo, H., Neg. 4159, No. 4.

[16] Marshall, M.D., No. 536.

[17] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8984.

[18] Marshall, M.D., No. 191.

[19] *Ibid.*, No. 531.

[20] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4181.

[21] *Ibid.*, Dk, No. 10359.

[22] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6886.

[23] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3589.

[24] *Ibid.*, Dk, No. 10222.

[25] Marshall, M.D., 373.

weak.[1] The Great Mīna, or Mīna king, constructed a splendid house with different apartments, in the city of Taḷnālūr of the Kāvals, where he apparently used to live at times.[2] The cult of the *liṅga* was subsequently introduced in Naṇḍūr by the Mīna king, but this religious innovation produced a revolution which resulted in the dethronment and imprisonment of the king.[3] On the contrary the Kāvals seem to have learned the celebration of the Nandal (now Poṅgal) festival from the Mīnas.[4]

But besides this kingdom of the Mīnas in North India, there was another kingdom of the Mīnas in the South. Its capital was Vēlūr, a city which is said to be ' outside the country ', in the inscriptions of the North.[5] Other inscriptions clearly say that it is in the South.[6] Besides other possible means, information was carried from the south to the north and vice versa through cowherds who migrated from Vēlūr towards the North.[7] In a poem of the Sangam period the tradition is recorded that the city of Vēlūr (of the South) was founded at a place where a *vēl* (a trident) adorned with flowers appeared.[8] Now one of the inscriptions mentions ' the trident of Vēlūr adorned with Nandukal flowers '.[9] Both statements seem to refer to the same tradition. Vēlūr soon grew in an extraordinary way.[10] The houses in Vēlūr seem to have been numberless.[11] The city is always called a city of the Mīnas,[12] and the name of the Vēlūr king was also Mīna.[13] He is at times called the Mīna of the South.[14] This king was on friendly terms with the Eṭkāli Bilavas,[15] for which reason, presumably some Bilavas were able to acquire properties in Vēlūr.[16] The country round Vēlūr was fertile and the crops were abundant.[17] Two quarters of the harvest were supposed to be for the maintenance of the temple.[18] The country was ruled with extraordinary justice to the extent that it was a common saying that 'there is no justice outside Vēlūr'.[1] In the neighbourhood of the city there were mountains—six mountains, says an inscription [2]—inhabited by the Iralars [3]—a tribe who live in the forests of Jinji even at the present day. These mountains were apparently fortified, for they are said to be the strength of the dynasty ruling in Vēlūr.[4] One of the main cities of the kingdom was Uḍayūr, which is said to belong to Mīnan.[5] This city may possibly be Uraiyūr, the small village near Trichinopoly, which was the first capital of the Cōḷa kings.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 151.

[3] Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, pp. 13–15.

[4] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6381.

[5] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 139 and 247 ; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6422.

[6] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 60 and 400.

[7] Marshall, M.D., No. 400.

[8] *Pattupāṭṭu*, III, 172-173.

[9] Marshall, M.D., Nos. 52 and 395.

[10] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7145.

[11] Marshall, M.D., No. 286 ; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 9127 ; Photo, H., Neg. 3893, No. 4.

[12] Marshall, M.D., No. 555.

[13] *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 367 and 951.

[14] *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 60.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 9127.

[17] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12293 ; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8254 ; Marshall, M.D., Nos. 175 and 397.

[18] Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 15.

These fortifications must have been very helpful to the Vēlūr king on the occasion of a war waged against him by a tribe of the West of his kingdom: the Kananirs (probably the Kannaḍigas or Kanarese people) who were united with the Kuḍagas (later called the Vānaras in Saṁskṛta, the people of Kuḍagu or Coorg) who were very strong people. The latter were numerous for they formed two united countries of Kuḍagas.[6] When that invasion took place, a battle was fought at a coconut plantation near Vēlūr.[7] The result is not mentioned, but the fact that after this we find the king of Vēlūr fighting in the very country of the Kuḍagas shows that the war was not successful to the latter and their allies. Mīna, the king of Vēlūr, with his Kalars (another tribe still in Trichinopoly District and the neighbourhood) successfully stormed one of the strongholds of the Kuḍagas.[8] After this war, peace between the two parties was settled at a house of Vēlūr which was noted as having one window.[9] The Mīnas of Vēlūr with the Kananirs and the Kuḍagas of the West formed a union of countries,[10] the sovereignty of which would rest in the king of Vēlūr,[11] whose efforts obtained the constitution of this union.[12]

Paravanāḍ.

This country was the country of the Paravas (birds). They are still numerous on the Coromandel coast in South India and in Ceylon.[13] The Paravas were a section of the Mīnas. There were

---

[1] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 121.

[2] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6422.

[3] Marshall, M.D., No. 139.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, M.D., 421; H., No. 11; Inscription 636 says that there were seven Udayūrs.

[6] Marshall, H., No. 340.

[7] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8254.

[8] Marshall, M.D., No. 321.

[9] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 329.

[10] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 397.

[11] Photo, H., Neg. 3893, No. 4.

[12] Marshall, M.D., No. 336.

[13] During the time when it was a fashion to claim Āryan descent, the Paravas started to call themselves Bharatar, identifying themselves with the Bharatas of the Vedic period. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions clearly show that their ancient and real name was Paravir.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

two subdivisions of the Paravas: Pagal Paravas and Nila Paravas, i.e. Sun Paravas [1] and Moon Paravas.[2] The Moon Paravas seem to have been the more important of the two. They constituted one fourth of the whole Mīna stock.[3] In the middle of their lands, the exact location of which cannot be now ascertained, the sign of the moon was hoisted.[4] The Mīnas proper and the Paravas remained always together.[5] They were also in friendly relations with the Eṭkālis [6] as the latter were the Mīna's friends. Yet the country where the Paravas lived was sometimes called Paravanāḍ—once only in the inscriptions[7]—on account of their political importance and their riches.[8] Properly speaking, it was only a portion of Mīnāḍ.

Their occupations were fishing, as the rest of the Mīnas, trade[9] and agriculture.[10] They had also coconut plantations.[11] Their country was irrigated by canals. One of them had to be of considerable length for they spent more than a year in constructing it. They commenced it in the month of the Fish—the last month of the year—and the work was not completed till the month of the Fish of the following year.[12]

Their main city was called Paravirpaḷḷi,[13] 'the city of the Paravas'. No other city is known up to now but an inscription mentions six hamlets which were united (for administrative purposes, evidently) thanks to the efforts of one of the Paravas.[14] One of the hamlets of their country—we do not know whether it was one of the six mentioned just now—was called Malakopa.[15] Its name show that it was situated in the neighbourhood of mountains. Yet it had some coconut plantations.[16] Barter was being practised in this hamlet.[17]

The king of the Paravas always received the title of Mīnavan, and his banner had two fishes painted on it.[18] The Paravas were the cause of the union of the whole of Mīnāḍ about which we shall speak presently.

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6266.

[2] Marshall, M.D., No. 36.

[3] *Ibid.* The Paravas of South India and Ceylon are Moon Paravas. Their tradition is that they come from the moon.

[4] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7790.

[5] Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12877.

[7] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 12877 and 12688.

[8] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5785.

[9] Marshall, M.D., No. 228.

[10] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12688.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 4052.

[12] Marshall, M.D., No. 237.

[13] Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXI, No. 338.

[14] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5703.

[15] Marshall, M.D., No. 89.

[16] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7539; 1930-31, No. 122281.

[17] Marshall, M.D., No. 408.

[18] Marshall, M.D., No. 8; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12688. The title of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura, the sovereigns of the Paravas of South India in the historical period also was Mīnavan and he had two fishes as his *lāñcana*. Was he a descendant of the ancient king of Paravanāḍ?

Maraṅkotināḍ.

This country is called the Middle Country.[1] This denomination seems to place it near the mountains which are called ' middle ',[2] which perhaps are meant to be the range of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. This would place the country of the Woodpecker in the northernmost regions of India, which seems to be confirmed by the denomination of white given to this country.[3] Being so far north it would be easily covered with snow. Though the country was mountainous, yet there were also coconuts growing in the plains.[4] Portions of the country were cultivated[5] and there was a canal called the ' canal of the Ram ',[6] but in general the country seems to have been somewhat backward, for no feast of Nandal[7] was celebrated at the end of the harvest season[8] and the people were despised.[9] Yet the people lived in houses.[10]

The people of the country were *Vēlālir* or Velālas, who are still so numerous in South India. They are called Vēlālir of the Middle Mountains '[11] while another inscription mentions ' the white mountains of him of the Vēlālirs ',[12] a phrase which seems to imply that the ' white mountains ' were within the dominions of the king of the Velālas. What were these white mountains ? There is still in western Afghānistān a range of high mountains covered with snow during great part of the year, which are called *Safed-koh*, i.e. white mountains.[13] Probably these are the mountains referred to in the inscriptions. These middle mountains were near the frontier.[14]

Evidently the Velālas worshipped the trident, *vēl*, of the Supreme Being, for they take their name from it. They also worshipped the *liṅga*.[15] They exercised trade[16] and successfully tilled the land.[17] They had three canals[18] about which an investigation was carried

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. Dk, 9069.

[2] Marshall, H., Nos. 76 and 346.

[3] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 219.

[4] Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 12*a*.

[5] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12182.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 3500.

[7] Now called Poṅgal.

[8] Marshall, M.D., No. 306.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3631.

[11] Marshall, M.D., No. 130.

[12] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10551.

[13] The word *koh* is not of Arabic origin. Its Āryan origin is not very clear either. May it perhaps be traced to the Dravidian word *kō*, ' mountain ' ?

[14] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6689 (duplicate).

[15] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 10551.

[16] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 4883.

[17] Marshall, M.D., No. 397.

[18] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6127.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

out.[1] One of the inscriptions speaks of the 'illustrious rulers of the victorious Velālas'.[2] This shows that in a war the Velālas had obtained a victory, on account of which they were exultant for a time.[3] Against whom was this war waged? The facts that we find the Velālas forming a union with the country of the Mīnas, and that these unions have on many occasions followed wars and victories seem to suggest a victory over the Mīnas. There is, indeed, among the inscriptions a clear reference to a victory over the Mīnas which apparently refers to this occasion. One of the seals instead of bearing the figure of an animal has the representation of something that looks like an octopus. Yet, it is the skin of the unicorn, the head and horn of which are clearly seen to the right. The skin is spread showing the skin of the four legs and of the tail in the shape of five appendices. The representation of the skin in this guise evidently reminds one of a trophy of war. The unicorn, the symbol of the Mīnas, was *morally killed*, and its skin is taken as a trophy of victory by the killers. The destruction of the unicorn supposed a victory of the enemies of the Mīnas over the whole tribe. The inscription on this seal reads as follows: 'The Supreme Being of Mīna is help'.[4] Mīna seems to be the name of the ruler of the Velālas. He, after showing the trophy of victory, attributes it to the help received from the Supreme Being.[5]

The union between the Velālas of Marañkotināḍ and the country of the Mīnas was beyond doubt carried out as an effect of this victory, for the benefit of both the tribes.[6] This union was finally settled in the house of some Sun Paravas who were the friends of the villagers of the Woodpecker country.[7] According to his settlement the Mīna king was in future the king of Mīnāḍ and Marañkotināḍ.[8] The symbol of their common flag was the sign of the moon,[9] which was the original symbol of the Velālas.[10]

Under the Mīna régime soon the Woodpecker country made rapid progress. In one year many houses were built [11] where perhaps there were miserable huts before. Some Mīnas settled in Marañkotināḍ and cultivated their lands as in their own country,[12] at the end of the harvest season celebrating the Nandal festival.[13] Thus this feast was introduced into the land, and was celebrated afterwards in the same way as in Mīnāḍ.[1]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 11794.

[2] *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3050, No. 15.

[3] Marshall, H., No. 25.

[4] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XII, No. 25.

[5] Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[6] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7415.

[7] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7790.

[8] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8252.

[9] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10551.

[10] *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3050, No. 15.

[11] *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3877, No. 7.

[12] Marshall, M.D., No. 397.

[13] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 306.

Ēḻnāḍ.

This country, which means the seven countries, is not very often referred to in the inscriptions.[2] Coconut plantations existed in it.[3]

Besides the above information about persons and places, several tribes, cities and villages are spoken of in the inscriptions which cannot at this stage be located in any of the four mentioned *nāḍs*. We shall enumerate them below in alphabetical order with the scanty information obtained about each.

Tribes.

1. *Aḷinas* (Squirrels).[4] A tribe mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as having fought against Sudas in the battle of the ten kings.

2. *Kōḷis* (Fowls).[5] They are still in the neighbourhood of Bombay and other places in Western India. In their country there were three rivers.[6] The favours of their king are mentioned.[7] Apparently there was another dynasty claiming the throne ; it was called the ‘ back dynasty ’.[8]

3. *Mūnkālir* (three-legged people).[9]

4. *Nāgas* (Serpents). Very frequently mentioned in Purāṇic literature. Found only once in the inscriptions up to now. Probably they were Kolarians. They believed in spirits or demons.[10]

5. *Nalakir* (People that rise high). They are said to lead a ‘ happy ’ life.[11] Perhaps the house of merriment mentioned in another inscription[12] belonged to them.

6. *Nālkālir* (Four-legged people).[13] They were agriculturists. The good thrashing of their harvest is referred to.[14]

7. *Pareanir* (Drum-players). It is the word corresponding to the name of the present Pariahs, though there is no foundation for identifying the social status of both these groups of people. The present pariahs are also drum-players. The two united countries of the Pareanir are mentioned once.[15]

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7415.
[2] Marshall, M.D., No. 231.
[3] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, Nos. 4663 and 5227 ; M.D., 1930-31, No. 4663.
[4] Marshall, M.D., No. 172.
[5] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 207.
[6] Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 2.
[7] Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 22.
[8] Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 2.
[9] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7115.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 5717.
[11] Marshall, M.D., No. 122.
[12] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4562.
[13] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5128.
[14] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8106.
[15] Marshall, H., No. 317. Cf. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, p. 75 (Madras, 1868).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preseveation Foundation, Chandigarh

Cities and Villages.

1. *Arirūr* (City of Rivers).[1]

2. *Īrūr* (Double City). That is the reason why the inscription speaks of 'one Īrūr'.[2] Its inhabitants enjoyed great material prosperity.[3]

3. *Irupaṭi* (Living Village). The goddess *Mīnkaṇi* was worshipped in this village.[4] She seems to have been the forerunner of Mīnākṣi of Madura.

4. *Kūḍumale* (United Mountains).[5]

5. *Kuḍavūr* (City of the Water Jar). The lands which were just outside this city belonged to Nālūrmale.[6] Two Mīnas were living there.[7]

6. *Kūḍukopa* (united hamlets).[8]

7. *Mūnmale* (three mountains).[9] Apparently it was a weak place at first.[10] Afterwards it was fortified.[11] The city appears to have had many houses.[12] It belonged to one landlord.[13] A Bilava army attacked this city once.[14]

8. *Nālmale* (four mountains).[15] It is called the 'silver Nālmale',[16] perhaps because it was often covered with snow.

9. *Nankopa* (friendly hamlet). It had cultivated lands.[17]

10. *Nanpaṭi* (friendly village).[18]

11. *Taḷirpaṭi* (prosperous village).[19]

12. *Uyarēḻpali* (the city of the high sun). This city was for a time in a flourishing state, but the end of its prosperity is once referred to.[20] Perhaps this calamity is connected with the end of the rulers of the city or of the whole dynasty, of 'the carriers of domination' as the epigraph puts it.[21]

When new inscriptions will be unearthed, the above scanty information will be complemented and the knowledge of the people and the land of those days will eventually become complete.

---

[1] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6429.

[2] Marshall, M.D., No. 162.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 388.

[5] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5969.

[6] Marshall, M.D., No. 420.

[7] Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10231.

[8] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7061.

[9] Marshall, M.D., No. 113.

[10] Photo, H., Neg. 4156, No. 5.

[11] Marshall, M.D., No. 140 ; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567 ; 1929-30, No. Dk, 7947 ; 1930-31, No. 7947.

[12] Photo, H., Neg. 3863, No. 5 ; M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567.

[13] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567.

[14] Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 7947 ; 1930-31, No. 7947.

[15] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5341.

[16] Marshall, M.D., No. 438.

[17] Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7679.

[18] *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 8224.

[19] Marshall, M.D., No. 300.

[20] Photo, M.D., 1928-30, No. 5473.

[21] *Ibid.*, No. 7734.

THE AŚVINS AND THE GREAT GODDESS

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

It is a legitimate and interesting speculation to seek to throw light on Vedic religion by reference to earlier religious phenomena in Asia, and the theory of Professor Przyluski [1] which finds for Aditi a prototype in the Great Goddess deserves full consideration. It depends, however, on a very bold identification. The goddess Anāhita in the *Avesta* is pictured as bearing a bundle of rods. At Rome and in Greece flagellation formed part of the ritual of the Great Goddess. In the *Atharvaveda* Aditi is given the epithet *madhukaśā*, 'she whose whip is honey'. Flagellation is a well-known rite [2] to renew the life of creatures, to augment their vigour, and to stimulate their powers of reproduction. Hence we can understand how the Great Goddess in India is stated to bear a whip, or in Iran, Greece and Italy rods. If in the *Atharvaveda* the whip of the goddess is said to be honey or is compared to honey, it is because honey of all foods is that which gives vigour and supports life. The whip and the honey share the same function of stimulating and renewing life. It was then natural to unite the two ideas in the epithet *madhukaśā*.

The ingenuity of the comparison must not disguise its boldness. Is there the slightest proof that the Vedic Indians conceived of Aditi as bearing a *madhukaśā*? Professor Przyluski assures us that the *Atharvaveda* gives her this epithet in a hymn 'consacré à la Grande Déesse Aditi', but this unfortunately does not concur with the facts. The hymn of the *Atharvaveda* concerned [3] is by tradition *madhudevatyam āśvinam*, and it is naturally and normally regarded as glorifying the honey whip itself.[4] In the usual fantastic style of these Atharvan hymns that instrument is declared to be mother of the Ādityas, daughter of the Vasus, breath of creatures, navel of immortality, gold coloured, dripping with ghee. This is a very different thing from describing Aditi as *madhukaśā*, and there is a world of difference between the case of Anāhita, who may fairly be deemed an intruder in the *Avesta*, and that of Aditi.

---

[1] *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, i (1936), 129–35.

[2] Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, 342.

[3] ix, 1.

[4] Contrast Przyluski, IHQ., x (1934), 422, 423.

We are faced with the fact, therefore, that we have no Vedic evidence of the connection of Aditi and a *madhukaśā*, a fact which is an insuperable difficulty in the way of our accepting Professor Przyluski's theory. Further, what really is the *madhu* with which the Aśvins, not Aditi, are so often connected? The natural assumption is that it is the dew, the phenomenon with which these deities are most easily connected.[1] Of flagellation as a fertility rite in their regard we hear nothing.

Moreover we are assured that the Aśvins and Aditi are deities of the same nature. But this view has again no foundation in the Veda, once we dismiss the *madhukaśā* which is not her's. Aditi has remarkably few points of contact with the Aśvins. Her essential characteristics [2] are to be the mother of the Ādityas, and to release from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. It is essential to note that her connection with animals is almost non-existent. Like all the gods, but in her case very rarely, she is occasionally asked to bless her worshippers, their children, and their cattle. But of Aditi as a pótnia thērôn we learn nothing, and a grouping of Aditi and the Aśvins has absolutely no support in Vedic literature.

It follows, therefore, that any effort to investigate the character of the Aśvins which is based on the theory that they are essentially connected with Aditi rests on a false basis. But it is interesting to follow the argument to see if it throws any light on the character of the Aśvins by a parallel with the Greek Dioskouroi. M. Ch. Picard [3] has stressed the fact that one line of evolution of the personality of the Goddess-Mother led in Crete to the representation of the goddess with human supporters in lieu of animals. It is claimed that we are to see in Greek art a gradual development from a pótnia thērôn to a pótnia híppōn, and finally to the goddess supported by two cavaliers,[4] as in a relief at Thasos, which by some authorities is regarded as Helen with the Dioskouroi, but which must be regarded as ultimately derived from the Great Goddess and her attendants.

Without discussing the validity of this theory for Greek religion, its application to Vedic relation must be considered. It rests on the assertions: (1) that the Aśvins are attendants on the Goddess-Mother in the Veda, and (2) that they are sometimes anthropomorphic deities riding on a chariot, sometimes 'des dieux chevalins', sometimes associated with other animals. In *Ṛgveda*, i, 118 falcons bear their car, and consequently, we are assured, that of the Great Goddess. The conclusion, however, is purely mistaken; the Veda is silent on the association of Aditi with the Aśvins. It is therefore impossible to accept the view that the *Ṛgveda* preserves the memory of the transformations of the divine trio, or that, as in the pre-hellenic world, we find a pótnia thērôn, a pótnia híppōn, and a pótnia andrôn. Whether we are to see in the figure of a woman on a Harappa seal a representation of the Goddess-Mother, as Sir John Marshall suggests,[1] must remain doubtful. Her figure is separated by an inscription from two animals at the left of the seal, which may be lions or tigers and be compared with the zoomorphic genii whose representations have been found at Ur and in the Egean area. We cannot, therefore feel any certainty as to the suggestion, but in any case it is far from probable that the religion of the *Ṛgveda* was influenced by that of Harappa.[2]

---

[1] Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 209.

[2] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 122.

[3] RHR., 1928, No. 2, pp. 60–77.

[4] The riders are to be regarded as a contamination of horses and men as attendants on the goddess.

More important still is the question whether the Aśvins were equine deities, in any sense of that term. Professor Przyluski refers to his ingenious doctrine [3] that the term Nāsatya consists of *na* and *satya*, the former part being an affix similar to the *na* in *patana* and *varuṇa*, non-Aryan words, while *satya* is to be explained as meaning ' horse ' as in modern Muṇḍā *sadam*. It does not appear why *na* should be prefixed, and the view that the lengthening is due to a desire to avoid the apparent meaning ' untrue ' is not exactly convincing. The theory of course is supported by the conjecture that the Asokan Sātiyaputa and Satakani are identic, meaning ' son of the horse ', namely that steed which appears in the Aśvamedha, while the Satvants are the descendants of the ancestral horse. It must be confessed that all of this argument is of the most speculative and unconvincing character. There is not the slightest evidence that any prince claimed descent from the horse sacrificed in the Aśvamedha. The king desired offspring, no doubt, and was ready to resort to a magic rite to secure it, but that the child thus won was not to be reckoned his probably never entered his head.

But even if we accept the remarkable compound Nāsatya as the non-Aryan equivalent of Aśvin, we are not brought to the Aśvins as horses or as zoomorphic. It is clear that we have no Vedic evidence that the Aśvins were ever conceived as having the form of horses, though Oldenberg conjectured [4] that this might once have been the case. The term Nāsatya also on Professor Przyluski's own showing makes no such assertion. It merely means 'having horses', and the Vedic literature uniformly understands this of the steeds of the chariot, not, it must be stressed, of steeds ridden by the Aśvins. Once again we have no parallel with the Hellenic or Asianic evidence. Nor frankly, it may be added, when we remember the connection of the Indo-Aryans with the horse, is it easy to understand why the Aśvins should bear a non-Aryan name as early as is revealed by the Mitanni evidence. We must assume apparently that the non-Aryan name so prevailed over the Aryan that it reached Mitanni. It is much more plausible that we are after all to find an Aryan etymology.

---

[1] *Mohenjo-daro*, i, 52, 70, pl. xii, 12.

[2] See Keith, *Ojhā Commemoration Volume*, pp. 65, 66.

[3] IHQ., ix, 88–91.

[4] *Religion des Veda*, p. 73. He admitted that the deities were in Indo-European times anthropomorphic.

Yet another ingenious comparison remains to be noted. In the Vedic period, we are told, it was the fashion to represent the goddess and her attendants under the form of a divine tree surmounted by two birds. The evidence for this view will not bear investigation. It rests on *Ṛgveda*, x, 114, 3, a hymn to the All-gods, where we learn of a maiden with four tresses and two birds, in whom Bergaigne[1] recognized the Aśvins. This is a most improbable conjecture; the context suggests that Agni and Soma are meant, while the maiden may be the altar. The other verse cited is equally enigmatic; it is i, 164, 20 where we learn of two birds on a tree, one of which eats the sweet figs, while the other contemplates only. To find the Aśvins here is really a tour de force. Nor is the conjecture helped by the further conjecture that another Indus valley seal shows us a sacred tree with horned heads attached.[2] Whether that be so or not, it throws no light on the *Ṛgveda*.

Finally Professor Przyluski seeks to show that in Vedic religion, as in Syria the Great Goddess has been transformed into the sun. It is unnecessary to discuss the Syrian evidence, but it is important to note that, as adduced, it can hardly be said to represent the fusion of the goddess and the sun. Rather the development seems to be one in which the sun supersedes the goddess, who earlier appears as supporting the solar disk. In the Veda, however, we have only the connection of Sūryā and the Aśvins, who appear earlier as her husbands, later,[3] no doubt to meet more sophisticated tastes, as groomsmen at the wedlock of Soma to Sūryā. There is no question in Vedic literature of any primacy of Sūryā over the Aśvins, whose willing consort she is. She is not mother of the sun, nor is she aided by the Aśvins. All that is necessary to explain her relations with them is the fact that they are connected with the light and she shares that characteristic. Appropriately their chariot is *hiraṇya-tvac* or *sūrya-tvac*, for there is on it a seat for her.

---

[1] *Religion Védique*, ii, 489.

[2] Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 390; iii, pl. cxii, n. 387.

[3] RV., x, 85. We have a like doubt in the Yama-Yamī legend in x, 10.

One must, therefore, conclude that in the Great Goddess and her attendants, originally animals, later anthropomorphic, we cannot find the prototype of the Vedic Aditi and the Aśvins, nor is Sūryā a revised version of Aditi. Dogmatism on the origin of these deities is doubtless unwise, but the new theory on testing fails to help to a definite result. It is especially worth notice that Vedic tradition does not yield to the temptation to represent the Aśvins as themselves horses. Even in the legend by which Yāska illumines or embroiders *Ṛgveda*, x, 17 there is no suggestion that they were born in horse shape,[1] and the *Ṛgveda* shows no trace of the legend of the *Nirukta*. The view that the phenomena of the morning twilight are meant has recently been defended, and the suggestion has been made that their style as Aśvins denotes them as the protectors of horses,[2] but to this point it must be objected that we have no clear allusion to any such special connection.

Aditi's name seems as clearly Aryan as that of the Aśvins themselves. Professor Przyluski, however, finds [3] for her an explanation in the variant names of the Great Goddess found in Iran as Anaitis, Anāhita or Anāhīd, in Palestine as Anat, in Syria and Asia Minor as Nanai or Nanā or Tanais, and in Carthage as Tanit, though the vocalization is uncertain. We are invited to compare the existence in the Austro-Asiatic group of a sound intermediate between *t* and *n*, and to remember that the Austro-Asiatic languages constituted a large part of the pre-Aryan substratum, and that their connection, if not their kinship, with Sumerian is very probable. An original Tanai/Nanai may have passed through Semitic to Iran and the Vedic language, this stage accounting for the *-ti* element in Anaitis and Aditi as a mark of the feminine. The *d* is originally the pre-Aryan sound borrowed without its nasal element and made sonant according to the tendency of Indo-Aryan, while the diphthong has been reduced to *i*. Frankly the whole of this reasoning is very forced, and would be justifiable only if there were no possibility otherwise of explaining Aditi. Professor Przyluski urges that Aditi is sharply distinguished from the gods by the fact that her sovereignty is unlimited and she is superior to them, while the gods have a limited power and are superior to goddesses. But that

---

[1] *Nirukta*, xii, 10. It is noteworthy that none of the commentators treat the Aśvins as horses, despite the equine forms assumed by Vivasvant and Saraṇyū.

[2] See G. C. Jhala, *Journal of University of Bombay*, i (1933), 247–74.

[3] IHQ., x (1934), 411–14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

account of Aditi is not really in accord with the Vedic evidence as fully set out by Professor Macdonell,[1] who gives an ingenious and very plausible explanation of her personality. From the term *aditeḥ putrāḥ*, 'sons of freedom', analogous to *sahasaḥ putrāḥ*, 'sons of strength', may have sprung up a goddess Aditi, much as Indra is given a mother Śavasī, because he is a son of might (*śavasaḥ*) and later a wife Śacī, because he is lord of might (*śacīpatiḥ*). Even if we do not accept this view, the sense 'freedom from fetters' in its physical and moral applications would explain all that we are told of Aditi, including her pantheistic aspect in *Ṛgveda*, i, 89, 10: 'Aditi is the heaven, the atmosphere; Aditi is mother, father, son; Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes; Aditi is all that has been born and all that shall be born'. This is at least as simple an explanation as the view that the character of the Vedic Aditi is due to reflection on the qualities implicit in the conception of the Great Goddess.

---

[1] *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 120–3.

A FRESH HOARD OF SO-CALLED PURI KUSHAN COINS

By SUSHIL K. BOSE

The present hoard, consisting of 93 pieces of the so-called Puri Kushan coins, was discovered in a village in the district of Manbhum close to where it borders Singbhum. These coins could not have been buried very deep as the whole lot came out as a villager was ploughing his fields. Nothing like any mould or earthen pot containing them could be found. The entire lot was in the possession of Mr. Karuna K. Datta-Gupta who very kindly handed them over to me for the publication of this paper.

As is well known, similar coins have been unearthed from time to time in large numbers and enough has been written on them by scholars like Walsh and R. D. Banerji beside the standard opinions of Rapson and Smith. In this paper I venture to suggest some new points for the consideration of scholars.

In 1858 a hoard of these coins was discovered in the Ganjam district. Mr. Walter Elliot opened a discussion on them.[1] He was greatly surprised by the close affinity of the coins with those of the Indo-Scythian group, more especially with the coins of 'Kanerki'. [illegible]iot observes that no traces of Scythian domination have been met with so far to the south, but it is hardly possible to look at the design and not to identify it with those impressed on the money of that race. The first systematic study of these coins, however, was made by Dr. Hoernle.[2] In 1893 a number of them were found in the Puri district. He described these coins as Puri Kushans, an epithet which has since stuck to them, very wrongly of course. Dr. Hoernle divided these coins into five classes and though he did not make any definite statements he was almost certain that the coins could be identified with those of the Indo-Scythian class. The obverse shows the well-known standing figure of King Kanishka pointing with his right hand down to the fire altar; the reverse shows figures of MAO or MHPO, AEPO, and OADO as seen on 'Kanerki' coins. Any one who looks into the illustration of this class of coins in Smith's Catalogue will at once approve the correctness of the above statement.

---

[1] The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, edited by the Committee of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary Asiatic Society, pages 75–77 and 78 (No. 7, New Series, April to September, 1838).

[2] Proc. A.S.B., 1895, pp. 61ff.

But we can hardly appreciate the value of these coins if they cannot be made to yield information beyond this description. Dr. Hoernle assumed that these coins were intended for temple offerings, particularly because they were common round about Puri wherein was situated the famous Hindu temple. But this is a mere assumption which is very much weakened by the fact that they have been found at various places and spread over a very wide area. We quite, however, agree with the view of Hoernle that these coins could not have been used and imitated from the Kushan coins unless the latter had still been current in Northern India. There would have been no object in copying an obsolete coinage. Leaving aside the districts of Puri and Ganjam, we now find that these coins have been found in Ranchi, Manbhum and Singbhum—in fact a big portion of what in ancient times constituted one of the forest kingdoms. Regarding the date of these coins Rapson [1] never liked to place them posterior to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Smith observes in his Catalogue 'it is impossible to fix the date of the excessively rude coins . . . . . They may have been issued by the rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century . . . . . .' [2] From an examination of a coin of the above class bearing the legend 'Ṭaṅka' Mr. R. D. Banerji [3] thought it might safely be asserted that the Puri Kushan coins were issued some time before the middle of the seventh century or in the sixth. So far then the question of the date of these coins might be said to have been roughly settled.

The broad problem that now awaits our decision is to find out what rump of the Scythian power lingered on in the eastern part of Central India whose base currency consisted of these peculiar copper coins. It is well known that in the hey day of the Kushan power their influence extended as far east as Bengal. Through the administrative machinery of the Viceroys or Mahākshatrapas of the great Kushans a new element was introduced in the body politic of Eastern India. The Śakas and Pulindas were imported from one part of India to another for administrative purposes.[4] This newly introduced element, though alien, formed a solid block in the society in Eastern India, and dominated even the Ganges valley up till the rise of the Guptas. Associated with these Śakas are found the Maruṇḍas or Muruṇḍas in the dynastic accounts of the Purāṇas among the list of alien races which ruled India.[5] We have now to follow the vicissitude of the Śaka Muruṇḍa power. Almost half a century back, Prof. Sylvan Lévi brought to a focus all the available information on the Muruṇḍas in his paper entitled Deux Peuples Mecounus.[1] There was an embassy from China to Fu-Nan (Siam) in the third century A.D. Just at the time had returned from India the envoys sent thither by the king of Fu-Nan. The Chinese thus met the Siamese envoys in Fu-Nan and received an account of India from them. In this account we find mention made also of a king of a country in India called Meou-loun, in which name Lévi recognizes the word Muruṇḍa. The Chinese account represents this Muruṇḍa as a suzerain of great power to whom distant kingdoms owed fealty and whose capital was apparently Pāṭaliputra. The French scholar has also noticed how in the Jaina books the Muruṇḍarāja is said to be residing in Pāṭaliputra.[2] The question now naturally arises as to who could be these Muruṇḍas. As we have just narrated, during the first three centuries of the Christian era the great portion of the Ganges valley was dominated by the Muruṇḍas. It is strange indeed that not a single coin has been found which can be ascribed to these people. What we, however, find is the supremacy of the Kushānas spread over this region as is shown by their coins. It is then highly probable that the Kushānas are intended by the term Muruṇḍa. And Pāṭaliputra, the seat of the Muruṇḍarāja, was a satrapy of the Kushānas. We might then guess with reasonable probability that the wave of Kushan conquest rolled far to the east of Mathura and Benares and did not stop before it swept Bihar and Bengal. Though inscriptions are lacking in support of our statement we can, however, fall back on the evidence furnished by coins in this respect.[3]

---

[1] Indian Coins, p. 13.
[2] I.M.C., Vol. I, pp. 64-65.
[3] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, 1919, p. 84.
[4] Jayaswal, History of India (150–350 A.D.), p. 43.
[5] Pargiter, P.T., p. 46.

It is well known that the rise of the Imperial Guptas greatly contributed towards the decline of this Scythic power. As the Gangetic valley was in due course reclaimed by the Guptas the more westerly portion of the lingering Scythians receded to the north-west. To them who were spread over in the eastern parts of the empire, there was only one recourse left and that was to slip into the wilderness of the Āṭavika territories. To this latter class we shall now confine our attention. With the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in the Dabhāla and the Central Provinces these alien people probably gradually retraced their steps to the extreme eastern fringes of the Vindhyas. In this region they must have lived and ruled, though locally, during the sixth and seventh centuries. It is very difficult to surmise what status they enjoyed while existing in such a state. What seems likely is that they retained their own manners and customs and were in due course fused into Indian society. Of this latter process there is no direct evidence except certain foreign names in some inscriptions of the period (cf. Saggu-yayyana in E.I., Vol. IX, p. 287; Turkaśarman in E.I., Vol. V, p. 120, note 14; Turkkiya-yajvan in E.I., Vol. IX, p. 132).[1]

---

[1] In *Melanges Charles de Harlez* (Leiden, 1896), pp. 176–85.

[2] Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmani*, Bombay, 1888, p. 27.

[3] In the J.P.A.S.B., Vol. 28, pp. 128ff., Mr. N. G. Majumdar announces the discovery of three Kushan coins from Bengal.

Now that the so-called Puri Kushan coins are found in the districts of Manbhum, Singbhum and Ranchi[2] which constitute the greater portion of the Chota Nagpur division, I would suggest that the above coins formed the daily currency of the Muruṇḍas whose story we have just narrated. Living in the wilderness these foreigners had very little occasion to come in contact with the Gold or Silver coins of the Imperial Guptas. These so-called Puri Kushan coins, then, appear to possess purely a local and dynastic value. In the annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1924-25, pp. 131-132, a suggestion has been made to drop the name 'Puri Kushan' and designate this class of coins as 'Oriya Kushan' because a hoard was found in the State of Mayurbhanj in 1925. As has been made clear, I most decidedly demur at any suggestion of attributing a geographical name to the coins.

I would now give a brief description of the coins that I possess. As said before, my hoard consists of 93 pieces. With the exception of six coins the rest are not well trimmed and invariably show protruding edges. What was long ago suspected by Walsh seems now to be confirmed. The region from which my coins come (which, incidentally, I might say is not very far from the provenance of Mr. Walsh's coins) most likely was a mint area where the coins were actually manufactured. And the hoard which I am discussing, seems never to have been used by men. The figures in almost all of the coins show no sign of wearing which a used coin generally shows. All of my coins fall in Class III of Hoernle's division. The weight varies between 120 grains and 70 grains. The obverse shows figure with right arm curved upwards and left arm extended. The boots are occasionally curved upwards. The reverse shows figure with arm curved upwards, no left arm is visible, instead, crescent is seen above the left shoulder.

---

[1] For the last two references I am indebted to Mr. J. C. Ghose.

[2] A gold coin of Huviska type, at Belvadag is described in J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 231-2, and a copper coin of Kanishka similar to that illustrated in I.M.C., Vol. I, Plate XI, Fig. 11, has been found in the Karra thana of the same district. (See Walsh, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, p. 78.)

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

By B. C. LAW

I *The Prāgjyotiṣas*

If the story of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the demons, Muru and Naraka, as told in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,[1] the Mahābhārata[2] and the Harivaṁśa[3] can be interpreted to have any ethnological significance, then undoubtedly the Prāgjyotiṣas were a people of non-Aryan extraction. The Epics definitely describe the country of the Prāgjyotiṣas as an *asura* or *dānava* kingdom ruled over by the demons, Naraka and Muru, with whom the leaders of Aryanism were in frequent conflict. The Puranic description of Naraka, the asura leader, attributes to him immense power and strength that baffled and perplexed even Indra. The environs of his capital city, called Prāgjyotiṣapura, were defended by nooses, the Puranic description states, constructed by the demon, Muru.[4] Of course the Aryan leader, Kṛṣṇa, is described to have got the better of his fight with the demons which may be interpreted as one of the exploits of the history of the spread of Aryan influence in the east.

The Mahābhārata[5] in other places refers to Prāgjyotiṣa as a Mleccha kingdom ruled over by a king named Bhagadatta 'who is always spoken of in respectful and even eulogistic terms'. Bhagadatta is styled as a Yavana,[6] probably denoting that he did not belong to the Aryan fold. The Udyoga Parva of the Great Epic describes him as the son of Naraka, the Prāgjyotiṣa king, vanquished by Kṛṣṇa, and as an ally of Duryodhana.[7] Among his retinues Bhagadatta counted the Cīnas (the people of China),[8] and if the Kālayavana of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa refers to the same king, as Wilson seems to think,[9] he also 'assembled many myriads of Mlecchas and barbarians'

---

[1] 5, XXIX, Wilson's edn., 88ff.

[2] Vana P., xii. 488 ; Udyoga P., xlvii. 1887–92.

[3] Hari V., cxxi. 6791–9 ; cxxii. 6873, etc.

[4] Prāgjyotiṣapurasyāsitsamantācchatayojanam
ācita Mauravaiḥ pāśaiḥ kṣurāntirmurdhijotam ||

[5] Sabhā P., xxv. 1000-1 ; *ibid.*, L. 1834 ; Udyoga P., clxvi. 5804 ; Karṇa P., v. 104-5.

[6] Sabhā P., xii. 578–80 ; *ibid.*, L. 1834-6.

[7] Chap. IV.

[8] Udyoga P., xviii. 584-5.

[9] Wilson's Viṣṇu P., Book V., pp. 54-55.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

among his followers. The Mahābhārata mentions him as a king of boundless might (*aparyanta-bala*) and ruling over (the country of) Muru and Naraka.[1]

According to the Mahābhārata, Prāgjyotiṣa was situated in the northern region of India[2]; but the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa places it in the eastern region, once along with the Brahmottaras (a misreading for Suhmottaras), the pravijayas (perhaps Prāvṛseys), the Bhārgavas, the Jñeyamallakas, the Madras, the Videhas, the Tāmraliptakas, the Mallas and the Magadhas, and at another place with the Candreśvaras, the Khaśas, the Magadhas and the Lauhityas.[3] The mountainous regions called Antar-giri, Vahir-giri and Upa-giri in the Great Epic[4] appear to comprise the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Nepalese Terai; and it is not unlikely that Prāgjyotiṣas lived contiguously as Bhagadatta is called Śailālaya.[5] His country was also probably contiguously situated to those of the Kirātas and Cīnas who formed his retinue.[6] According to the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, the Prāgjyotiṣa was the same as Kāmarūpa,[7] though in the Raghuvaṁśa, the Prāgjyotiṣas and Kāmarūpas are described as two different peoples. Generally speaking the two countries came in later times to be regarded as the same. In the Kalikā Purāṇa,[8] for example, the capital of Kāmarūpa is called Prāgjyotiṣapura which has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhātī. The Raghuvaṁśa seems to locate Prāgjyotiṣa beyond the Brahmaputra,[9] but Kālidāsa's knowledge about distant geographical locations is not always very satisfactory. For all practical purposes Prāgjyotiṣa may, therefore, be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with northern Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar which is the territory comprised by Kāmarūpa, according to the Yoginitantra.[10]

Bhagadatta, as we have seen, was a *mleccha*, and his people also *mlecchas* or *yavanas*, i.e. non-Aryans, but the Rāmāyaṇa ascribes the foundation of the kingdom to Amūrtarajas, one of the four great sons of the great King Kuśa,[1] which is a significant Aryan name.

---

[1] Muruṁ ca Narakaṁ caiva śāsti yo Yavanādhipaḥ |
aparyantabala rājā pratīcyāṁ Varūṇo yatha ||
Bhagadatto mahārājo vṛddhastava pituḥ sakhā |
sa vācā praṇatastasya karmaṇā ca viśeṣataḥ ||
Sabhā P., i. 578-9.

[2] Sabhā P., xxv. 1000 ; Vana P., cclii. 15240–42.

[3] Pargiter's Ed., pp. 327–330 and 357.

[4] Sabhā P., xxv. 1000–xxvi. 1012.

[5] Strī P., xxiii. 644.

[6] Sabhā P., xxv. 1002 ; xxxiii. 1268-9 ; Karṇa P., v. 104-5.

[7] Prāgjyotiṣaḥ Kāmarūpaḥ, IV. 22. The name Kāmarūpa seems to have been later.

[8] Chap. 38.

[9] IV. 81.

[10] Imp. Gaz. India, xiv, p. 331.

According to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa, there seems to have been another Prāgjyotiṣapura on the river Vetravatī or Betwa.[2]

The later kings of Kāmarūpa, who claimed to have been descended from the lineage of Narakāsura and Bhagadatta, figured prominently in Indian history. Most important of them was Kumāra Bhāṣkaravarman, an ally of Harṣavarddhana Śilāditya, and referred to by both Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita and Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim.

King Prālamba of Kāmarūpa (C. 800–825 A.D.)[3] is described in the Tezpur plates of his grandson as Prāgjyotiṣeśa. His grandson Vanamāla claims to belong to the line (anvaya) of the lords of Prāgjyotiṣa, and so also does Balavarman, another king of the same dynasty (C. 975 A.D.). During the earlier half of the eleventh century A.D. the capital city of Prāgjyotiṣa seems to have attained a great eminence under the kingship of Ratnapāla. In the Bargaon grant of the king, the city is referred to as an impregnable one and rendered beautiful by the Lauhitya.[4]

The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva[5] (C. 1100) refers to the Maṇḍala of Kāmarūpa and the Viṣaya of Prāgjyotiṣa which implies that the latter was the bigger administrative division including Kāmarūpa.

Rājyamatī, a daughter of King Harṣavarman Prāgjyotiṣa (according to the stray plate of King Harjara),[6] is described as Bhagadattarājakulajā.[7]

2 *The Pāriyātras*

It is doubtful whether the Pāriyātras, or Pāripātras as they were also called,[8] can be, ethnologically speaking, designated as a tribe or people, to be distinguished from the Vindhyas with whom they lived contiguously or from other peoples who had their habitat in and around the same locality. The Purāṇas however always

---

[1] Ādi K., xxxv. 1–6.
[2] Chap. 27, and Kiṣkindhyā K., Chap. 42 respectively.
[3] J.A.S.B., 1840, ix. 2, pp. 766ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1898, LXVII, pp. 115–118.
[5] Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 37ff.
[6] I.H.Q., Dec. 1927, p. 841, f.n. 1.
[7] Ind. Ant., 1880, IX, p. 179 ; J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 384-5.
[8] Mārk. P., 58. 8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

enumerate them as a distinct people associated with the Pāripātra mountains which evidently gave their name to the people.

As already noticed, there are two variant forms of the mountainous region inhabited by this people as given in the Purāṇas: Pāriyātra and Pāripātra ; but Pāripātra seems to be the more usual form of reading, though Pāriyātra occurs not unfrequently. In the topographical list of the Purāṇas, the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra hills are mentioned as one of the seven hill ranges together forming what is called *Kulācalas* or *Kulaparvatas*, family mountains, or mountain ranges or systems. They are the Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāripātra.[1] The Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Padma Purāṇas and the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata also add a list of inferior mountains to these seven.[2] The principal seven hill ranges are similarly enumerated in all the Puranic authorities, and their situation is easily determined by the rivers which are listed to flow from them.[3]

Pāripātra in particular is always associated with the Vindhyas which, it is well known, is the general name of the chain of hills that stretches across Central India dividing India into its well-defined and natural north and south divisions ; but it is evident from the Puranic list and the situations of the hills mentioned in it that the name Vindhyas, in the Purāṇas, is restricted to the eastern division of long range of hills. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, however, it is the part south of the river Narmadā, or the Sātpurā range of hills. Pāripātra is the northern and western portion of the Vindhyas, and may be said to include the range of hills now known as the Aravalli.

The Purāṇas, for example, the Viṣṇu, mention another Pāriyātra or Pāripātra as situated on the west, associated with the semi-mythical mount Meru. 'Niṣadha and Pāriyātra are the limitative mountains on the west (of Meru), stretching, like those on the east, between the Nīla and Niṣadha ranges.'[4] But there is hardly any reason to confound the Pāripātra of the *Kulācalas* situated in the centre and south of India with this Pāripātra or Pāriyātra associated with the semi-mythical Meru of the extreme north.

---

[1] E.g. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2, III. Wilson's edn., Bk. II, ch. III, pp. 127-28 ; also, Mārk., 57. 10 ; Mbh., vi. 9. 11.

> Mahendra Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛkṣaparvataḥ
> Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca saptaivātra Kulācaleḥ.

[2] Bhāg., V, 19. 16 ; Mārk., LVII, 13, etc. ; Mbh. Bhīṣma P., śl. 317–378.

'As subordinate portions of them are thousands of mountains ; some unheard of, though lofty, extensive and abrupt ; and others, better known, though of lesser elevation, and inhabited by people of low stature.'

[3] Rai Chaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 2nd Edn.

[4] Viṣṇu, 2, II. Wilson edn., p. 123.

The list of the seven Kulācalas seems to have been known, in some form or other, to Ptolemy, as early as the first half of the second century A.D. ; he also specifies seven ranges of hills although his list does not correspond with the Puranic list, with the exception of the Ouindion, identical with the Vindhyas, and the Ouxenton, identical with the Ṛkṣa (Vant).[1] Wilson thought that Adeisathron might be identified with the Pāriyātras[2] ; this has been found to be untenable, and modern research tends to connect the range more with the Western Ghāṭs, more properly, 'that section of the Western Ghāṭs which is immediately to the north of the Coimbatore gap, as it is there the Kāverī rises '.[3]

According to Rājaśekhara, all the seven *Kulaparvatas* were comprised within the Kumārī dvīpa whose southern-most limit, according to the Skanda Purāṇa, was the Pāriyātra.[4] In the period of the Brahmanical and Buddhist sūtras too Pāriyātra was the southern-most limit of contemporary Aryandom or Āryāvarta, while the eastern and western boundaries were formed by Kālakāvana (probably near Allahabad) and Adarsana and Thūna (on the Saraswatī) respectively.[5]

The Purāṇas refer to a number of rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra : the Varṇāśā, or Parṇāśā, the Siprā, the Carmanvatī, the Sindhu and the Vetravatī. The Mahi is well known ; Varṇāśā or Parṇāśā has been identified by Pargiter with the modern Banās, a tributary of the Carmanvatī identical with the Chambal. Sindhu is Kāli Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal and Vetravatī is the same as modern Betwa. Śiprā is the famous river immortalized in Sanskrit classical poetry. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions still another river as issuing from the Pāripātra mountains, namely the Vedaṣmṛti[6] or Vedasmṛta, according to the Mahābhārata.[7]

The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions the Kāruṣas and the Mālavas as dwelling along the Pāripātra mountains.[8] The Nasik Praśasti of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi seems to associate the Kukuras also with the Pāriyātra.[1] This is also probably the earliest epigraphic mention of the mountains. But a more elaborate mention is made in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana,[2] where a large tract of land is described as ' containing many countries, which lie between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Revā, and the mountain Pāriyātra, on which trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys (and stretches) up to the ocean '.

---

[1] Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle, S. N. Majumdar's edn., pp. 75–81.

[2] Wilson's edn. of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2, III, p. 128.

[3] Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, 80.

[4] Skandha Purāṇa Kumārika-khaṇḍa, ch. 39, 113. ' Pāriyātrasya chaivārvāk khaṇḍam Kaumārikaṁ smritaṁ.'

[5] Dharma-sūtra of Bodhāyana, I, 1. 25. ' *Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakṣiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad Āryāvartam.*'

[7] Bhīsmaparvan, *op. cit.*

[6] 2, III, Wilson's edn., p. 130.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 2, III, Wilson's edn., p. 133. Mālukas and Mārukas are variant readings for Kārūṣas. See also Kūrma P., Purva ch. 7, which seems to include the countries of Aparānta, Saurāṣṭra, Śūdra, Mālapa (Mālava), Malaka and others within the Pāriyātra area.

3 *The Lāṭas*

The name of the Lāṭas as a people must have been known as early as the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier still, and their country Lāṭa or Lāṭaviṣaya was well known in Indian history till as late as the seventh and eighth centuries. It is however curious that neither the country nor its people are ever mentioned in any of the earlier or authoritative Purāṇas or even in the Epics.

The earliest definite mention of the country seems to have been made by Ptolemy, the celebrated Greek geographer and astronomer. According to his description of India within the Ganges, Lārike lay to the east of Indo-Skythia along the sea-coast.[3] It was Lassen who first established identity of Lārike with Sanskrit Rāṣṭrika in its Prākṛt from Lāṭika which is easily equated with Lāṭa. Lāṭadeśa in its Prākrt form Lārdeśa (the country of Lār) also seems to have been a very early name for the territory of Gujrat and northern Konkon,[4] and McCrindle conjectured that Lārike ' might therefore be a formation from Lār with the Greek termination *ike* appended '.[5] The name Lārdeśa probably survived the Hindu period, ' for the sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muhammadan time called the sea of Lār, and the language spoken on its shores was called by Mas'ūdi, Lāri ' (Yule's Marco Polo, II, p. 353 n).[6]

In Ptolemy's Lārike lay the mouth of the river Mōphis which is identical with the Mahī, a village named Pakidare which is difficult to be identified, and the cape Maleo which ' must have been a projection of the land somewhere between the mouth of the Mahī and that of the Narmadā, but nearer to the former if Ptolemy's indication be correct '.[7]

---

[1] See also Br. Samhitā, XIV, 4.

[2] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 154.

[3] Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle, Majumdar's ed., pp. 38, 152-53.

[4] Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 302 n.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The two great cities of Barygaza and Ozene were also within the political division of Lārike. In Ptolemy's Gulf of Barygaza lay Kamane, doubtless identical with Kamonone of the Periplus which places it to the south of the Narmadā estuary while Ptolemy locates it to the north; north of the river Namados identical with the river Narmadā; Nausaripa which is the same as modern Nausāri on the coast and Sanskrit Navasārikā, and finally Poulipoula which in Yule's map is located at modern Sanjam on the coast south from Nausārī. Barygaza itself is the same as Sanskrit Bhṛgukṣetra or Bhṛgukaccha, Pāli Bharukaccha, modern Broach; the same form of the name is repeatedly found also in the Periplus.

Lāṭa is mentioned twice in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra; in one passage characteristics of ladies of the Lāṭa country are described while in another those of men.[1] He does not however give any clue as to the location of the country.

The Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, refer to the country of Lāla in connection with the first Aryan immigration to Ceylon led by Prince Vijaya. Lāla has been sought to be identified with both Lāṭa or Lāḍa in Gujrat and Rāḍha in Bengal and both countries seem to claim the honour of the first Aryanization of the island. Prince Vijaya is described in the chronicles to have been the great-grandson of a princess of Vaṅga, and hence one school of scholars mainly depending on historical evidence proposes to equate Lāla with Rāḍha, while the other school mainly resting their argument on philosophical grounds finds Lāla to be philologically more closely akin to Lāṭa or Lāḍa. It is not impossible that the tradition of two different streams of immigration, as Dr. Barnett thinks, came to be knit together in the story of Vijaya.

The Lāṭa country in the days of the early Imperial Guptas came to be constituted into an administrative province as Lāṭa-viṣaya along with Tripuri-viṣaya, Arikiṇa-viṣaya, Antarvedī-viṣaya, Vālavī-viṣaya, Gayā-viṣaya, etc. These *viṣayas* or *pradeśas* seem to have been subordinate to the administrative division of *bhukti*.

It is likely that the Lāṭa country was the same as the Lāteśvara country mentioned in one or two early Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. In the Baroda copperplate inscription, the capital of the kingdom of Lāteśvara is said to have been at Elapur (verse 11). The inscription also gives the genealogy of the kings of Lāteśvara. That the Lāṭa country was distinguished from Saurāṣṭra is proved by a grant dated 812 A.D. when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja of Lāteśvara recorded a grant of land (C. 800–825 A.D.).

---

[1] Kāmasūtra, pp. 103 and 126.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE LINEAGE OF PUSHYAMITRA

Eminent scholars, Indian as well as Western, have held the view that the 'most systematic record of Indian historical tradition is that preserved in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas'. Not only have Purāṇic lists of kings been regarded by several writers as the indispensable foundation of a chronological narrative, but the nomenclature of dynasties as given in the Purāṇas has been accepted without question as furnishing the only reliable clue to the origin and extraction of these families. Few indeed are the students of Indian history who have subjected the Purāṇic lists to a critical examination—an examination which has at times revealed the fact that the so-called dynastic lists are not unoften a loose jumble of names of individuals some of whom never ruled and some belonged to collateral lines of the same family or to distinct families that ruled contemporaneously, and not one after another in regular succession. The order of succession has in some cases been inverted. The names given to some of the reigning families by the Purāṇic chroniclers are unknown to contemporary epigraphy or to tradition recorded in works that may claim a higher antiquity than the extant Purāṇic texts. The following pages are however not concerned with a critical examination of the lists of kings given in the *Bhavishyānukīrtana*, or with the general question of the Purāṇic nomenclature of certain dynasties. The scope of the present paper is much more limited. Its object is to discuss the problem presented by the family to which belonged the kings Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and their descendants—a question that has already been dealt with by former scholars with results that may hardly be regarded as conclusive.

It is well known that according to the Purāṇas Maurya rule was followed by that of the Śuṅgas, and the list of ten Śuṅgas given in these texts is headed by Senānī Pushyamitra who is represented as having uprooted Bṛihadratha (Maurya) and ruled for 36 years :—

> *Ity-ete nava-Mauryās-tu ye bhokshyanti vasundharām*
> *sapta-triṁśach-chhatam pūrṇaṁ tebhyah Śuṅgo bhavishyati*
> *Pushyamitras-tu senānīr-uddhṛitya sa Bṛihadratham*
> *kārayishyati vai rājyaṁ shaṭ-triṁśati samā nṛipaḥ.*[1]

---

[1] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-31.

The *Divyāvadāna* however records a different tradition. According to that work [1] Saṁpadī, son of Kunāla and grandson of Aśoka Maurya, had a son named Vṛihaspati. The son of Vṛihaspati was Vṛishasena, and the son of Vṛishasena was Pushyadharman. The latter was the father of Pushyamitra who is thus described as of Maurya origin.[2] Yet another tradition is recorded by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*—a fact already noted by Mr. H. A. Shah in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference* (p. 379). That text represents Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as a scion of the *Baimbika Kula* :—

Dākshiṇyam nāma bimb-oshṭhi Baimbikānāṁ kulavratam
tan-me dīrgh-ākshi ye prāṇās-te tvad-āśā-nibandhanāḥ.[3]

'Politeness indeed, O Bimba-lipped one, is the family tradition of the descendants of Bimbaka ; nevertheless such life as I possess, O large-eyed one, is entirely dependent, upon the hope of thy favour.' [4]

Mr. Shah is inclined to connect Baimbika with Bimbisāra. But the conjecture lacks plausibility.

The Śuṅga theory has hitherto held the field. It is undeniable that a Śuṅga dynasty ruled in Central India shortly after the Mauryas. This is made clear by the famous epigraph at Bharhut referring to the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas. But the question is—are we justified in assigning Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and their descendants to the Śuṅga line in the face of the divergent traditions recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* ? In this connection it is interesting to recall an episode in the Harivamśa [5] to which reference has already been made by some previous writers :—

Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit Senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ
Aśvamedhaṁ Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāharishyati.

We are told that the horse-sacrifice was in abeyance for a long time since the days of Janamejaya and that it was revived in the *Kali* age by a Senānī who is described as a *dvija* belonging to the *Kaśyapa* clan. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identifies this twice-born Senānī with Senānī Pushyamitra of the Purāṇas who is known from other sources to have been a Brāhmaṇa and to have performed two horse-sacrifices. But the proposed identification can hardly stand if Pushyamitra was really a Śuṅga as the Purāṇas represent him to be. The Śuṅgas, as is well known, belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gotra*. To obviate the difficulty a recent writer has suggested that 'Kāśyapa is evidently a mistake for Śuṅga'.[1] But the conjecture lacks proof. Is there any evidence that Pushyamitra was in reality a Kāśyapa? Now, we have already seen that Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* represents the line of Agnimitra as *Baimbikānām kula* . . . Curiously enough the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* in the section dealing with the *pravaras* and *gotras* distinctly includes the *Baimbakayaḥ* among *Kāśyapas*.[2] If that is so, then Pushyamitra might well claim to have been a Kāśyapa and his identification with the restorer of the horse-sacrifice alluded to in the *Harivamśa* may be justified. But in that case we shall have to reject the Purāṇic view that he was a Śuṅga, that is to say, a Bhāradvāja, unless future discoveries show us some way of reconciling the divergent data of the Purāṇas on the one hand and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *Harivamśa* on the other.

---

[1] Pages 430, 433, Ed. Cowell and Neil.

[2] Kunālasya Saṁpadī-nāma putro . . . Saṁpader-Vṛihaspatiḥ putro Vṛihaspater-Vṛishaseno Vṛishasenasya Pushyadharmā Pushyadharmanaḥ Pushyamitraḥ.

[3] Act IV, verse 14.

[4] Tawney's translation (with slight emendation), p. 69, *footnote* :—' Kulavrata, a family custom handed down from generation to generation, such as the celebration of a festival in honour of any deity on a particular day annually. Bimbaka was the name of one of the forefathers of Agnimitra. (S.P.P.) '

[5] *Bhavishyaparva*, Ch. II, Verse 40.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRÆVALEBIT

In the *April* number of the *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, pp. 10–20, appears an article entitled *Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya and his times*, to which the editor, apparently Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, or one of his colleagues, adds a prefatory note. The writer of the article in question seeks 'to add yet another evidence' to show 'that Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury was unfortunately wrong in imagining Yājñavalkya and his friend Janaka six generations or about 180 years later than the Pārikṣitas'. We need not enter into a discussion as to the cogency of the arguments of the writer, arguments that have apparently satisfied the learned editor, but leave us, and perhaps many others, absolutely unconvinced. But we cannot but refer to an unwarranted assertion which appears on p. 20 of the *Journal*. After comparing certain passages occurring in Weber's

---

[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 405.

[2] Vol. III, p. 449. '*Kāśyapān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ—Kaśyapāś-Chāgayayo Maṭharā Aitiśāyanā Ābhūtyā Vaiśiprā Dhūmrā Dhumrāyanā Dhaumyā Dhārmyāyanā Audavrajirāgrāyanā Baimbakayaḥ*.' The names mentioned in this text have variants.

History of Indian Literature with certain words and expressions that find place in Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* (First Edition, p. 16) the writer of the article in the *Journal of Indian History* seems to insinuate that the author of the *Political History* has 'attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own without any reference to Weber'. It is not a little curious that the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* refers to the *first* edition of the *Political History* notwithstanding the fact that the book reached a third edition as far back as 1932. But a perusal of even the *first* edition is enough to show the unfairness of the writer and his disregard for truth. In the *Bibliographical Index* appended to the first edition of the *Political History*, p. 319, occurs the following reference :—

Indian Literature, Weber. . . . . **16, 27,** 30, 31, 56.

It will be remembered that the words and expressions referred to by the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* occur on p. **16,** of the *Political History* for which the authority of Weber has thus been cited in the *Bibliographical Index*, p. 319. Moreover, on p. **27** of the *Political History*, First Edition, we have the following reference :—

'See p. 16, *ante*, Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 126.'

Fair-minded critics will now be in a position to determine whether the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* (p. 20) has any regard for truth or fair-play.

G. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

IS THE DHAMMA 'ATAKKĀVACARA' NOT WITHIN THE REALM OF LOGICAL THOUGHT?

We note that in referring to the Dhamma the Buddha realized (*Adhigato*). He frequently uses the term *Atakkāvacara*.

The Dhamma mentioned in this connection, as we understand, is the *Nava-Lokuttara Dhamma*—i.e. the four Paths (*magga*), the four Fruits (*phala*), and *Nibbāna*. These supramundane states have to be *realized* by one's own intuitive knowledge.

The four Paths and four Fruits belong to consciousness, and Nibbāna is a *Vatthu Dhamma*—an object of thought.

These nine states are not within the realm of logical thought, as they are intuitive truths which are beyond logical reasoning.

The Doctrinal teaching (*Pariyatti Dhamma*) of the Buddha is within the realm of logical thought, for there is no saying of the Buddha that does not harmonize with scientific reasoning.

The Pariyatti Dhamma leads to the *Paṭivedha Dhamma* which comprises the above nine states.

Dr. George Grimm in his article on 'Atakkāvacara' refers to 'concentration combined with energetic logical thought and reflection' (*savitakko savicāro samādhi*) as the 'Road to the Absolute' (*Asankhata*).

If we take *savitakko savicaro* as such, I wonder what we should say to *avitakko avicāro samādhi*.

Immediately after the passage Dr. Grimm quotes from the Samyutta Nikāya the Buddha says—What is the Road to the Absolute? It is *avitakko vicāramatto samādhi*, i.e. concentration without *vitakka* but only with *vicāra*.

Furthermore the Buddha says—it is *avitakko avicāro samādhi*-concentration without *vitakka* and *vicāra*.

Following Dr. Grimm's translation it should be 'without or not combined with logical thought and reflection'.

Although vitakka and vicāra sometimes mean logical reasoning and reflection, here these two terms are used in a different sense. The Compendium of Philosophy gives 'initial application and sustained application' which are more correct and more appropriate.

Vitakka and *vicāra* are two constituent factors of *Jhāna*, just as piti (joy), sukha (happiness) and okaggata (one-pointedness). These five factors constitute *Jhāna*. In the second Jhāna according to the Abhidhammattha Sangaha there is no *vitakka* but there is *vicāra*. In the third Jhāna, however, one transcends both *vitakka* and *vicāra*- hence the reference to *avitakka* and *avicāra*.

NĀRADA.

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND PEṬAKOPADESA

In my article, 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga', printed in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 455–59, I referred (p. 459) to the fact that the Peṭakopadesa of Mahākaccāyana of Jambūvana does contain several passages found in the Vimuttimagga but not discovered in the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa.

Peṭakopadesa,[1] it appears, was intended to be edited by Mr. Hardy. The MS. copy of the book by Mr. Hardy is preserved in the State Library of Berlin and the present writer, at the time of his visit to the State Library, Berlin, in 1932, was fortunate to see it there and to secure, through the kindness of the authorities concerned, a photographic copy of all the 293 pages of the MSS. The text of the copy is very faulty and corrupt, full of errors and knotty points, especially in the VIIth Chapter. Without other manuscripts to check up the faulty readings, this manuscript cannot be relied upon. Fortunately, I came across later on an edition of the same text printed in Burmese characters in the Zabu Meit Swe Press, Rangoon, 1917. This text is printed along with Netti of the same author, Mahākaccāyana, in one and the same volume. The text of the Peṭakopadesa is not much known and still less studied. When I started to read Hardy's MSS. along with this printed edition, I was much astonished to find in it several passages from the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa—the Vimuttimagga as we have it in its Chinese version by Seng-Chie-po-lo—the passages about the source of which I was much at a loss to know. I propose to indicate here the passages found in both the texts.

(1) In the very Introductory chapter of the Vimuttimagga, Upatissa gives his reasons as to why he should tell the people the Path of Deliverance. There are, he says, some people who profit by listening to others and he gives a quotation (see M., i, 294) in which the Blessed One declares that there are two ways in which one can have the right view (sammādiṭṭhi)—either by learning it from others or by self-reflection. This corresponds to 'Dve hetū dve paccayā sāvakassa sammādiṭṭhiyā uppādāya, parato ca ghoso saccānusandhi, ajjhattañ ca yoniso manasikāro' found at the very beginning of the Peṭakopadesa.

(2) In the third chapter of the Visuddhimagga, Buddhaghosa refers to the view of the fourteen cariyās which he is not prepared to accept. Upatissa does refer to these fourteen and names them one after another. Among these there are two types which are called by the name of 'samabhāgacariyā'. Now exactly this very type is found in the VIIth Chapter, pp. 157, 162 (pp. 190, 192 of the printed edition).

(3) In the Twelfth book of the Vimuttimagga, in the twelfth chapter (Saccapariccheda), part two, we have only *three* lokuttara-indriyas given as playing an important part in the progress of the Yogāvacara towards the ideal of Arhatship. These same three

---

[1] Already edited by Dr. A. Barua and will be published by Dr. B. C. Law in his Series—Editor.

indriyas, aññātaññassāmītindriyaṃ, aññindriyaṃ, and aññātāvindriyaṃ are also found in the second and the third chapters of the Peṭakopadesa, pp. 56, 71-72 (pp. 146, 152 of the printed edition).

(4) So also in the same chapter we come across three kinds of searches, 'tisso esanā' or 'pariyesanā'. The same three we meet with in the eighth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa, p. 284 (p. 251 of the printed edition). Also see Vibhanga, p. 366.

(5) In the first part of the same chapter we have a threefold classification of things; khandha-sangaha, āyatana-sangaha, dhātu-sangaha. Exactly the same classification we meet with in the sixth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa, p. 124 (p. 176 of the printed edition). The same classification is also found in the Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, i, p. 37, Cm. on stanza 14: 'Bhagavato Vineyavaśāt-tisro deśanāḥ skandhāyatanadhātudeśanāḥ.'

(6) In Book four, Chapter eight, part one, of the Vimuttimagga, Upatissa mentions three kinds of middha, āhāraja, utuja and cittaja, of which only the last he considers as nīvaraṇa, while the other two are possible even in an Arhat. Upatissa speaks of it in the twelfth chapter also. There he says that among things given up by one at the time of the Arhatship, there are thīna and uddhacca and not thīna-middha and Uddhacca as is asserted by Buddhaghosa in the XXII Chapter of the Visuddhimagga. This view of Upatissa is supported in the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, p. 180 (p. 201 of the printed edition), where it is said 'Atthi pana Arahato kāyakilesa-middhañ ca okkamati, na ca taṃ nīvaraṇaṃ; tassa thinamiddhaṃ nīvaraṇaṃ ti na ekaṃsena'. This view is also supported by the author of the Milindapañha (see p. 253 of Trenckner's edition) who mentions middha among ten things over which an Arahat has no control.

(7) Upatissa quotes from what he calls Sān Tsān three passages of which I have been so far able to identify two passages only in the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, pp. 157, 158 (p. 191 of the printed edition). One of these passages corresponds to 'Tattha alobhassa pāripūriyā vivitto hoti kāmehi, tattha adosassa pāripūriyā amohassa pāripūriyā ca vivitto hoti pāpakehi akusalehi dhammehi'.

(8) The other passage contains a simile which illustrates the distinction between vitakka and vicāra. The simile in the Vimuttimagga corresponds to the following passage from the Peṭakopadesa 'Tattha paṭhamābhinipāto vitakko, paṭiladdhassa vicaraṇaṃ vicāro. Yathā puriso dūrato purisaṃ passati āgacchantaṃ na ca tāva jānāti itthī ti vā puriso ti vā. Yadā tu paṭilabhati itthī ti vā puriso ti vā evaṃ-vaṇṇo ti vā—evaṃ vicāro vitakke appeti.'

(9) There are other similes also from the Vimuttimagga which can be traced to the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, p. 158 (p. 191

of the printed edition). Here is one. 'Yathā baliko huṃhiko[1] sajjhāyaṃ karoti evaṃ vitakko, yathā taṃ yeva anupassati evaṃ vicāro. . . . Niruttipaṭisambhidāyaṃ ca paṭibhānapaṭisambhidāyaṃ ca vitakko, dhammapaṭisambhidāyaṃ ca atthapaṭisambhidāyaṃ ca vicāro.'

(10) While describing the simultaneous nature of the penetration into Truths (saccaparicchedа) Upatissa gives three similes, that of a boat crossing the floods, that of a lamp that is burning and that of the sun that is shining. Peṭakopadesa gives almost identical similes (p. 150 ; 187 of the printed edition). Buddhaghosa refers one of these similes to Porāṇas and although he does not mention that name with regard to others, it is very clear that the other similes also he borrows from the same source.

(11) There is one another important simile which I have been able to trace to the Peṭakopadesa, p. 190 (p. 206 of the printed edition). Upatissa gives a quotation from one Nārada which purports to say 'Just as in a mountain-forest there may be a well but no rope with which water could be taken out. If at that time there comes a man overcome by the heat of the sun and fatigued by thirst, who sees the well and knows that there is water in it, but still cannot actually reach it, then merely by his knowledge about the existence of water in the well and merely by seeing it, he cannot satisfy his thirst ; so in the same way, if I know nirodha as nibbāna and even if I have a perfect yathābhūtañāṇadassana, I do not thereby become a khīṇāsava arahā.' The passage in the Peṭakopadesa says 'Yathā gambhīre udapāne udakaṃ cakkhunā passati, na ca kāyena abhisambhuṇāti, evamassa ariyā nijjhānakhantiyā diṭṭhi bhavati na ca sacchikatā '.

(12) Besides the passages given above there are some minor passages where we find some of the jhānas explained as having particular angas. For instance, the third trance is explained as having five angas in the Vimuttimagga. These same angas are mentioned in the Peṭakopadesa, p. 155 (p. 190 of the printed edition). 'Tathā pañcanga-samannāgataṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ—satiyā, sampajaññena, sukhena, cittekaggatāya, upekkhāya '.

Do the instances given above justify us in concluding that the Author of the Vimuttimagga had the advantage of consulting the Peṭakopadesa ?

P. V. BĀPAṬ.

---

[1] The printed edition reads ' tuṇhiko '.

JANAMEJAYA AND JANAKA

The remarks of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the learned editor of the *Journal of Indian History*, that a certain Dr. Pradhan's 'investigation proves successfully that the particular Janaka and Yājñavalkya belong to the period of Janamejaya Pārikṣita and may now be accepted as providing a starting point in Vedic chronology' (*J.I.H.*, April, 1936, p. 10) drew my attention to a paper entitled 'Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya and his Times' by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., published in three instalments in the Aug., 1933, Dec., 1933, and April, 1936, issues of *J.I.H.* Since it is now known to all students of *Ait. Br.*, *Śat. Br.* and *Kāṭh. Saṁ.* that Tura Kāvaṣeya, who performed Janamejaya's *aindra-mahābhiṣeka*, was sixth[1] in the ascending series of teachers from Yājñavalkya who debated at Janaka's court, the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka is an apparent improbability. I therefore turned to Dr. Pradhan's paper to see what arguments he has adduced to render it possible. On a careful perusal of his paper however I am sorry to note that not only are Dr. Pradhan's arguments for the synchronism of Janamejaya with Janaka absolutely unconvincing, but also that he has utterly failed to judge in a scholar's spirit the arguments of the author of the *Political History of Ancient India*, showing that according to Vedic literature Janamejaya is to be placed several generations before Janaka. All through his paper, Dr. Pradhan breathes an air of superiority which is evidently the result of what may be called 'Inferiority Complex' in Psychology and is surely a deplorable mentality.

Dr. Pradhan claims to have adduced no less than twenty-three 'Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic and grammatical' evidences in the first and second instalments of his paper and to add a new 'Vedic evidence' in the third instalment (see *J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, pp. 344–46; April, 1936, pp. 10ff.). We are sorry to note that as many as twenty of the twenty-four 'evidences' are based on traditions recorded in the *Mahābh.* and the Purāṇas and on the guesses of grammarians and later commentators who evidently relied on the doubtful authority of the Epics and the Purāṇas. As early as the year 1923, the author of *P.H.A.I.* (1st ed., pp. 16–7) remarked, 'It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. . . . . The unreliability of the Epic and Purāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the Vedic texts. . . . .' Dr. Pradhan therefore need not have laboured so hard to tax the patience of the learned readers of *J.I.H.* with the twenty 'evidences', described by him as 'Epic, Purāṇic and grammatical'. The Purāṇas, as we all know, describe collateral successions as lineal, very often reverse the orders of succession and misplace synchronisms. The *Mahābhārata* goes so far as to "represent (II, ch. 31; III, ch. 147–51) Hanumat and Vibhīṣaṇa as having met Bhīmasena and Sahadeva respectively". The author of *P.H.A.I.* was therefore perfectly reasonable when he accepted the evidence furnished by the Vedic literature as regards the chronological position of Janamejaya and Janaka in preference to Epic and Purāṇic traditions. We should now try to examine the 'Vedic evidences' adduced by Dr. Pradhan, which are only four in number, and see whether he has been able to prove the synchronism of Janamejaya with Janaka from traditions recorded in the Vedic literature.

---

[1] Tura Kāvaseya; his puil Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana; his pupil Kuśri Vājasravasa; his pupil Upaveśi; his son and pupil Aruṇa; his son and pupil Uddālaka; his pupil Yājñavalkya. We should also notice in this connection another series of teachers beginning with Indrota, the priest of Janamejaya; his son and pupil Dṛti; his pupil Puluṣa; his son and pupil Satyayajña; his son and pupil Somaśuṣma, a contemporary of Yājñavalkya.

According to Dr. Pradhan, Janamejaya Pārikṣita was a contemporary of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya and therefore also of Janaka Vaideha, because—

(1) Pāṇini's rule, *Praśne c=āsanna-kāle* (3, 2, 117), applied to Bhujyu's question, '*Kva pārikṣitā abhavan?*' in the debate at Janaka's court, establishes it;

(2) according to *Śat. Br.* (3, 8, 2, 24), Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka (=Vaiśampāyana according to Kāśikā) who was the court-historian of Janamejaya;

(3) according to *Jaim. Br.* (2, 55–6), Hṛtsvaśaya Āllakeya was a pupil of Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi as well as of Dantāla Dhaumya; according to *Śat. Br.* (11, 6, 2, 1), Somaśuṣma was a contemporary of Yājñavalkya, while according to *Gopath. Br.* (1, 2, 5), Dantāvala Dhaumra (=Dantāla Dhaumya of *Jaim. Br.*) was a contemporary of Janamejaya;

(4) according to *Chānd. Up.* (5, 11, 1-2) and *Jaim. Br.* (1, 271–3) Indradyumna Bhāllaveya was a disciple of Uddālaka Āruṇi whose other disciple Yājñavalkya was according to *Kāṇv. Śat. Br.* (17, 6, 3, 7); now, according to *Mādhy. Śat. Br.* (13, 5, 3, 4–6), some views of Bhāllaveya (=Indradyumna Bhāllaveya of *Chānd. Up.* and *Jaim. Br.*) regarding the manner of offering the omenta of the *cāturmasya* victims were rejected by Indrota Śaunaka who was the priest of Janamejaya, while Indrota's own views were rejected by Yājñavalkya, contemporary of Janaka.

A careful consideration, however, shows that none of the above four ' Vedic evidences ' carries any weight at all.

(1) Pāṇini's rule cannot be applied to Bhujyu's question, as it was not framed for the first time in Janaka's court. Bhujyu heard about the question, '*Kva pārikṣitā abhavan*?', and its solution in the Madra country. It was therefore something like a stock question. It is moreover known to all students of the Vedic literature that the language of the Śruti does not follow invariably the school of Pāṇini's grammar. This ' evidence ' therefore proves nothing in the way of Janaka's synchronism with the Pārikṣitas.

(2) This cannot be called a ' Vedic evidence ' to prove Janaka's contemporaneity with Janamejaya. Vedic literature does never state that Caraka is to be identified only with Vaiśampāyana who was, moreover, a contemporary of Janamejaya only according to Epic and Purāṇic traditions.

(3) This ' evidence ' is simply based on the untenable identification of Dantāla Dhaumya of *Jaim. Br.* with Dantāvala Dhaumra of *Gopath. Br.* In support of the equation *Dantābala* (or *Dantāvala*) =*Dantāla*, Dr. Pradhan has adduced such ludicrous illustrations of the elision of *v* (*J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, p. 333) as *suvarṇa*=*svarṇa*, *suvarga* =*svarga* (in which the letter *v* is not elided) and *Jaunpur* (which he thinks to be the same as *Yavanapura*, though students of Muslim history know it to have been founded in the name of Jauna Khān, i.e. Muhammad bin Tūghlaq). Dr. Pradhan further says (*ibid.*, p. 335), ' Now as regards the second component " Dhaumra ", it is known to students of Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature in the original that " Dhaumya " was the famous Brāhmaṇic gotra title and not " Dhaumra "....... Here is also an influence of Prakritism in this change from " Dhaumya " to " Dhaumra " for the semi-vowel " y " is noticed to change into " r ".' We are sorry to note that such a boasting ' student of Vedic, Epic and Puran(!)ic literature in the original ' as Dr. Pradhan, has not carefully studied *Baudh. Śr. Sūt.* (Vol. III, p. 449) in which both *Dhaumya* and *Dhumra* (from which the form *Dhaumra* is derived) are separately mentioned as different *gotra* titles. The authority of Baudhāyana, we now hope, would put a stop to these wonderful philological speculations to prove ' *Dhaumra* ' to be a corrupt form of ' *Dhaumya* '. Another original identification proposed by Dr. Pradhan may be noticed in this connection. He says (*J.I.H.*, April, 1936, p. 12), ' Now by the name "Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava" the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa evidently means the same person as " Prācīnaśāla Jābāla ", because the words "Mahāśāla" and "Prācīnaśāla" have practically the same meaning (!) and are similar-sounding (!).' We fear, the learned Doctor would

some day argue for the identifications of *Laṅkā* with *Lancashire* and *Yavana* with the *Japanese*.

(4) This 'evidence' is also based on a similar ingenious identification of Bhāllaveya of *Mādhy. Śat. Br.* with Indradyumna Bhāllaveya of *Chand. Up.* and *Jaim. Br.*, for which there is absolutely no proof. The 'student of Vedic literature in the original' here coolly cites the authority of Eggeling (p. 15n) without quoting the actual passage. *Bhāllaveya* (cf. *Vārshṇeya, Bhārgava*, etc.) is a patronymic derived from some ancestor, and every Bhāllaveya mentioned in the Vedic literature cannot be identified with a particular Bhāllaveya called Indradyumna.

Scholars will now see if Dr. Pradhan has been able, by these 'evidences', to disprove the natural conclusion from *Ait. Br.* and other texts that Tura Kāvaṣeya performed the *aindra-mahābhiṣeka* of Janamejaya; and Yājñavalkya, who was sixth in the descending series from Tura, debated at the court of Janaka. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas* (intro., p. xlvii) assigns a period of about 150 years to the five *theras* Upāli to Mahinda. There must have been a similar period of difference between Tura and Indrota, contemporaries of Janamejaya, on the one hand, and Yājñavalkya and Somaśuṣma, contemporaries of Janaka, on the other. Regarding such speculations of Dr. Pradhan as the following: 'a teacher was not always older than his pupil', 'a generation was not always the separation between the teacher and the pupil', 'Vedic teachers in those days generally had long lives', etc., to bridge the gulf of time between Tura Kāvaṣeya (therefore, Janamejaya) and the sixth teacher in the descending series, namely, Yājñavalkya (therefore, Janaka) so as to make the two parties contemporaneous, the less said the better. Dr Pradhan argues (*J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, p. 347), 'Thus Vyāsa Pārāśarya is known to have attended the court of Janamejaya, the fifth in descent from Vyāsa'. We are glad that the more brilliant example in the Epic stories proving the contemporaneity of Paraśurāma with Rāma Dāśarathi as well as of Bhīshma and Karṇa has escaped the notice of the learned Doctor.

That Janamejaya died sometime before the age of Yājñavalkya and Janaka is also proved by the evidence furnished by *Chānd. Up.*, *Pañc. Br.* and *Jaim. Br.* which mention a powerful Kuru king named Abhipratārin who was a contemporary of Dṛti, son of Indrota who was Janamejaya's priest (*P.H.A.I.*, 1st ed., p. 14). The son's contemporary Abhipratārin seems to have flourished some time later than the father's contemporary Janamejaya. This conclusion is supported by the suggestion of the *Pañc. Br.* (2, 9, 4; Caland's ed., p. 27) that the sons of Abhipratārin represented the strongest branch of the Kuru family as they were the 'mightiest of all their relations'.

Evidently, the great and powerful emperor Janamejaya was no more at the time of the Ābhipratāriṇas. Dṛti, the contemporary of Abhipratārin, taught Puluṣa; Puluṣa's son and pupil Satyayajña and the latter's son and pupil Somaśuṣma were older and younger contemporaries of Janaka. Evidently therefore some years must have passed between the age of Janamejaya and that of Janaka.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE PĀRIJĀTA AND BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE RASAMAÑJARĪ

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Introduction*[1] to the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Mithilā* makes the following remarks about Bhānudatta, a writer on *alaṁkāra* :—

'The Rasamañjarī (a very popular book by Bhānudatta, a Maithīla (देशो यस्य विदेहभूः, p. 52) has several MSS. (38 to 38P). It is the composition of a Vedāntist, for the instruction [it is reported] of his own son. *The author flourished in the fourteenth century.* The oldest MS. is dated Ś. 1689. His *Rasataraṅgiṇi* (Nos. 36 to 36G) is also a well-known treatise on sentiments. He is one of the last writers of the Hindu State of Mithila. This has as many as five commentaries.'

According to Dr. S. K. De,[2] the date of Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* is '*earlier than the 14th century and later than the 12th century A.D.*'.[3]

According to Mr. P. V. Kane[4] Bhānudatta's father Gaṇeśvara is very likely Gaṇeśvaramantrin, brother of Vīreśvara, whose son Caṇḍeśvara composed the *Vivādaratnākara* and weighed himself in gold in 1315 A.D. Therefore, Bhānudatta flourished *towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.*

---

[1] *MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol. II, Pub. by Behar and Orissa Res. Society, Patna, 1933, p. 5.

[2] *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

[3] Vide *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, p. 297—*Bhānudatta and Bhānukara* by Dr. De. In this note Dr. De refers to his article read before *Fourth Ori. Conference* published in *Summaries of Papers* (Allahabad 1926, pp. 40–43) and states that in this article he 'has attempted a closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date to the *end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century*'.

[4] *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Intro., p. cxviii.

According to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma [1] the poets Bhānukara and Bhānudatta are identical and as Bhānukara's patron was King Vīrabhānu [2] of the Baghela dynasty, who flourished between A.D. 1500 and 1550, Bhānudatta 'should be placed *in the beginning of the 16th century A.D.*'

The foregoing views of four different scholars on the problem of Bhānudatta's date tempt me to record some more data having some bearing on this problem, and which none of these scholars has examined so far. If an attempt has been made to prove the identity of भानुकर [3] and भानुदत्त, names not quite identical, there is every reason to examine the namesakes of भानुदत्त and their works. One such namesake is भानुदत्त the author of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Pārijāta*, a MS. of which has been described by Mr. Jayaswal.[4] It is in Maithilī characters. The work consists of prose and verse. Mr. Jayaswal describes it as 'a manual of *dharmaśāstra*, dealing with *Tithivichāra* by Bhānudatta'. The following two verses at the beginning of the work give us some information about the author Bhānudatta and his parentage :—

---

[1] Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 243–258—*The Poet Bhānukara*.

[2] Vide my article on the *Identification of Vīrabhānu* (Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II, pp. 254–258).

[3] Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 247-48—Dr. Sharma records numerous verses from the works of भानुदत्त viz. the *Rasamañjari*, *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Gītagaurīpati* ; all of which are ascribed to Bhānukara in various anthologies. I think this list instead of proving the identity of भानुकर and भानुदत्त only explains the indiscriminate manner in which the names of the two authors were confused. भानुदत्त was the son of गणपति or गणेश्वर but the name of भानुकर's father has nowhere been traced. Once the name भानुदत्त was confused with भानुकर even the parentage of the one was thrust on the other, as is proved by the following verse found in an anthology of Veṇīdatta (1644 A.D.) called पद्यवेणी (MS. No. 375 of 1884–87).

Folio 676—

'यशोधन-निधेर्यदा नरहरेर्वचोवर्ण्य(र्ण्य)ते
तदागतमदामदालसमलावालारखाः ।
निचिभ्रमचरीकरी भवति चाधरीमाधुरी
सुधाकरसुधा सुधा मधुकथा वृथा जायते ॥ ५ ॥ गणपतिपुत्रभानुकरस्य'

[4] *MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol. I (Patna, 1927), pp. 278-79.

‘यथा गणपतिः काव्यङ्गाव्यं भानुकवेस्तथा ।
अनयोः संगमश्लाघ्यः शर्कराक्षीरयोरिव ॥ २ ॥
वसुधा विबुधास्तर्कतिग्मांशुकरतापिताः ।
कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम् ॥ ३ ॥’

In verse 2 quoted above the reading ‘गणपतिः’ in line 1 makes no meaning. The correct reading ought to be ‘गणपतेः’ because भानुकवि or भानुदत्त is here instituting a comparison between his own काव्य and that of ‘गणपति’ and hence to balance the expression ‘काव्यं भानुकवेस्तथा’ we must have the corresponding expression ‘यथा गणपतेः काव्यं’. The expression ‘अनयोः संगमः’: in the second line of the verse appears to indicate that भानुकवि is comparing his own काव्य with the काव्य of गणपति who is in all probability his father.

If the above interpretation is accepted we are in a position to state that गणपति was भानुदत्त’s father.

Let us now turn to भानुदत्त the author of works on *alaṁkāra* viz. the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Rasataraṅginī*, the problem of whose date has engaged the attention of so many scholars, Mr. Jayaswal, Mr. Kane, Dr. De and Dr. Sharma, referred to above.

In the work called *Rasamañjarī* भानुदत्त gives some information about himself in the following verse[1] :—

‘तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः[2] कविकुलालंकारचूडामणिः
देशो यस्य विदेहभूः सुरसरित्कल्लोलकीर्मीरिता ।
पद्येन स्वकृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
वाग्देवीश्रुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्पर्द्धाकरी मञ्जरी ॥’

The particulars regarding Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* and those of Bhānudatta the author of the *Pārijāta* may now be compared as follows :—

---

[1] *Rasamañjarī* (Benares Sanskrit Series, 1904), p. 247.

[2] In the *Rasataraṅginī* (p. 23) commonly ascribed to भानुदत्त the father’s name is stated as गणपति in the following verse quoted by Dr. Sharma (Annals, Vol. XVII, p. 245)—

‘ताते निर्गच्छति गणपतौ नाकमद्यापि तस्या etc.’

Author of Rasamañjarī.	Author of Pārijāta.
(1) Here the name of the work is given as मञ्जरी which is described as 'वाग्देवी श्रुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्पर्धाकरी मञ्जरी' We are tempted to think that in the above line there is a श्लेष on the word पारिजात, the *author hinting thereby that the present work* मञ्जरी or रसमञ्जरी *rivals his earlier work* पारिजात.	(1) Here the name of the work is given as पारिजात ('पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्')
(2) The father of the author of the *Rasamañjarī* is गणेश्वर (=गणपति) —'तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः'	(2) The father of the author of the पारिजात is also गणपति ('यथा गणपतेः काव्यं' and 'अनयोः संगमः श्लाघ्यः')
(3) The author of the Rasamañjarī calls himself भानु कवि ('कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता')	(3) The name of the author of the पारिजात is also भानुदत्त कवि ('कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्')
(4) The author of the *Rasamañjarī* hailed from Mithilā ('देशो यस्य विदेहभूः')	(4) The MS.[1] of the पारिजात comes from Pandit Jaduvīra Miśra, Khopa, Phulapāras, P.O. Darbhanga.
(5) गणेश्वर, father of भानुदत्त is styled as 'कविकुलालंकारचूडामणिः'	(5) The father of the author of पारिजात was also a great poet (cf. 'यथा गणपतेः काव्यं')

The above comparison of particulars about the authors of the *Rasamanjarī* and the *Pārijāta* show: (1) an identity of names, (2) an identity of parentage of these authors, (3) a similarity of description of the fathers of the two authors and (4) possibly identity of the provinces from which they hailed. As the Mithila MS. of the पारिजात described by Mr. Jayaswal is not before me I cannot conclude anything more at this stage of my inquiry. I would, however, request Mr. Jayaswal to examine this MS. of the *Pārijāta* and give us the benefit of his analysis in the light of my suggested identity of the two Bhānudattas, as adumbrated in the comparison of particulars gathered from the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Pārijāta* and recorded above.

---

[1] *MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol. I, p. 278—MS. No. 257—'पारिजातः by भानुदत्त'.

I shall now explain the bearing of my hypothesis of the identity of the two Bhānudattas.

(1) Mr. Jayaswal states that the *Pārijāta* by Bhānudatta has been quoted by Vācaspati and Caṇḍeśvara.[1]

(2) Mr. Jayaswal further states that Caṇḍeśvara is the greatest name of the 14th century. According to Mr. P. V. Kane[2] Caṇḍeśvara's literary activities began with A.D. 1314 and if Caṇḍeśvara quotes the पारिजात of Bhānudatta the date of this Bhanudatta would be *before A.D. 1314*.

(3) Now if our hypothesis about the identity of the two Bhānudattas, one the author of the *Rasamañjarī* and the other the author of the *Pārijāta*, is accepted *the date of the author of the* RASAMAÑJARĪ *goes before A.D.* 1314.

(4) This new limit of A.D. 1314 for Bhānudatta's date is *in favour* of the following dates so far discussed and recorded :—

(1) *Earlier view of Dr. De*—Bhānudatta's date, '*earlier than 14th century and later than the 12th century A.D.*'.

(2) *Kane's view*—' towards the *end of the 13th* and *beginning of the 14th century*'.

(5) This new limit A.D. 1314 is *against* the following dates fixed by scholars :—

(1) *Mr. Jayaswal* states that Bhānudatta '*flourished in the 14th century*'.—This view will be untenable if the limit of 1314 A.D. is accepted, though the possibility of a junior contemporary quoting from a senior contemporary's works may remove the inconsistency to a certain extent.

---

[1] *MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol. I, Intro., p. vii.

[In the दानरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर described by Jayaswal (p. 205) we have the line :— 'कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः क्वचित् क्वचित्' and in शुद्धिरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर (p. 436) the line containing a reference to पारिजात reads :—

'न ग्रामीयोऽत्र समीपवासी पारिजाते तु इतरेष्वाचार्येषु उपाध्यायादिषु' etc.]

[वाचस्पति in his तीर्थचिन्तामणि (p. 182) mentions पारिजात in the following line :—'श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य ग्रंथान्'.]

[2] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Section 90.

(2) *Dr. De's revised view*—'*end of the* 15*th* and *beginning of the* 16*th century*'.
(3) *Dr. Sharma's view* [1]—' Beginning of the 16th century'.

P. K. GODE.

THE LAKṢAṆA, ABHINAVA AND KUNTAKA

In his Note on the above subject in the *Indian Culture* for January 1937, (pp. 530–4), Mr. P. C. Lahiri proposed 'to study the comments of Abhinavagupta (on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa) in the light of his indebtedness to Kuntaka, author of the Vakroktijīvita—a fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars'. But as found from the closing part of his Note, the question of the relative chronology and the striking similarity in some places between Abhinava and Kuntaka does not seem to have altogether escaped the notice of scholars. For instance, Mr. Lahiri mentions Dr. A. Sankaran as having discussed the relative chronology of these two writers, though not on the basis of the kinship of Abhinava's idea of Lakṣaṇa and Kuntaka's Vakrokti. Further, we have not yet got evidences enough to enable us to speak definitely of *Abhinava's indebtedness to Kuntaka*. Mr. Lahiri's conclusions themselves do not lend any support to the assertion made at the opening of his Note.

In an inquiry into the relative chronology of Abhinava and Kuntaka, there is another part of the Abhinavabhāratī to be taken into account, one which is more pertinent and where the kinship of ideas between the two writers is too plain to need any elucidation. This part of the Abhinavabhāratī is the beginning of the 14th chapter where Vācikābhinaya begins. It is this more important passage that Dr. Sankaran refers to in his discussion on the date of Kuntaka in his work. And I have quoted and discussed the whole passage and the related issue of the relative chronology of Abhinava and Kuntaka towards the end of my article on the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī in the Journal of Oriental Research, volume VI, pp. 218–222.

---

[1] Dr. S. K. De in his note on '*Bhānudatta and Bhānukara*' (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 297-8) doubts the reliability of the evidence of anthological compilations, on the strength of which Dr. Sharma tries to identify the poet Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. Dr. V. Raghavan in his note on '*Bhānudatta and a verse ascribed to him*' (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 85-6) supports Dr. De's view mentioned above by citing a verse from Dr. Sharma's article itself which is ascribed to Bhānukara in one anthology but is really from the drama *Bālabhārata* of Rajaśekhara.

Some more later writers who speak of the Lakṣaṇa.

In my article on the concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata in the J.O.R., Madras, VI, pp. 54–82, I collected the references to this concept in later writers. During the course of subsequent study, I came across some more later writers who have spoken about Lakṣaṇa, whom I would like to mention here.

I. Bahurūpamiśra, commentator on the Daśarūpaka, a writer later than Śāradātanaya, speaks of Lakṣaṇa twice :

(*a*) Commenting on Daśarūpaka III, 32-33 :

रसं वा न तिरोदध्याद् वस्त्वलङ्कारलक्षणैः।

Dhanika says : लक्षणैः भूषणादिभिः।

Dhanika takes Alaṁkāra in the text as Upamā, etc. But Bahurūpa takes Alaṁkāra also as Nāṭakālaṁkāra, Atiśaya, etc., and Lakṣaṇa as the concept of the same name.

उपमादयोऽलङ्काराः। अतिशयादयो नाटकालङ्काराः। शोभोदाहरणसंशय-दृष्टान्तक्षमागुणानुवादानन्दकपटादीनि लक्षणानीति।

P. 35 MS. in the Madras Govt., Oriental MSS. Library.

(*b*) At the end, the Daśarūpaka says षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि, etc. Here Bahurūpa gives the Lakṣaṇas, Bhūṣaṇa, etc. and says that, similar to the Laksanas, there are also others called Nāṭyālaṁkāras.

Thus Bahurūpa has two sets, one called Nāṭakālaṁkāra and the other Lakṣaṇa. The MS. gives a list of Nāṭakālaṁkāras and Lakṣaṇas and there are gaps in the MS.

(नाटका)लङ्कारानाह :— अतिशयः, नयः, दाक्षिण्यम्, अभिन ....
उपदिष्टम्, माला, सम्भ्रमः, अर्थापत्तिः, ... प्राप्तिः, हेतुः, विशेषणम्, गुणातिपातः, विचारः,
...... आशीः, अभिमानः, कपटः, याच्ञा, निदर्शनम्, अभिज्ञानम्........................
.... (भूषणम्), अक्षरसङ्घातः, शोभा, उदाहरणम्, क्षोभः, अर्थविशेषणम्,
प्रोत्साहनम्, गुणकीर्तनम्, कीर्तिः, आख्यानम्, निवेदनीयम्, परिवारः, उपपत्तिः, गुणानुवादः,
परिहारः, उद्यमः, कार्यम्, अनुक्तसिद्धिः, आश्र(श)यः, युक्तिः, लेशः, अनुवृत्तिः, क्षमा,
....
प्रहर्षः, प्रियवचनम् इति (लक्षणानि) ....

The text unfortunately stops with 'Iti'. Bahurūpa's position regarding Lakṣaṇa is similar to that of Viśvanātha and it is most likely that Śāradātanaya's fuller text is the basis for Bahurūpa whose two lists contain Lakṣaṇas of both the lists in Bharata and those found newly in Śāradātanaya. See my article on Lakṣaṇa ; also my article on Bahurūpamiśra's Daśarūpavyākhyā, J.O.R., VIII, pp. 333-4.

II. There is evidence to show that the Saṅgītarāja of king Kumbhakarṇa dealt with the Lakṣaṇas. In his comments on Sl. 12 of the last canto of the Gītagovinda, Kumbha says in his Rasikapriyā :

"गुणकीर्तनं नाम नाट्यालङ्कारः। तल्लक्षणं सङ्गीतराजे—

'बहूनां गुणिनां यत्र नामार्थजनितैर्गुणैः।
एकोऽपदिश्यते यत्तु कीर्तितं गुणकीर्तनम्॥'"

Guṇakīrtana is a Lakṣaṇa of the Upajāti list in Bharata. Kumbha's definition of it follows Bharata's. It is not known how many Lakṣaṇas Kumbṇa recognised and whether he took also those of the Anuṣṭubh list. See Annals B.O.R., I, Vol. XIV, pts. 3-4, my Note on the Saṅgītarāja—(pp. 261-262).

III. Sāhityasāra of Sarveśvara, a work (Madras MSS.) in 631 Anuṣṭubhs treats of the Lakṣaṇas in Ch. III (p. 28). It gives in Āryā verses the 36 Lakṣaṇas of Bharata's Upajāti list :

भूषणमक्षरसङ्घः शोभा गुणकीर्तनं निरुक्तं च। 5
अभिमानोदाहरणे गुणानुवादः प्रियं हेतुः॥ 5
प्रोत्साहनसारूप्ये मिथ्याध्यवसायसिद्धिदृष्टान्ताः। 5
आशीः संशयकपटौ क्षमानुवृत्ती तथोच्चयाक्रन्दौ॥ 7
परिदेवनोपपत्ती याच्ञाप्राप्तिर्मनोरथो युक्तिः। 6
अतिशय-पृच्छाख्यान-प्रतिषेधाः सानुनीतिनिर्भासाः॥ 6
कार्यः पश्चात्तापः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणावधिः(लिः) सेयम्। 2=36
नाट्ये भावार्थगताः सालङ्कारा बुधैः प्रयोक्तव्याः॥

Each is defined in a half-verse. The definitions are noteworthy, being original though untrue in some cases. Bhūṣaṇa for instance is defined as an Alaṁkāra-dominated expression.

अलङ्कृतिरलङ्कारैरभिधेयस्य भूषणम्।

Akṣarasaṁghāta is defined as Vāmana's Arthaguṇa of Ojas, the Prauḍhi of the variety called 'condensed expression'—वाक्यार्थेन पदाभिधा।

IV. Acyutarāya, a modern writer considers Lakṣaṇa as one of the six Guṇas of Kāvya in his Sāhitya Śāra. Acyutarāya has a new conception of Guṇa, which is like the Alaṁkāra of Bhoja. Under it come Rasas, Vṛttis, Ṛītis and Lakṣaṇas.

धर्मा रसा लक्षणानि रीत्यलङ्कृतिवृत्तयः । Śl. 10, Ch. I, p. 8.
रसिकाह्लादका ह्येते काव्ये सन्ति च षड्गुणाः ॥

The Lakṣaṇas mentioned here include Bharata's Lakṣaṇa for the commentary says : ' "लक्षणानि अक्षरसंहतिशोभादीनि वक्ष्यमाणानि— ।" p. 9. These are called Guṇas because they are ' Rasikāhlādakas '.

At the end of the chapter on Guṇas (7th), the work says :

शाब्देषु तेषु गाम्भीर्यं विस्तरो रीतिरेव च ।
आर्थेष्वपि तथा श्लेषः समता सुकुमारता ॥
माधुर्यौदारते प्रेमः समाधिः सौक्ष्म्यमेव च ।
संमितत्वं तथोक्तिश्च लक्षणानि मतानि मे ॥ Śls. 207-8.

Com. लक्षणानीति । निरुक्तकाव्यगुणत्वेन प्राक्प्रतिज्ञातलक्षणानीत्यर्थः । एवं च चन्द्रालोकसारीभूतं अक्षरसंहतिः शोभा चेति द्वयं, तथा प्रतापरुद्रीयादिसारीभूतं द्राक्षापाकादित्रयं, कण्ठाभरणसारीभूतं शाब्दगुणान्तर्गतं गांभीर्यादित्रयं, आर्थगुणान्तर्गतं श्लेषादिदशकं चेति मिलित्वा अष्टादशलक्षणीयमिति सङ्क्षेपः ।

This is a strange conception of Lakṣaṇa. Acyutarāya knows Lakṣaṇas only through the Candrāloka. But while the Candrāloka gives ten, Acyuta chooses only two from them. These two Lakṣaṇas, Akṣara samhati and Śobhā, the three Pākas, Gāmbhīrya, Vistara and Rīti which are three Śabdaguṇas of Bhoja, Śleṣa, Samatā, Sukumāratā, Mādhurya, Udāratā, Preyas, Samādhi, Saukṣmya, Sammitatva and Ukti which are ten Athagunas of Bhoja,—these are put together into set of 18 items and meaninglessly labelled as the 18 Lakṣaṇas. See Sāhityasāra, pp. 353-4, N.S. Edn.

V. RAGHAVAN.

A NOTE ON THE *AŚVAMEDHA*

Some time back there was a controversy in the pages of the *Indian Culture* as to whether the *aśvamedha* was necessarily preceded by a *digvijaya* and whether its performance resulted in the recognition of the paramountcy of the performer by the neighbouring princes.[1]

---

[1] *Indian Culture*, **1**, 114, 311, 704 ; **2**, 140, 789.

It seems that its celebration did not always entail the performance of the almost prohibitive *digvijaya*, and was sometimes designed for purposes entirely different from the establishment of paramountcy; nor was it confined to kings, in whose case alone the question of *digvijaya* and paramountcy comes in. This is clear from some passages occurring in the later Smṛtis. The *Uśanas-saṁhitā*, 8. 10 and 21, for example, alternatively prescribes the *aśvamedha* as an expiation for some serious offences :

अश्वमेधावभृथके स्नात्वा यः शुध्यति द्विजः ।

and स्नात्वाश्वमेधावभृथके पूतः स्यादथवा द्विजः ॥

Similarly, the following verse (*Viṣṇu-saṁhitā*, 86. 67; *Atri-saṁhitā*, 55; *Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā*, 21; *Likhita-saṁhitā*, 10) shows a different application of the sacrifice :

एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।
यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥[1]

These passages tend to show that there must have been an abbreviated form of the *aśvamedha*, bringing it within the reach of the ordinary people.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

ANATTĀ = NĀMA-RŪPA

In my 'Rebirth and Omniscience in Pali Buddhism', *Indian Culture*, July 1936, p. 30, I made the rather serious mistake, to which Professor Otto Schrader has since kindly called my attention, of identifying Buddhist *anattā* with Upaniṣad *anātmya*. The words are alike, but have a very different connotation. Buddhist *anattā* is not 'despirated', but 'that which is not the spirit', viz. *nāma-rūpa*, *saviññāna-kāya*, 'soul and body'. The Buddhist equivalent of *anātyma*, *nirātma*, *avāta*, etc. is *nibbāṇa*=*nirvāṇa*. Arranged hierarchically we have

---

[1] *v.l.* यजते चाश्वमेधं वा. Bṛhaspati, 22, defines *nīla vṛṣa* as :

लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन पुच्छाग्रे यस्तु पाण्डुरः ।
श्वेतः खुरविषाणाभ्यां स नीलो वृष उच्यते ॥

(1) *anātmya, nirātmā, avāta*=*nirvāṇa*, 'despirated';
(2) *ātman, attā*='spirit';
(3) *anattā, attato, bhava*=what is 'other than the spirit', that (soul and body) which is 'enspirited'.

1 and 2 together constitute the 'Supreme Identity' (*tad ekam*) 'equally spirated, despirated' (*ānīt avātam*), RV. X, 129. 2.

That *anattā* and *anātmya* are etymologically equivalent need not surprise us, and merely illustrate the ambiguity of literal (*abhihita*) and anagogic (*paramârthika*) meanings that can be attached to one and the same term, according to our level of reference in a given context; of which good examples can be cited in *pratyakṣa* or *sakṣāt*, literally 'before the eyes', 'empirical', and anagogically 'immediate'; and in the contrary values attached to the idea of 'waking' (1) to contingent and (2) to real being, as enunciated in BG. II, 69.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II DATED GUPTA SAṀVAT 257 OR 254?

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, when he was in charge of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, brought to our notice the Bantia plates of Dharasena II issued from Valabhi. He published a summary of the same in the *Annual Report* of that Museum for 1925-26, pp. 13f. and 1926-27, pp. 13f. The date of these plates as published in these Reports is 'The fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (Gupta) Saṁvat 257, when there was a solar eclipse (Suryoparāgē)'. Now the same inscription with its date has been referred to by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in No. 1324 of his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But in a footnote he remarks 'It is doubtful if the date has been correctly read, because in the month of Vaiśākha there was no solar eclipse from 574 to 591 A.D.' Fortunately for us the same grant has now been edited by Mr. Diskalkar in *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 179 to 181, when Mr. K. N. Dikshit was Officiating Government Epigraphist for India. But as has been remarked by Miss Karuna Kana Gupta in this *Journal*, 1936, p. 57, it is curious that whereas the heading of this article contains the date '[Valabhi] Saṁvat 257' 'we find it changed into 254, in the course of the article' not only in the Introduction but also in the transcript. What is more curious is that although this is such an important inscription for the determination of the epoch of the Gupta era, no plate has been published along with the article as might be expected of a responsible Journal. It is sincerely hoped that the present Government Epigraphist for India will take speedy steps to remove the desideratum by publishing the plate in an early issue of the *Epig. Indica*.

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEA.

A NEW TYPE OF YAUDHEYA COIN

Cunningham says (about the Yaudheya Coins) 'the coins are of two distinct kinds; the Older Ones, of small size, dating about the 1st century B.C. and the later ones, of large size, dating from about A.D. 300, after the decline of the Indo-Scythian power'. I want to say something about those coins which Sir Cunningham describes as 'Older Coins'. The description which he gives about these coins (C.A.I., p. 77, ll. 15–24, plates 2, 3 and 4) is all right. But he points out only one type of those older coins. But I find another and new type in Smith's Catalogue.

Smith while noticing coins of Yaudheyas (p. 180) which he calls 'the earliest' (p. 165, l. 24) has committed a mistake by not noting a type which is really a different one from the 'Bull and Elephant' type within which he includes it. Under this head he describes seven coins only, two of which have been illustrated in the Plates XXI, 13 and 14.

Now the coin No. 13 in one of these, namely in Plate XXI, is worthy of consideration. Herein may be described a new type of those 'Older Coins' of the Yaudheyas which seems to have escaped his notice. Smith describes it as follows :—

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Bull and Elephant type ; about beginning of Christian era

Obverse	*Reverse*
A.S.B. AE. *Copper*	
Bull standing r., facing a railing with curved object ('pillar with pendent garlands', Cunningham) rising from it ; legends fragmentary.	Elephant moving r., Nandipada symbol above ; fairly well preserved ; the elephant is passing a scythe-like object clearly shown. (Pl. XXI, 13.)

The same coin No. 13 of his Plate XXI may be described as follows :—

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Horse and Elephant type

Obverse	*Reverse*
Horse standing r., with his head turned round and touching his back ; with the manes flowing. The muzzle is distinctly equinine and not bovine, so also the hoofs. The tail is bushy and is exactly like that of a horse may be well contrasted with the bovine tail of No. 11 which is thin. The railing with curved object Indian legend.	Similar.

We are further struck with the beautiful representation of the horse. Every muscle of its body is perfectly displayed. Thus, we may be permitted to infer that this coin No. 13, Pl. XXI, is not a specimen of the Bull and Elephant type but forms a class by itself. It may be distinguished as Horse and Elephant type and considered as another type of the Earliest Yaudheya coins.

BHRAMAR GHOSH.

AŚVAMEDHA AND RĀJASŪYA

It has been claimed for the *Sārvabhauma* or independent kings that they are only entitled to perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. We have shown before that Vasudeva, the father of Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa, who was but a cattle-farmer and a tenant of Kaṁsa, performed the *Aśvamedha*, when his sons acquired much wealth.[1] It has further been shown how a petty potentate and a Moghul satrap, namely, Sowae Jaya Siṁha of Amber performed the *Aśvamedha*, some two hundred years before our time.[2] We shall now show that this could be performed even by common people.

---

[1] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 140-141.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 547-548.

The *Vaiṣṇava Dharma-śāstra* has quoted a verse from the *Pitṛgîtā*, to say that many sons should be desired so that at least one out of them will go to Gayā, or perform the *Aśvamedha* or let loose an indigo-coloured ox (*nila-vṛṣa*).[1] This verse is also found in the *Mahābhārata* [2] and the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.[3]

There is nothing in the verse to show that desire for many sons was laid down for the *Sārvabhauma* or independent kings only, and not for the common folk. It is clear from this that there was no bar for a commoner to perform the *Aśvamedha*, provided he was rich and otherwise powerful. · Vasudeva is a clear example of this.

The same cannot be said of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. One of the qualifications, according to the *Amarakoṣa*, of a *Samrāṭ* is to perform the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.[4] On the successful return of Karṇa from *digvijaya*, Duryodhana proposed to perform the Rājasūya, but his priest told him that so long as Yudhiṣthira was living none was entitled to perform the best of the sacrifices in the Kuru family. Duryodhana had the further bar to its performance. His old father Dhṛtarāṣṭra was still living.[5] So it appears that the Rājasūya was far more important than the *Aśvamedha*, as on it depended the title of *Samrāṭ*.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

---

[1] एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।
यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥ वैष्णवधर्म्मशास्त्र, ८५म अध्याय ।

[2] *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, ८४म अध्याय ।

[3] *Vāyu-purāṇa*, १०५म अध्याय ।

[4] येनेष्टं राजसूयेन मण्डलस्येश्वरश्च यः ।
शास्ति यश्चाज्ञया राज्ञ स सम्राडथ राजकं ॥ अमरकोष-क्षत्रियवर्ग ।

[5] न स शक्यः क्रतुश्रेष्ठ जीवमाने युधिष्ठिरे ।
आहर्त्तुं कौरवश्रेष्ठ कुले तव नृपोत्तम ॥
दीर्घायुर्जीवति च ते धृतराष्ट्रः पिता नृप ।
अतश्चापि विरुद्धस्ते क्रतुरेष नृपोत्तम ॥

महाभारत, वनपर्व्व २५४म अध्याय ।

REVIEWS

VEDISCHE VOLKSETYMOLOGIE UND DAS NIRUKTA. By Dr. Pavel Poucha. Published in the Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It was a pleasure to go through the above paper on Vedic popular etymologies and the Nirukta by Dr. Pavel Poucha. The learned author has taken great pains to furnish a Vedic basis for fifty of the etymologies given by Yáṣka in his Nirukta. Regarding two others he seems to be a little in doubt while eight cases he definitely holds as more or less meaningless.

An attempt therefore has been made by us through a note published in this very issue elsewhere, to furnish a Vedic basis for these ten cases, which will prove a source of pleasure to the author of the paper.

Another point has been discussed by us in another similar note. That is the 'Pre-Yáskyan etymologies'. Dr. Pavel Poucha seems to hold that apart from the etymology of Agni from Agri of Agre, given in Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa II, 2. 4. there are practically no etymologies met with in the literature current before Yáṣka. This is not the case. A number of etymologies are to be met with in the Bráhmaṇas and Upanishads as well. Some of these form the subject-matter of this second note.

The learned author has referred to Winternitz's History of Indian Literature where, according to him, Winternitz had found a connection of the word Varuṇah with the root Varin, Atharva-Veda Káṇda III, Sukta 4. If Winternitz did so he has erred here because the verb वृणतां is here used in connection with Indrah and not Varuṇah. A number of Mantras intervening between the two and the context as well leave no doubt on this point.

Dr. Pavel Poucha and the writer have now found any number of connections between the nouns and the verbs mutually radically connected and an accurate etymology of the word Varuṇah has been published in the April issue of this very Journal.

The conclusion arrived at by the learned author of the paper that a joint study of Vedas with the Vedáṅgas can prove very useful in discovering the Vedic idioms, is quite welcome to us but we do not like to carry that study on with the object of trying to find out what is Yáṣka's own and what is based upon the Vedas, because with this attitude of doubt very brilliant results may perhaps not be expected. On the other hand we would suggest sifting Vedas for arriving at Yáskyan as well as new etymologies, taking Yáṣka's help where available and never trying to refute or condemn him, as the more one studies him the more he is convinced of the mastery which he had over the Vedas, one knows not how. The depths to which he goes even in discussing the most commonplace words show that he was a master-mind and thoroughly an adept in the art of etymologies. It is therefore not easy to hold nor safe that Yáṣka went against the Vedas at any spots whatsoever.

In the end we must congratulate the doctor on his brilliant success in such a tedious task.

We have no doubt he will carry on this noble task without feeling tired as the job is no doubt very tiresome.

The paper is really very interesting and useful to Vedic scholarship.

RULIA RAM KASHYAPA.

HINDU CIVILIZATION, by Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, University of Lucknow; published by Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. 351. Price 15*s*. net.

To bring together, in a volume of moderate size, the results of specialized study of the various aspects of ancient Hindu history is an extremely difficult task. In the volume under review, Prof. Mookerji has done this work wonderfully well. He has narrated in a simple style the history of our country from the earliest times to about B.C. 325. Prof. Mookerji has seldom tried to impose 'original' theories upon his readers, nor has he created any labyrinth around disputed points. For this, he should be congratulated by University students for whom the book is evidently intended.

Besides an introduction, the book under review has six chapters dealing with prehistoric India, (ii) its geographical and social background, (iii) advent of the Aryans and the Ṛigvedic civilization, (iv) later Vedic civilization, (v) Indian civilization in post-Vedic literature, (vi) and the political history of Northern India from *circa* 650 to 325 B.C. The volume has three maps and no less than twelve excellent illustrations.

The volume under review would surely prove to be very useful to students of Indian history up to the time of Alexander's invasion. The only point to which we like to draw the author's attention is that the book does not always give necessary references. As for instance, at pp. 174-175, the author refers to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* without referring to any particular page or section of the work, and to certain views of K. P. Jayaswal, H. P. Sastri and R. P. Chanda without mentioning the works in which these scholars originally expressed them. This work will be surely useful to students of the early history of India.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., with the co-operation of other scholars, and illustrated by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Ruler of Aundh. Ādiparvan. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927–33, pp. viii, 996, cxviii.

It is appropriate that it should have fallen to Indian scholarship to produce the first critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. European scholars were responsible for appreciation of the value of the *Ṛgveda*, as a monument of the civilization of the Aryans in India, but the epic is essentially Indian, the work of Indo-Aryans, and the special glory of India. But for the Great War it is possible that European scholarship might have undertaken the task. There is, however, no reason to regret that it failed to progress on the lines indicated so persistently by Professor Winternitz. India offers special facilities for carrying out the work, and Indians, who have assimilated western scholarship and adapted it to the special conditions of the task, are fully capable to carrying even so formidable an undertaking to its destined close, while most appropriately Professor Winternitz will share in the task.

It is the essential merit of the new edition that it is definitely limited to a practicable end. We need not doubt the truth of the tradition which sees in the epic the result of the expansion into a Dharmaśāstra of what was once an epic of generous size. The view that the *Mahābhārata* was from the first a Dharmaśāstra or a text book of the Bhāgavatas, as suggested by the Maṅgalastotra of the vulgate, over-states the case.[1] We are entitled to believe rather in the definite redaction by a Brahmanical family of the text produced by the Sūtas, and due credit should be given to Dr. Sukthankar[2] for his most ingenious suggestion that we owe to the Bhārgavas the first recast of the epic. It is not a theory capable of strict proof. But it is consonant with the constant association of Bhārgava Śukra with Nīti, and with the tradition which makes our *Manusmṛti* a Bhṛgusaṁhitā, with which ascription accords the many verses common to the epic and to Manu. Again we can thus explain the second opening of the epic in Ādi, 4–12 with its insistence on the history of the Bhārgavas. If this theory be even approximately correct, it is plain that it is hopeless to expect ever to arrive at the version of the Sūtas, which must have been deeply affected by the rehandling it underwent in the process of developing an epic into a Dharmaśāstra. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the original heroic epic, the *Bhārata*, existed distinct from the rehandling, the *Mahābhārata*, in the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. This must be deemed uncertain. The version in 24,000 verses which he regards as the *Bhārata* as opposed to the *Mahābhārata* may itself have been the successor of an earlier briefer text. Without stressing the possible tradition to that effect,[3] it may be taken as self-obvious that there must have existed a shorter version than that elaborated by the Sūtas, and that this may be the distinction referred to in the *Gṛhya Sūtra*. Nor can it be forgotten that we have no great certainty as to the antiquity of that particular part of the Gṛhya text.[4] We may not, therefore, claim for the expanded text of the Bhārgavas the antiquity suggested. But this suggests that it may be possible for us to reach in a critical edition the substantial form of the text as developed in the Bhārgava family, before it passed out of their hands and became the common property of the literati of India. Whether we can accomplish even this may unquestionably be disputed, and must be left for the future to decide. More is clearly impossible. The epic has been too essentially a living force in the life of India and it has paid the penalty in the constant adaptation and alteration, in expansion and expurgation. Nothing is more characteristic than the insistence of the Southern recension in turning into regular nuptials the rude Gandharva weddings of Duḥṣanta and Śakuntalā, of Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā, of Arjuna and Subhadrā, and of Parāśara and Matsyagandhā. We may legitimately suspect that in the original epic there was much more of barbarism which the Bhārgavas were at pains to eliminate, leaving either no or but faint traces of their activity.

In the present edition one cardinal merit is the richness of the apparatus criticus. In all work on the epic, whether grammatical, metrical, historical, religious or sociological, authors are confronted with the constant question whether they are basing conclusions on old material or on mere various readings of no great authority. The materials for solving such questions have not been available in any effective shape, and the new edition would be invaluable for this merit alone. The only disturbing fact is the length of time which seems inevitable before similar material will be available for the other Parvans. Of special interest will be the question of the true text of the philosophical passages. At present they contain so much that is hard to understand that it is possible that better readings arrived at from fuller collations of MSS. will relieve the epic thinkers of some measure of confusion. It has not, of course, been possible to collate all the known MSS. of the Ādiparvan even in Europe, or to examine all those known to exist in India, not to mention those which are in private hands, unknown to scholars. But the present apparatus criticus will enable scholars to whom MSS. are available easily to ascertain the value of such MSS. and to collate any that appear to have important variants.

---

[1] Cf. Lévi, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol.*, p. 99.

[2] ABORI., xviii, 63ff.

[3] Cf. V. V. Iyer, *The Mahābhārata*, pp. 27ff.

[4] Cf. Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 390.

The methods of constituting the text adopted by the editor are unquestionably sound. He makes no attempt to arrive at an *Ur-Mahābhārata*, content with the only possible undertaking, the reconstruction of the oldest form of the text which it is possible to reach on the basis of the manuscript material available. There can be no doubt that this is essentially justifiable. It is clear that the two beginnings of the Parvan cannot have been original, but it is equally clear from their presence in both the Northern and the Southern recensions that their conflation is anterior to our text tradition. There is, however, no such patent inconsistency in the next instance adduced by the editor (p. lxxxvii). In i, 116, 31 we are told that Mādrī mounted beside her husband as he lay on the funeral pyre, though it is not actually there said that she was burnt along with him. In i, 117, 28 we are told *praviṣṭā pāvakaṁ Mādrī hitvā jīvitam ātmanaḥ*, but immediately after the poet speaks of *śarīre dve*, so that it is not surprising to find in i, 118, 20 that of the *śarīra* when decked out it could be said

> *āchannaḥ sa tu vāsobhir jīvann iva nararṣabhaḥ*
> *śuśubhe puruṣavyāghro mahārhaśayanocitaḥ.*

This does not mean, pace Hopkins,[1] 'the king looked as if he were alive'. His appearance was splendid as if he were alive, but '*āchanno vāsobhiḥ*' covered over with garments'. In the same way Mādrī was *susaṁvṛtā* (i, 118, 3), hidden from the wind and the sun alike. We must assume that the bodies were but partially burnt or scorched, to be kept for the funeral rites in due course. In this case we can hardly blame the diaskeuasts.

It is inevitable that the text should be eclectic. There is abundant evidence that neither the Northern nor the Southern recension has any monopoly of correctness. Both contain readings which are palpably superior, and which could easily give rise through careless corruption to the inferior version of the other. In many cases there can be so certain criterion, and the editor must make his choice on subjective grounds. Practice in this connection is of great value, and there can be little doubt that the editor has in many passages given us a sound text. There are instances, of course, where doubt is legitimate, but there must be very few where he can be held to have adopted a clearly inferior reading. No more than this could be expected from any editor. It is impossible to question seriously his grouping of the MSS. used or his valuation of the evidence of the commentators. His treatment of the statements of the Parvasaṁgraha is extremely judicious. We must clearly abandon any hope of deriving thence any really useful information as to the extent of the text. It may be added that the granthāgra which is frequently given, especially in Jaina MSS. to declare the length of the text is often quite difficult to reconcile with the actual number of syllables in the works in question, so that we can expect no serious results from treating, as is quite legitimate, the number of ślokas asserted for the epic text as really referring to the grantha, as suggested by Haraprasada Shastri.

The editor has quite justly relied often on the maxim that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the simpler, since it is easy to explain the latter as correction of what was poorly understood by careless scribes. But there are limits to this doctrine. In the Vulgate we have for i, 214, 5 of the new edition :

> *adhyetāraṁ paraṁ vedān prayoktāraṁ mahādhvare*
> *rakṣitāraṁ śubhāṁ llokāṁ llebhire taṁ janādhipam.*

---

[1] JAOS., xiii, 172.

This is difficult enough, but unquestionably secondary as opposed to the Southern text with its pointed *vedāḥ*, *mahādhvarāḥ* and *śubhaṁ varṇā*, confirmed as it is by the construction of the next verse. We need not, therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses whenever we find variants in the MSS., which might be explained by assuming that they are the different efforts made by scribes, who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity. Nor is it precisely accurate to attribute hiatus to the 'humble origin' of the epic, 'a work which has its roots firmly embedded in the soil of the heroic poetry of the Sūtas'. Surely the Sūtas were hardly popular poets; rather they were akin to the Homeric bards who sang the deeds of princes at their courts. It is to the Brahmans who took it over rather than to the Sūtas that the popularization of the epic seems to be due. Nor do we need to appeal to Pali and Prakrit poetry for evidence of indifference to hiatus. There is no question from Brahmanical poetry that the objection to it was progressive, and it is constantly avoided in the epic. It is in the later stages [1] indeed that carelessness appears as a rule. That here and there instances of hiatus should occur is natural, but we must judge the cases on their merits, and we must remember that a variation [2] in the MSS. between such particles as *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā* or even others is no proof that there was originally a hiatus. This is shown by the fact that in cases where there is no question of avoiding a hiatus the MSS. show much variation in the use of such particles which were used with little differentiation of meaning.

In i, 103, 5 no doubt *śrūyate Yādavī kanyā anurūpā kulasya naḥ* is a perfectly valid restoration, for at the end of the pāda the absence of Sandhi is perfectly natural. So again in i, 110, 20 *avīryakṛpaṇocite* begins the pāda. In i, 99, 15 *tvayā ca amitadyute* may be correct; it is easy to feel a natural pause after *ca* before the vocative which would explain the hiatus. In i, 57, 20 *kriyate ucchrayo nṛpaiḥ* is strongly contended for by the editor, but he offers no explanation why such a hiatus should occur. If he is right, then we must assume that the writer objected to ending his verse with three iambi, which is a recognized rule of the metre, and that, while copyists accepted the rule, they were not prepared to let the hiatus stand. The same explanation must be found in i, 100, 2 *niśīthe āgamiṣyati*. In I, 147, 2, on the other hand the reading *roravīthas tv anāthavat* seems more legitimate; I assume that the Śāradā MS. has *roravethas tv*, and not as the report suggests *roravethaḥ tv*. In i, 148, 1 *viditvā apakarṣeyam* is not probable; the MSS. variants between *'py*, *vy*, and *hy* do not prove an original absence, not the *tad viditvā* of part of the Southern recension. It is very difficult to believe in i, 207, 17 *kuie asmin babhūva ha*. Such a hiatus as this is unmotived and it is easy enough to explain the variants of the MSS. on other theories. This we may suppose that the *saṁbabhūva* of a large body of MSS. was erroneously curtailed to *babhūva* with the result that *kule 'smin* had to be extended. In i, 119, 11 *tathety ukte Ambikayā* the position is uncertain *tv* may be right before *Ambikayā*, but it is possible that *ukte Ambikayā* was due to the desire to have a long [3] before the Vipulā and that the hiatus may be original. In i, 98, 8 *antarvatnī aham* may be explained by emphasis, but it is quite probable that *tv* is original. *ty* would be a blunder for it, and *hy* a correction. In i, 214, 9 *dharmarāje hy atiprītyā* should be read; the variant *tv* is normal, and the hiatus is unmotived. In i, 224, 5 *saṁtapyamānā abhito* is needless. The MSS. suggest *saṁtapyamānān* as clearly correct. Misunderstanding of the accusative as following on the previous line has led to the mere corrections *saṁtapyamānā bahudhā* or *purato*. In i, 157, 13 *pañcakṛtvas tvayā uktaḥ* seems unmotived and the variants of the MSS. hardly justify it.

---

[1] Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, pp. 197ff.

[2] Cf. ABORI., xvi, 104.

[3] Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 236.

Similarly in i, 116, at *taj jyeṣṭhā anumanyatām* and in i, 110, 28 *yadi āvāṁ mahāprajña* are very dubious, nor in i, 51, 8 is *atho Indraḥ svayam evājagāma* at all certain. It is rather curious that in i, 86, 5 the editor restores *aśilpajīvī nagṛhaś ca nityam* instead of taking the variant *agṛhaś ca*. The hiatus would be excused easily enough by the caesura.

In other cases the editor resorts to the assumption of irregular Sandhi of the initial *ā*. Thus in i, 41, 5 he restores *garte 'rtāṁs trāṇam icchataḥ*. This is very doubtful. One reading can be read *gartetāṁs* as a compound, not as taken by the editor *garte tāṁs*, and it may explain the variants, having been misunderstood as *garte tāṁs* and the phrase felt to be feeble. Nor is it certain that in i, 218, 14 *''meghāñ jaladhārāmuco ''kulān* is to be read; *ākulān* is not specially happy and *'tulan* has MS. authority of considerable weight. The Northern reading *jaladhārāsamākulān* can hardly be used to support *''kulān* as the true ending. It is rather an independent variant. No stress can be laid on the variation between *t* and *k* in Grantha MSS. We seem really to have two different readings for the two versions, and contamination hardly gives us a tenable result when it requires a very sporadic Sandhi. It is true that in i, 68, 64 we have *amale 'tmānam* and in i, 198, 19 *manyate ''tmānam*, but *ātman* with its Vedic variant *tman* is not a close parallel and i, 70, 14 *te ''jñayā* is rendered more easy by the close connection of the weak *te* with the following word. It must be noted that it is unsafe to lay any stress on divergence between the Northern and the Southern readings as proof of change to avoid an unusual Sandhi. Thus in i, 92, 45, where the editor has *na ca tāṁ kiṁcanovāca* from the Northern text, we have in TG *uvāca kiṁcin na tu tām*, and in M *novāca vacanaṁ kiṁcit*, variations without motive, which warn us against believing that such variations are of importance where the issue is one of Sandhi. No doubt *ca* has as often the adversative sense as in *Nala*, iii, 16 *na cainam abhyabhāṣanta*. Again *vā* in i, 3, 183 *prabrūhi vā kiṁ kriyatāṁ dvijendra* simply means ' indeed ', and the variants are largely motived by the fact that this sense of *vā* was often misunderstood by the scribes. But I do not understand the editor's criticism[1] of the reading of K in i, 55, 3 *śrotṛpātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvām*, preferred by Professor Winternitz, as unintelligible ; it is, on the contrary, quite clear ; *tvām* is governed by *prāpya*, which qualifies *mām* ; ' now that I have found thee, o king, as one worthy of hearing the tale '. Indeed, while *śrotuṁ pātram* as the less simple reading is probably correct, the *tvām* should rather be combined with it. It would be so easy for scribes to alter it to *tvam*, and the editor does not appear to have noticed that his own reading leaves *prāpya* very awkward and indeed meaningless. The eagerness to tell the tale is motived by the finding of the due receptacle. In i, 56, 8 we have, if the editor is correct, two unaugmented imperfects which curiously enough he does not give in his list[2] of such cases in the Parvan. He has also[3] a very curious use of *vyatikram* with the accusative of the person, ' wrongly submit themselves to Yudhiṣṭhira '. The example cited (B) xii, 174, 36—the only one adduced by Böhtlingk—is not very convincing ; *buddhim aprāptā vyatikrāntāś ca mūḍhatām* means ' who have not reached enlightenment but have crossed over to folly instead ', not as he renders ' who have surrendered themselves (wrongly) to folly '. The lack of any connecting particle is also very harsh, and on the whole the reading is not probable, even if *vyatikramadyūte* is not very satisfactory. If the editor's reading is to be supported, both the meaning of *vyatikram* and the asyndeton need further corroboration. Further argument is also necessary in favour of *hāsyarūpeṇa* in i, 57, 21 in lieu of

---

[1] ABORI., xvi, 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, 95.

[3] *Ibid.*, 97, 98.

haṁsarūpeṇa.[1] There is no difficulty in supposing that Devabodha's gloss *krīḍāvatārarūpeṇa* might apply to *haṁsarūpeṇa* in lieu of *hāsarūpeṇa* as is read, and for *hāsyarūpeṇa* some parallel is badly needed, whereas *haṁsa* and Indra are not infrequently connected.[2] The support given to the Malayālam version by K is interesting, though conjectural, for it has *hāmyahāmya*, which may be for *hāsya=hāsya*, but which in any case is incorrect, and the vital Śāradā is lacking. In i, 57, 58 it is by no means clear that *dṛśyator ebhiḥ* is the sound reading; the variant *dṛṣṭayor* is no doubt too simple, but the solution seems to lie in the G_3 reading *dṛśyayor*, which mediates between the other two and gives the precise sense requisite: 'How can we unite when we would be seen by them?' Neither *dṛśyator*, a rare form with passive sense in the participle not *dṛṣṭayor* gives the exact meaning, and the corruption is easily set down to the failure of the scribes to observe the nuance. In i, 202, 19 *rājarṣibhir adṛśyadbhir ṛṣibhiś ca Ś*, has *adṛśyaiś ca*, and the perfectly legitimate hiatus may have led to the other reading, as the editor's own theory would suggest. No one denies that occasional cases of passive use occur; but the point is that in each instance the probability must be duly weighed.

There are many other passages full of interest worthy of discussion, but it must suffice to add an appreciation of the interesting illustrations provided by the enlightened generosity of the Chief of Aundh, whose assistance in this great national enterprise is deserving of the highest appreciation by the Indian Government as well as the people of India.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET OR LAMAISM by L. Austine Waddell, M.B., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Second Edition, Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1934.

The treatise of Colonel Waddell first appeared in 1894, and a second edition was long overdue. The jealously guarded land of the *Dalai Lāma* has a special attraction for the people of Bengal. The 'icy walls' of the Himalayas could not prevent saints and scholars belonging to this province, both in modern times and ages long gone by, from penetrating into the hills and dales of the 'Forbidden Realm' on the tableland of Central Asia, and establishing a contact between the upper and the lower valleys of the Brahmaputra that was fruitful in many ways. The work of Colonel Waddell deals with the fascinating country of the *Lāmas*, its monasteries (pp. 255ff.), temples and cathedrals (287ff.), and its strange beliefs and modes of worship (pp. 76ff., 324ff.) that, in his opinion, owe their origin to *Padma-Sambhava* (p. xxxix). The volume before us contains an introductory note on primitive Buddhism and a historic survey of Lāmaism, and 'brings to a focus most of the information on *Lāmaism* scattered through former publications' and 'attempts to disentangle the early history of Lāmaism from the chaotic growth of fable which has invested it'. On p. xxx of the present volume, Dr. Waddell makes the interesting, though by no means convincing, guess that the name of *Avalokita* or 'the Looking-down Lord' may possibly have been suggested by Asoka's title 'the Compassionate Looker-on' (*Piyadasi*). The value of the work is enhanced by numerous illustrations, a chronological table and a useful bibliography appended to the text.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

---

[1] ABORI., 101.

[2] Hopkin's *Epic Mythology*, pp. 125, 126, 133.

THE EARLY BUDDHIST THEORY OF MAN PERFECTED by I. B. Horner, M.A., London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

In this interesting volume covering 328 pages, the authoress who is the Librarian of Newnham College, Cambridge, carries on investigations into the development of the highest ideal—that of the *arahan*—which early monastic Buddhism set before its followers. She has had the benefit of instructive suggestions and criticisms from Mrs. Rhys Davids, than whom there is no abler living exponent of certain aspects of the great religion which owes its origin to the Sage of the Śākyas. In the opening chapter the writer of the present volume draws a distinction between the original *Dhamma* elucidated by the Blessed Gotama and his contemporary co-workers, and the later gospel of *nirodha* which was the contribution of the monks of the Buddhist Fraternity to the doctrine of their Master. She then enters into a discussion of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist concepts of the *Arahan*, and various aspects of the *Arahan* such as *Oghatiṇṇa* 'crossed over the flood' and *Pāraṅgata*, 'going or gone beyond'. She points out that under Monastic Buddhism, *arahanship* heads the group of those people who were on 'the four ways (*magga*)', who count among themselves the *sotāpanna* ('stream-winner'), the *sakadāgāmin* ('once returner') and the *anāgāmin* ('non-returner').

It is possible to disagree with the authoress in regard to certain points of detail. For instance a student of the *Jātakas* and of the *Niddesa* will hesitate to endorse her opinion that 'the Buddhist records . . . do not mention Kṛṣṇa' and Kṛṣṇaism (pp. 60, 61). The statement (p. 22) that the *Saṁhitās* or hymn-books were *appended to* the Vedas is also far from clear. But these minor details do not take away from the merit of the work as a whole which throws welcome light on an important aspect of the religious history of India.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

HINDU ART IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING. By Perviz N. Peerozshaw Dubash, M.A., LL.B., with foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., D.Litt., and drawings in black and white by Miss Ruby J. Treasuryvala. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras, pp. i–xix, 1–278, pls. I–LXV, 2 coloured pls., 1935.

In this work an attempt has been made to present Hindu art in its social setting. In the foreword Sir S. Radhakrishnan has given a short but interesting account of the spiritual and æsthetic qualities of Indian art. In the preface the author has briefly stated the main points contained in this dissertation. It is divided into three parts, viz.: (1) Pt. I. Introductory, (2) Pt. II. Influences affecting art in ancient India, and (3) Pt. III. Art in ancient India. In part I there are two chapters, viz. chapter I. Introduction and scope of the subject and chapter II. Nature and place of art in social life. In the first chapter the æsthetic qualities of art have been indicated. In the second chapter the author has tackled the problem of the relation between art and technique and the æsthetic qualities of art. She has concluded that an artist is a genuine creator and not an instrument through which the human society makes itself expressed. Regarding the question of the place of art in social life she has opined that the theory of 'Art for Art's sake' 'is hardly borne out by the history of Art and of society in general' (p. 30) and that 'some purpose must be there for Art to grow and develop and influence society in its turn' (p. 31). In part II there are three chapters, viz. chapter III. Main historical background, chapter IV. Motive forces in ancient India and chapter V. Institutions of ancient India. In the third chapter she has dealt only with the Indus

Valley civilization, the Dravidian and the Aryan intrusion into India and the Ṛg-Vedic civilization. In the fourth chapter she has dealt with the main motive forces in ancient India and has rightly observed that religion is the main fountain from which art gets its inspiration. Consequently Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism are mainly responsible for the majority of the art-products of India. In part III there are four chapters, viz. chapter VI. Conceptions and ideals of Indian art, chapter VII. Review of arts in ancient India, chapter VIII. Art in the daily life of ancient India and chapter IX. Conclusion. In the sixth chapter she has dealt with the motifs of Indian art and has concluded that ‘ the Buddha in *samādhi*, the Trimūrti and the Naṭarāja are, then, the three main motifs of ancient Indian art, round which that whole Art revolves. In themselves they combine the whole history of Indian philosophical thought, and give us the main results of how the racial mind visualized, and was affected by the spiritual as well as physical ideals of the times, which may be taken to be the causes of the conception of Indian Art, its birth and development ’ (p. 135). In the seventh chapter a short account of architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dancing and literary arts has been given. In the eighth chapter which is highly interesting she has indicated the various art-products used by the Indians of ancient age to lead a decent life. Here she has rightly given special emphasis on the decoration, furniture, domestic utensils, dress and ornaments of the ancient Indians. In the last chapter she has briefly summarized the results of her investigation.

But there are some drawbacks from which this book suffers. Firstly, it seems that the author has not properly and definitely discussed that thing which the title of this book indicates. The title ‘ Hindu art in its social setting ’ means the society as depicted in Hindu art and the relation between Hindu art and Hindu society. In such a thesis there should be an introductory, preferably brief, chapter which will show the exact relation between Hindu art and Hindu society and in the following chapters there should be a definite attempt to show some definite aspects of society as represented in the actual art-remains which are scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. But instead of doing that the author has written certain chapters, viz. chapters II–VII which, according to the opinion of the reviewer, suffer not only from superfluity, pointlessness but also, to a certain extent, from lack of knowledge. The only chapter which is apt and highly interesting is the eighth chapter in which the author deals with the various art-products used by the ancient Indians. Secondly, the author does not consult the original sources—archæological and literary—which she should have done but depends mainly on the secondary sources, i.e. the modern treatises on this subject written by other scholars. Thirdly, there are some misstatements of facts which the present reviewer wishes to criticize. They are the following ones : (i) ‘ The Encyclopædia Britannica, in its enumeration of the Fine Arts, gives us architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry and drama. This, I think, is the most comprehensive classification of the Fine Arts I have met with, and suits our purpose very well, for it includes all arts traditionally regarded as fine arts in the ancient Indian sense too ’ (p. 10). The present reviewer does not understand the significance of the line ‘ all arts traditionally regarded as fine arts in the ancient Indian sense too ’ because there is no Sanskrit text in which fine arts have been enumerated in the way in which they have been enumerated in the Encyclopædia Britannica. (See, in this connection, Apte—Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 167, 1884 ; Monier Williams—Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 261, 1899.) Therefore it appears that this statement is not correct. (ii) ‘ Taxila, Nalanda, Benares, Pataliputra were some of the universities of the day ’ (p. 15). The present reviewer does not know any evidence from which it may be concluded that there were universities, like those at Taxila and Nalanda, at Benares and Pataliputra in ancient days. (iii) ‘ The frescoes of Ajanta provide a background, especially the Persian embassy fresco, and that describing the marriage of prince Siddhartha' (p. 99). These paintings are called *fresco* but no evidence has been put forward to prove this point. (Regarding this point see the present reviewer's view in *Indian Culture*, vol. II, pp. 825-26; vol. III, p. 550, 1936.) (iv) 'The earliest remains we have of Indian sculpture go back only as far as Asoka, and are, therefore, Buddhist, in conception, inspiration and design, because Asoka actually propagated only the Buddhist faith' (p. 158). That this statement is not correct may be understood from the fact that sculptures belonging to the Indus Valley age have been unearthed. (v) 'It was the Indo-Greek artist who gave form to the Master's image and hence the importance of Gandhara art for Indian Iconography' (p. 162). The theory of the Indo-Greek origin of the image of Buddha was first started by Foucher; but this theory was ably controverted by Coomaraswamy. In order to study this problem correctly we will consider the earliest dated Buddha images belonging to North-Western India and Eastern India. It is extremely difficult to say which of the dated images of Buddha belonging to North-Western India is the earliest; but, in this connection, the researches of Konow which are latest may be accepted as a working hypothesis. According to Konow the Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket is dated in the year (1) of Kaṇishka. (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 135-37, 1929; History of Indian and Indonesian Art, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. XXIX, 89, 1927.) He has referred this year to the new Śaka era of 128-29 A.D. and therefore this date becomes 128-29 A.D. In it we find the representation of Buddha. If we accept Konow's researches, this image of Buddha becomes the earliest dated Buddha image of North-Western India. The earliest dated Buddha image of Eastern India is the Sarnath image dated in the third year of Kaṇishka. (Epigraphia Indica, vol. X—appendix, notice No. 927, 1909-10; History of Indian and Indonesian Art, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. XXII, 83, 1927.) These two images are, therefore, almost contemporary; but if anybody compares the modelling of these two images, he will find the certain difference between these two specimens and will certainly conclude that the origin of these two specimens is different. Therefore it is wrong to state that 'the Indo-Greek artist . . . gave form to the Master's image' and it is, therefore, apparent that North-Western India and Eastern India created two different types of the Buddha image in the same age. (vi) 'The earliest extant representation of the Buddha as the "Divine yogi" is at the Amaravati' (p. 165). The author has taken Havell as the authority for making such a statement, but Havell himself does not say so. Further there is no evidence to show that it is the earliest extant representation of Buddha as the 'Divine yogi'. (vii) 'Except in the Ajanta frescoes, which are Buddhist, we have no remains of Indian painting' (p. 229). Anybody who has studied the history of Indian painting knows very well that this statement is wrong as ancient Indian paintings have been found at a number of places besides Ajanta. Fourthly, the author does not put diacritical marks in translitering Sanskrit words, e.g. Mahavira, Siddhartha for *Mahāvīra, Siddhārtha* respectively, to mention a few cases only. In spite of these defects this book shows that the author has a genuine and enthusiastic admiration for the subject which she treats and it may be hoped that she will make necessary changes in its second edition and that she will erelong produce other works of far greater interest.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, Pars, III.

Buddhacarita, translated into English by E. H. Johnston.

Aryan Path, Vol. VIII, No. 3, *March,* 1937.

The 'Gītā' and Theories of Education by D. S. Sarma.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VIII, Part 4, 1937.

1. A New Contribution to the Materials concerning the life of Zoroaster by S. H. Taqizadeh.
2. The Copperplate Grant of Śrīvīrarāghava Cakravartin by K. Godavarma.
3. 'Ju-Shih-Lun', a logical treatise ascribed to Vasubandhu by B. Vassiliev.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, *December,* 1936.

1. Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records by A. B. Keith.
2. The Administrative System of Sher Shah by S. R. Sharma.
3. Origin of the Varman and the Sena Dynasties by D. C. Ganguly.
4. Cults and Cult-acts in Keràla by K. R. Pisharoti.
5. Śrī-Harṣa, the King-Poet by N. G. Banerji.

Jaina Antiquary, Vol. III, No. 4, *March,* 1937.

1. The presiding deity of childbirth amongst the ancient Jainas, with special reference to figures in the Mathura Museum by V. S. Agrawala.
2. The Kalpasūtra by B. C. Law.
3. The Jaina Chronology by K. P. Jain.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 56, *No.* 4, *December,* 1936.

Herrscher und Mimzen der spateu Kushānas by L. Bachhofer.

Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Vol. XXXI, No. 31, 1937.

1. 'The Persian Calendars' by Furdoonjee D. H. Paruck.
2. 'Some Jaina Parallels to Zoroastrian-Beliefs' by J. C. Tavadia.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1937.

1. The Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins by A. S. Hemmy.
2. The Chola Invasion of Bengal by S. K. Aiyangar.
3. Interesting Genitive Prepositions in Rājasthānī by T. Grahame Bailey.

New Review, Vol. V, No. 27, *March,* 1937.

Sumerian Epigraphy by H. Heras.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 5 *Heft, Sept.-Oct.,* 1936.

Remarks on a few early Indian Terracotta-Figurines by C. C. Dasa Gupta.

Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 4, *January,* 1937.

1. Patañjali on the Kṣudraka-Mālavas by V. Sharma.
2. The Kanaphata Jogis in Southern History by B. A. Saletore.
3. Date of Sārasvatapradīpa of Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara by P. K. Gode.
4. Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chalukyas by D. B. Dishalkar.
5. Reference to writing in the Ṛg Veda-Saṁhitā by K. C. Chattopadhaya.
6. Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya by MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha. Text and Translation.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVII, New Series, Nos. 1 *and* 2, *July–October,* 1936.

1. The Nature of 'Folklore' and 'Popular Art' by A. K. Coomaraswamy.
2. The Notion of Difference in Dvaita by M. A. Venkata Rao.
3. A Short Account of the Damiḷas by B. C. Law.
4. The Kathaka and the Aruna Praśnas of the Yajur Veda by N. K. Venkatasam Pantulu.
5. The Atharva Veda and the Mantra Śāstra by N. K. Venkatesan.

Śrī Jaina Satya Prakāśa, Vol. 2, *Parts* 4-5 (*Mahāvīra Special Number*).

1. Mahāvīra-caritra-mīmāṁsā by Kalyanavijayaji.
2. Observations on Life-incidents of Lord Mahāvīra by Ratnaprabhavijayaji.

Viśva-Bhāratī Quarterly, Vol. II, Part IV, New Series, February–April, 1937.

1. India and the West by M. Winternitz.
2. What can Christians learn from Buddhism by J. B. Pratt.

Obituary Notice

M. WINTERNITZ

The news of the death of Dr. M. Winternitz was very shocking to the literary world. He was a great scholar of Indology and Ethnology and his books bear ample testimony to his wide learning and sound judgment. He was a student of the renowned orientalist Dr. Bühler and an able assistant of the late Prof. Max Muller. His monumental work entitled '*Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*' (History of Indian Literature) will be ever remembered by all those interested in the subject. Besides, he wrote several books and contributed many thoughtful papers to Indian and European Journals. It was he who started two well-known Journals at Prague—*Indologica Pragensia* and *Archiv Orientalni*—and it was in these Journals that he published many important contributions to Indian thought. Though very learned he was entirely free from pride. He was simple, active, sympathetic and he used to take genuine interest in the progress of Indological researches. We deeply regret we have lost a sincere friend and a well-wisher of our *Indian Culture*. It will be very difficult to fill his place in near future. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta, and
Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

INDEX OF VOLUME III

Abhayākara-Gupta, 369.
Abhinava and Kuntaka, The Lakṣaṇa, 756.
Abhinava-Bhāratī, Lakṣaṇa in the, 530.
Acharya, P. K., The Royal Crowns of Indian Kings, 63.
Adyār Manuscript of Janārdana's Commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* intermingled with meanings of the Text words in the old Gujarāti Language, An, 359.
'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Career of Yusuf, 109.
Affinity between one Mohenjo-Daro and one Kish Terracotta Figurine, On the, 186.
Ajñāna in Vedānta Philosophy, The Concept of, 99.
Alaṁkāra in Sanskrit Literature, Use and Abuse of, 675.
Alpines in Eastern India, 161.
Āmāsan Bībī in South Bihar, Notes on the Cults of Kamālo Bībī and, 217.
Amber? A.D. 1699–1743, Sewai Jaysingh of, 376.
Anattā = Nāma-Rūpa, 760.
Ancient Indian Tribes, 731.
Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭa, The, 303.
Apparao, Vaddadi, A note on the word 'Ayaka Khambhas', 389.
Āryā of the Sāṁkhya-Kārikā, The Lost, 281.
Asceticism in Pre-Buddhist days, 571.
Asses, Horses and Gandharvas, 613.
Aśvaghoṣa the Philosopher, 133.
Aśvaghoṣa the Poet, 127.
Aśvamedha, A note on the, 759.
Aśvamedha and Rājasūya, 763.
Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap, 547.
Aśvins and the Great Goddess, The, 721.
'Atakkāvacara' not within the realm of logical thought? Is the Dhamma, 742.
Atakkāvacara, the idea of not-within-the-Realm-of-Logical-thought, The Reach in the doctrine of the Buddha of, 489.
'Ayaka Khambhas', A note on the word, 389.

Bahadur Shah of Gujrat (1526–37), 329.
—— and the Princely Refugees from the Mughal Empire (1534), Sultan, 413.
Banerjee, Anil Chandra, Early History of the Guhilots, 585.
Banerji, S. K., Bahadur Shah of Gujrat (1526–37), 329.
—— Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Princely Refugees from the Mughal Empire (1534), 413.
Bantia Plates of Dharasena II, dated Gupta Saṁvat 257 or 254? 761.
Barua, B. M., Bhela-Saṁhitā, 190.
—— Dharma-Samuccaya, 366.
Barua, K. L., Alpines in Eastern India, 161.
Basu, K. K., Career of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, 109.
Bengal in the early mediæval period, The Vaidyaka literature of, 153.
Bengal, Jainism in, 524.
Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, The Theology and Philosophy of, 251, 633.
Bentinck, The crime of Thagi and its suppression under Lord W. C., 147, 319, 455.
Bhandarkar, D. R., Notes on Ancient History of India, 511.
Bhānudatta, author of the Pārijāta and Bhānudatta, author of the Rasamañjarī, 751.
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Our present, 223.
Bhawalkar, Vanamala, Disposal of Girls in Yāṣka's time, 198.
Bhela-Saṁhitā, 190.
Bhīmavarman. The year 130, Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Mahārāja, 177.
Bihar, A note on the exorcism of disease-spirits in north, 215.
Bihar, Notes on the cults of Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī in South, 217.
Bijāpur, Career of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of, 109.
Bonnerjea, B., Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India, 621.
Bose, Sushil K., A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kushan Coins, 727.
Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, Palæographical Notes on the Mauryan, 206.
Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya Purāṇa, The, 477.
'Buddha and not Buddhists', 515.
Buddha of Atakkāvacara, the idea of not-within-the-Realm-of-Logical-thought, The Reach in the doctrine of the, 489.
Buddhism, Rebirth and Omniscience in Pāli, 19.

Career of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, 109.
Carpani, E. G., Īśā-Upaniṣad (11–14), 222.
—— A note on the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (VIII. 13. 1), 545.
Caste System, Some neglected Aspects of the, 183.
Chakravarti, Chintaharan, A Triennial catalogue of Manuscripts (review), 393.
—— Pravacanasāra (Pavayaṇasāra) (review), 239.
—— Versions of the Kaulāvalī, 518.
Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (VIII. 13. 1), A note on the, 545.
Chaṭṭopādhyāya, Kshetreśachandra, Winternitz and Raychaudhuri on the Antiquity of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, 9.
Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha before A.D. 1200, Date of Vaṅgasena, the author of the, 535.
Coin, A new type of Yaudheya, 762.
Coins, A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kushan, 727.

Concept of Ajñāna in Vedānta Philosophy, The, 99.
Conquest of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha by Vijayasena, 187.
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., Anattā=Nāma-Rūpa, 760.
—— Rebirth and Omniscience in Pāli Buddhism, 19.
—— The Vedic doctrine of Silence, 559.
Crime of Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck, The, 147, 319, 455.
Crowns of Indian Kings, The Royal, 63.
Cults of Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī in South Bihar, Notes on the, 217.

Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha by Vijayasena, Conquest of, 187.
Damiḷas, The, 386.
Das Gupta, Charu Chandra, Archæological Department—Administration Report, 1109 M.E. (review), 396.
—— Hindu Art in its social setting (review), 772.
—— History of the Paramāra Dynasty (review), 235.
—— On the Affinity between one Mohenjo-Daro and one Kish Terracotta Figurine, 186.
—— Palæographical Notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, 206.
—— The Great Temple at Tanjore (review), 549.
Das Gupta, N. N., Abhayākara Gupta, 369.
—— Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume (review), 242.
—— Speeches and writings of Sachchidananda Sinha (review), 245.
—— The Kākatīya Rudradēva, 465.
—— The Śaivāmṛtaṁ of Sōḍhadēva, 194.
—— The Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the Early Mediæval Period, 153.
Date of Vaṅgasena, the author of the Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha before A.D. 1200, 535.
De, S. K., The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, 251, 633.
Devadāsīs in Northern and Eastern India, 520.
Dharasena II dated Gupta Saṁvat 257 or 254 ? Bantia Plates of, 761.
Dharma-Samuccaya, 366.
Disease-Spirits in North Bihar, A Note on the exorcism of, 215.
Disposal of Girls in Yāṣka's time, 198.
Distinguished Men and Women in Jainism, 89, 343.
Domestic Rites and Rituals, 605.

Early History of the Guhilots, 585.
Epistemology, Pramāṇa and its Scheme in Mādhva's, 497.
Era, Some Recent views on the Gupta, 47.
Exorcism of Disease-Spirits in North Bihar, A Note on the, 215.

Fábri, C. L., A New Branch of Knowledge in India, 137.
—— A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription discovered at Mohenjo-Daro, 663.
Family life in Pre-Buddhist days, 209.
Few probable identifications from Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa, A, 373.

Gandharvas, Asses, Horses and, 613.
Gāthās of Zarathuštra, The, 173.
Ghosh, Amalananda, A Note on the Aśvamedha, 759.
—— Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. The year 130, 177.
Ghosh, Batakrishna, Ṛg-Vedic Orthoepy, 35.
—— The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana (review), 241.
—— The Ṛg-Veda as Land-Nāma-Bók (review), 246.
—— Uttararāmacarita (review), 246.
—— Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana (review), 242.
—— Walther Wüst—Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen (Altindischen) (review), 550.
Ghosh, Bhramar, A New Type of Yaudheya Coin, 762.
Ghosh, Jogendra Chandra, Aśvamedha and Rājasūya, 763.
—— Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap, 547.
—— Conquest of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha by Vijayasena, 187.
—— Devadāsīs in Northern and Eastern India, 520.
—— Three Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions, 121.
Girls in Yāṣka's time, Disposal of, 198.
Gode, P. K., An Adyār Manuscript of Janārdana's Commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* intermingled with meanings of the text words in the old Gujarāti Language, 359.
—— Bhānudatta, author of the Pārijāta and Bhānudatta, author of the Rasamañjarī, 751.
—— Date of Vaṅgasena, the author of the Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha—before A.D. 1200, 535.
Grimm, George, The Reach in the doctrine of the Buddha of Atakkāvacara, the idea of not-within-the-Realm-of-Logical-thought, 489.
Guhilots, A Note on the Early Home of the, 219.
Guhilots, Early History of the, 585.
Gujrat and the Princely Refugees from the Mughal Empire (1534), Sultan Bahadur Shah of, 413.
Gujrat (1526–37), Bahadur Shah of, 329.
Gupta, Karuna Kana, Some Recent views on the Gupta Era, 47.
Gupta Era, Some Recent views on the, 47.

Hazra, Rajendra Chandra, Our present Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, 223.
—— The Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya Purāṇa, 477.
Hearth and Home, 71, 431.
Heras, H., Mohenjo Daro—The People and the Land, 707.
Horses and Gandharvas, Asses, 613.

Important Contributions to Oriental Journals, 247, 401, 555, 775.
India, Alpines in Eastern, 161.
India, Devadāsīs in Northern and Eastern, 520.
India, Notes on Ancient History of, 511.
India, Traces of Ugrian Occupation of, 621.
Indian Kings, The Royal Crowns of, 63.
Inscription discovered at Mohenjo-Daro, A Sumero-Babylonian, 663.
Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. The year 130, Kosam Stone Image, 177.
Inscription of Mahāsthān, Palæographical Notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī, 206.
Inscription of the Silk-Weavers' guild, The Mandasore, 379.
Inscriptions, Three Liṅgarāja Temple, 121.
Īśā-upaniṣad (11–14), 222.

Jain, K. P., The Predecessors of Tīrthaṁkara Mahāvīra, 202.
Jainism, Distinguished men and women in, 89, 343.
Jainism in Bengal, 524.
Janamejaya and Janaka, 747.
Janārdana's Commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* intermingled with meanings of the Text words in the old Gujarāti Language, An Adyār Manuscript of, 359.
Jaysingh of Amber? A.D. 1699–1743, Sewai, 376.

Kākatīya Rudradēva, The, 465.
Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī in South Bihar, Notes on the cults of, 217.
Kashyapa, R. R., Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta (review), 765.
Kaulāvalī, Versions of the, 518.
Keith, A Berriedale, Collection of the Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas (review), 394.
—— Les Formations Nominales Et Verbales En P Du Sanskrit (review), 397.
—— The Aśvins and the Great Goddess, 721.
—— The Mahābhārata (review), 766.
—— Varuṇa and Ouranos, 421.
Khandha-doctrine, Towards a history of the, 405, 653.
Kings, The Royal Crowns of Indian, 63.
Kish Terracotta Figurine, On the Affinity between one Mohenjo-Daro and one, 186.
Konow, Sten, Professor Poussin on Śakayavanam, 1.
Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. The year 130, 177.
Kṛṣṇa Panel at Paharpur, A, 195.
Kushan Coins, A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri, 727.

Lahiri, Prakas Chandra, Lakṣaṇa in the Abhinava-Bhāratī, 530.
Lakṣaṇa, Abhinava and Kuntaka, The, 756.
Lakṣaṇa in the Abhinava-Bhāratī, 530.
Land Revenue Assessment in the Mughal Times, Nasaq as a system of, 543.
Law, B. C., Ancient Indian Tribes, 731.
—— Aśvaghoṣa the Philosopher, 133.
—— Aśvaghoṣa the Poet, 127.
—— Distinguished men and women in Jainism, 89, 343.
—— M. Winternitz (obituary), 778.
—— Puran Chand Nahar (obituary), 250.
Ledrus, Rev. M., The Lost Āryā of the Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, 281.
Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions, Three, 121.
Lord W. C. Bentinck, The crime of Thagi and its suppression under, 147, 319, 455.
Lost Āryā of the Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, The, 281.

Mādhva's Epistemology, Pramāṇa and its scheme in, 497.
Magna Est Veritas Et Prævalebit, 741.
Mahāsthān, Palæographical Notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of, 206.
Mahāvīra, The Predecessors of Tīrthaṁkara, 202.
Mahēndragiri, Ruler of Piṣṭapura, 230.
Majumdar, Girija Prasanna, Domestic Rites and Rituals, 605.
—— Hearth and Home, 71, 431.
Mandasore Inscription of the Silk-Weavers' guild, The, 379.
Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa, A few probable identifications from, 373.
Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, Palæographical Notes on the, 206.
Mehta, Ratilal N., Asceticism in Pre-Buddhist days, 571.
—— Family life in Pre-Buddhist days, 209.
Mitra, S. C., A Note on the exorcism of Disease-spirits in North Bihar, 215.
—— Notes on the Cults of Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī in South Bihar, 217.
Mohenjo-Daro, A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription Discovered at, 663.
Mohenjo-Daro and one Kish Terracotta Figurine, On the Affinity between one, 186.
Mohenjo Daro—The People and the land, 707.
Mookerjea, Dhirendra Nath, Bantia Plates of Dharasena II Dated Gupta Saṁvat 257 or 254?, 761.
Mookerjee, Satkari, The Concept of Ajñāna in Vedānta Philosophy, 99.
Mughal Empire (1534), Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Princely Refugees from the, 413.
Mughal Satrap, Aśvamedha by a, 547.
Mughal Times, Nasaq as a system of Land Revenue Assessment in the, 543.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nārada, Bhikkhu, Is the Dhamma 'Atakkāvacara' not within the realm of logical thought ?, 742.
Nāradīya Purāṇa, The Bṛhannāradīya and the, 477.
Nasaq as a system of Land Revenue Assessment in the Mughal Times, 543.
New Branch of Knowledge in India, A, 137.
New Type of Yaudheya Coin, A, 762.
Note on the Chāndogya-upaniṣad (VIII. 13. 1.), A, 545.
Note on the Early Home of the Guhilots, A, 219.
Note on the Exorcism of Disease-spirits in North Bihar, A, 215.
Note on the Lineage of Pushyamitra, A, 739.
Note on the word 'Ayaka Khambhas', A, 389.
Notes on Ancient History of India, 511.
Notes on the Cults of Kamālo Bībī and Āmāsan Bībī in South Bihar, 217.

Obituary Notices :
  Nahar, Puran Chand, 250.
  Winternitz, M., 778.
Omniscience in Pāli Buddhism, Rebirth and, 19.
Orthoepy, Ṛg-Vedic, 35.
Our Present Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, 223.
Ouranos, Varuṇa and, 421.

Paharpur, A Kṛṣṇa Panel at, 195.
Palæographical Notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, 206.
Pāli Buddhism, Rebirth and Omniscience in, 19.
Patel, Manilal, The Gāthās of Zarathuštra, 173.
Paul, Pramode Lal, A few probable identifications from Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa, 373.
—— Jainism in Bengal, 524.
Pereng, 785 Saka, The Stone of, 382.
Peṭakopadesa, Vimuttimagga and, 743.
Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, The Theology and, 251, 633.
Pisharoti, K. R., Stūpī, 353.
Piṣṭapura, Mahēndragiri, Ruler of, 230.
Poussin on Śakayavanam, Professor, 1.
Pramāṇa and its scheme in Mādhva's Epistemology, 497.
Pre-Buddhist days, Family life in, 209.
Predecessors of Tīrthaṁkara Mahāvira, The, 202.
Professor Poussin on Śakayavanam, 1.
Przyluski, Jean, Asses, Horses and Gandharvas, 613.
Punnāṭa, The Ancient Kingdom of, 303.
Purāṇa, Our Present Bhaviṣya, 223.
Purāṇa, The Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya, 477.
Puri Kushan Coins, A Fresh Hoard of so-called, 727.
Pushyamitra, A Note on the Lineage of, 739.

Rāḍha by Vijayasena, Conquest of Dakṣiṇa, 187.
Raghavan, V., The Lakṣana, Abhinava and Kuntaka, 756.
—— Use and Abuse of Alaṁkāra in Sanskrit Literature, 675.
Raghuvaṁśa intermingled with meanings of the Text words in the old Gujarāti Language, An Adyār manuscript of Janārdana's Commentary on the, 359.
Rai Chaudhuri, Golap Chandra, A Note on the Early Home of the Guhilots, 219.
—— Magna Est Veritas Et Prævalebit, 741.
—— The Transformation of Nature in Art (review), 391.
Rājasūya, Aśvamedha and, 763.
Rājpūts, 289.
Ramachandramurty, V. S., Mahēndragiri, Ruler of Piṣṭapura, 230.
Rao, P. Nagaraja, Pramāṇa and its scheme in Mādhva's Epistemology, 497.
Ray Chaudhuri, H. C., A Note on the Lineage of Pushyamitra, 739.
—— The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (review), 771.
—— The Early Buddhist Theory of M Perfected (Review), 772.
Ray Chaudhuri on the Antiquity of the Ṛg-*veda-Saṁhitā*, Winternitz and, 9
Ray, P. C., A Manual of Hindu Astrology (review), 391.
—— Indian Astrology (review), 245.
Reach in the doctrine of the Buddha of Atakkāvacara, the idea of not-within-the-Realm-of-Logical-thought, The, 489.
Rebirth and Omniscience in Pāli Buddhism, 19.
Refugees from the Mughal Empire (1534), Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Princely, 413.
Reu, Bisheshwar Nath, Rājpūts, 289.

Reviews :—
  Banerji, R. D., Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India, 392.
  Bedi, F. M., and Bedi, B. P. L. (edited by), India Analysed, 243.
  Charpentier, Jarl, The Indian Travels of Apollonins of Tyana, 241.
  Coomaraswamy, A. K., The Ṛg-Veda as Land-Náma-Bók, 246.
  —— The Transformation of Nature in Art, 391.
  Dēvuḍu, Narasimha Śâstry, Karnāṭaka Saṁskṛti (Karnāṭaka Culture), 234.
  Dubash, P. N. P., Hindu Art in its Social Setting, 772.
  Ganguly, D. C., History of the Param Dynasty, 235.
  Ghosh, Batakrishna, Collection of the Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas, 394.
  —— Les Formations Nominales Et Verbales En P Du Sanskrit, 397.

Reviews—*contd.*
  Horner, I. B., The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected, 772.
  Joshi, S. B., Karnāṭaka Vīra Kṣatiryaru, 396.
  Kuppuswami, S., A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts, 393.
  Law, Bimala Churn, Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, 233.
  Mookerji, R. K., Hindu Civilization, 766.
  Poduval, R. Vasudeva, Archæological Department—Administration Report, 1109 M.E., 396.
  Poucha, Pavel, Vedische Volksetymologie Und Das Nirukta, 765.
  Raman, B. V., A Manual of Hindu Astrology, 391.
  Sarup, Lakṣmaṇa, The Nirukta, 239.
  Sharma, V. V. (edited by), Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, 242.
  Somasundaram, J. M., The Great Temple at Tanjore, 549.
  Stchoupak, N. (translated and annotated by), Uttararāmacarita, 246.
  Sukthankar, V. S. (critically edited by), The Mahābhārata, 766.
  Upadhye, A. N. (critically edited by), Pravacanasāra (Pavayaṇasāra), 239.
  Waddell, L. A., The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, 771.
  Wüst, Walther, Vergleichendes Und Etymologisches Wörterbuch Des Altindoarischen (Altindischen), 550.

Ṛgveda-*Saṁhitā*, Winternitz and Ray Chaudhuri on the Antiquity of the, 9.
Ṛg-Vedic Orthoepy, 35.
Ṙhys Davids, C. A. F., 'Buddha and not Buddhists', 515.
—— Towards a history of the Khandha-doctrine, 405, 653.
Rites and Rituals, Domestic, 605.
Royal Crowns of Indian Kings, The, 63.
Rudradēva, The Kākatīya, 465.

Sahai, Ishwar, The Crime of Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck, 147, 319, 455.
Śaivāmṛtaṁ of Sōḍhadēva, The, 194.
Śakayavanam, Professor Poussin on, 1.
Saletore, B. A., Karnāṭaka vīra Kṣatiryaru (review), 396.
—— The Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭa, 303.
Sāṁkhya-Kārikā, The Lost Āryā of the, 281.
Sanskrit Literature, Use and Abuse of Alaṁkāra in ,675.
Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar, A Kṛṣṇa Panel at Paharpur, 195.
Sarkar, Benoy Kumar, India Analysed (review), 243.
Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan, The Stone of Pereng, 785 Saka, 382.
Sewai Jaysingh of Amber? A.D. 1699–1743, 376.
Sharma, Dasharatha, The Mandasore inscription of the Silk-Weavers' guild, 379.
Sharma, Sri Ram, Nasaq as a system of Land Revenue Assessment in the Mughal Times, 543.
—— Some Neglected Aspects of the Caste System, 183.
Silk-Weavers' guild, the Mandasore inscription of the, 379.
Sircar, D. C., Hindu Civilisation (review), 766.
—— Janamejaya and Janaka, 747.
—— Sewai Jaysingh of Amber? A.D. 1699–1743, 376.
—— Three Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions, 121.
Skandha-doctrine, Towards a History of the, 405, 653.
Sōḍhadēva, The Śaivāmṛtaṁ of, 194.
Some Neglected Aspects of the Caste System, 183.
Some Recent Views on the Gupta Era, 47.
Stone Image Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. The year 130, Kosam, 177.
Stone of Pereng, 785 Saka, The, 382.
Stūpī, 353.
Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Princely Refugees from the Mughal Empire, (1543), 413.
Sumero-Babylonian Inscription Discovered at Mohenjo-Daro, A, 663.

Temple Inscriptions, Three Liṅgarāja, 121.
Terracotta Figurine, On the Affinity Between one Mohenjo-Daro and one Kish, 186.
Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck, The Crime of, 147, 319, 455.
Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, The, 251, 633.
Three Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions, 121.
Towards a History of the Skandha-Doctrine, 405, 653.
Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India, 621.
Tribes, Ancient Indian, 731.

Ugrian Occupation of India, Traces of, 621.
Use and abuse of Alaṁkāra in Sanskrit Literature, 675.

Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the Early Mediæval Period, The, 153.
Vaiṣṇavism, The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal, 251, 633.
Vaṅgasena, the Author of the Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha—before A.D. 1200, Date of, 535.
Varuṇa and Ouranos, 421.
Vedānta Philosophy, The Concept of Ajñāna in, 99.
Vedantatīrtha, Vanamali, The Nirukta, (review), 239.
Vedic Doctrine of Silence, The, 559.
Versions of the Kaulāvalī, 518.
Vijayasena, Conquest of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha by, 187.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vimuttimagga and Peṭakopadesa, 743.
Vogel, J. Ph., Śrāvastī in Indian Literature (review), 233.
Winternitz and Raychaudhuri on the Antiquity of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, 9.

Yāṣka's time, Disposal of Girls in, 198.
Yaudheya Coin, A New Type of, 762.
Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Career of, 109.

Zarathuštra, The Gāthās of, 173.

State Museum Library, Lucknow
7030

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
प्रो० बी० एन० [illegible]
संग्रह
लखनऊ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh